VISION AND CHOICE

Vermont's Future

"Two roads diverged in a wood, and I-
I took the one less traveled by,
And that has made all the difference."

Robert Frost
VISION AND CHOICE: VERMONT'S FUTURE
THE STATE FRAMEWORK PLAN

A STATEMENT BY
THE VERMONT PLANNING COUNCIL
1968

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## TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PREFACE</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REJECTING THE INEVITABLE</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PART I</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A STATEMENT OF GOALS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PART II</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A PATTERN OF DEVELOPMENT</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER 1  VERMONT OF THE PAST</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER 2  VERMONT OF TODAY AND TOMORROW</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER 3  OPTIONS FOR THE FUTURE</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PART III</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GUIDELINES FOR INTEGRATED DEVELOPMENT</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPENDIX</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
FIGURES

1. Northeastern Interstate Highway System ......................................................... 29
2. Existing Land Use - 1962 ................................................................. 35
3. Vermont Population - 1960 ................................................................. 42
4. Vermont Urban Development Patterns - 1975 ........................................... 43
5. Vermont Urban Development Patterns - 1990 ........................................... 44
6. Vermont - Intensity of Dairying ............................................................. 47
7. Vermont - Major General Trade Areas 1963-64 ......................................... 49
8. Cluster Developments ................................................................. 52
9. Cluster Developments ................................................................. 53
10. Alternative Growth Patterns
    Alternative I - Maximum Dispersion .................................................... 56
    Alternative II - One Regional Center ................................................ 57
    Alternative III - Four Regional Centers ............................................. 59
    Alternative IV - Ten Regional Centers .............................................. 60
11. Illustrative Regional Pattern ............................................................. 63

Special acknowledgement to William H. Whyte author of Cluster Development for use of figure 8 and figure 9.

GRAPHS

1. Vermont Farm Trends 1920-1975 ............................................................. 39

TABLES

1. Trends in Vermont Farming ................................................................. 25
2. Correlation of Manufacturing and Farm Marketing Values ........................... 25
3. Population Within 500 Miles of Vermont .............................................. 28
4. Vermont Population Projections .......................................................... 30
5. Urban Development in Vermont .......................................................... 30
6. Summary of Current Land Use (1962) ................................................... 34
7. Land Price Trends Since 1956 ............................................................. 37
8. Land Appraisal and Sales Price Per Acre 1963-1968 ................................ 38
VISION AND CHOICE: VERMONT'S FUTURE
THE VERMONT STATE FRAMEWORK PLAN

PREFACE

Rejecting the Inevitable

This is a statement of a concept of Vermont's future. This concept is expressed as goals for Vermont and as a pattern of balanced and integrated development for the state as a whole.

It is not intended to be a road map to the future. It does not pretend to lay out the specifics of policy and program that will be needed to shape Vermont's future. Its proposals are tentative and broadly drawn.

This statement is offered as a contribution to public discussion — critically needed — of the fundamental choices facing the people of Vermont. It is intended to stimulate thought and debate, to spur imaginative and creative deliberation and decision.

These ideas are subject to challenge and revision. The concept of Vermont's future as drawn is both incomplete and in need of extensive refinement. Translation of these proposals into policies and programs is a task demanding great effort by governments and citizens throughout the state.

Such an effort is required if Vermont — its state and local governments and its people — are going to control the destiny of the state.

This statement rests on the conviction of the Vermont Planning Council that the people of Vermont acting together can and must shape the future. Despite the tremendous forces of change, it is within the power of Vermonter's to choose the courses they wish their state to follow. The idea that undesirable consequences of change and growth are inevitable and inexorable must be rejected.
The pace of growth and change in Vermont demands consideration of basic issues and illumination of alternative paths to the future.

We must not delay such consideration. We must not burden the next generations with the human and social costs—and the economic cost—of our failure to provide the maximum possible quality of education and social services. This burden will be far greater than the present cost of beginning to provide this measure of quality now.

We must not continue to abuse and destroy our environment. Recovery and rehabilitation of natural resources—where it is even possible—is incredibly costly. By permitting the deterioration of Vermont’s natural beauty and resources, we are committing an inexcusable offense against our children and their children.

We must create new opportunities for productive endeavor in livable communities. We must encourage the best and brightest of our young and old to remain in Vermont. We must attract new citizens who will contribute to the economic and cultural vitality of the state.

Although areas of serious deprivation exist, Vermont is—for the most part—prospering. The degree to which the power of this affluence is to be devoted to the long-term public good is a central issue. We must face it.

A companion issue is that of redefining and achieving a new balance between property rights and human rights in our society. Vermonters must reconsider the meaning of Articles 2 and 7 of the Constitution of the State.

Article 2nd. That private property ought to be subservient to public uses when necessity requires it, nevertheless, whenever any person’s property is taken for the use of the public, the owner ought to receive an equivalent in money.

Article 7th. That government is, or ought to be, instituted for the common benefit, protection, and security of the people, nation or community, and not for the particular emolument or advantage of any single man, family, or set of men, who are a part only of that community; and that the community hath an indubitable, unalienable and indefeasible right, to inform
or alter government, in such manner as shall be, by that community, judged most conducive to the public weal.

The Vermont Planning Council has sought to define goals and describe a design of development that will preserve and protect, cultivate and promote the human and natural resources and attributes of the State in the interests of all the citizens of the state, and on their terms. This effort, if it sparks a creative response from Vermont’s people, can have a broader significance and impact. Vermont can be a leader, a path-finder in solving some of the nation’s problems. Just as the state cannot remain unaffected by people flooding into it from all sides, it cannot remain immune from the social and economic influences which are tearing at the seams of the national fabric.

Vermont has an opportunity and obligation to the nation to pioneer in the search for new ways to achieve a harmonious and creative society.
PART I
A STATEMENT OF GOALS

Every Vermonter must have the opportunity for the full realization of his aspirations and abilities. Access to a superior education is the first essential. A broad range of productive employment opportunities is the second. He must have the further promise of spiritual and cultural fulfillment in an atmosphere of social and political freedom and an environment of natural and creative inspiration, an environment which contributes positively to healthful individual and family living. Throughout his life, he must be assured of a guarantee against poverty and deprivation.

These are the paramount goals of the State of Vermont.

The statement of goals, policies and suggested programs that follows is an attempt to set forth, by sector, the ultimate aims and objectives of the people of Vermont. These objectives are not immediately attainable and may be, in fact, remote from realization.

These goals and supporting illustrative program proposals are not stated in terms of priorities or of specific program targets, times and quantities, nor is an attempt made to suggest how the limited public and private resources of Vermont are to be marshalled in pursuit of these goals. These are the next steps requiring the participation of citizens and policy makers throughout the state.

This statement of goals is offered as the framework for such detailed spelling out of the state’s immediate and longer range objectives.

State agencies are being asked to define program objectives in justification for their requests for budgetary support, both from the State and the federal governments. Consistency of program objectives with state goals must be a determining factor in the decisions on how the State will allocate its manpower and financial resources.

Federal agencies are seeking assurance of a commitment to specific goals as a prerequisite to federal grants. The State, on its part, must be certain that the purposes such grants are in-
tended to promote are consistent with state goals.

In addition to providing state agencies with a framework for the determination of their own objectives, a statement of governmental goals should provide local and regional planning commissions and Vermont representatives on interstate planning commissions a foundation on which to base their planning and developmental activity. Also, goals are needed for sectoral planning, often involving several state agencies, local bodies and private organizations, for instance in comprehensive health planning and natural resource planning.

Finally, state goals provide guidelines for initiative and investment in the private sector.

A basic requirement is a system of government that is geared to the pursuit of stated goals, responsive, at all levels, to the will of the people of Vermont.

The organization of the components of such a system — on the state and local levels — must be designed for effectiveness in achieving program objectives, that is, in providing service to the people. Fragmented responsibilities, overlapping jurisdictions, outmoded but self-perpetuating units and programs too often characterize Vermont’s present governmental structure.

Reform and reorganization of government — including Constitutional revision — is essential if these goals are to be achieved. Municipal consolidation at the local level and structural simplification at the state level are urgently needed.

The uses and abuses of the land have an impact on the state as a whole. Absolute local autonomy in environmental matters is proving obsolete and unworkable. Broader jurisdiction over land-use decisions is essential. Standards should be established and maintained on a state-wide basis.

Effective government depends on the participation of all the state's people in the political process. The most qualified among the citizens must recognize an obligation to stand for public office, regardless of personal sacrifice. The machinery of the political parties must be democratic, not only accepting but seeking out maximum involvement of all citizens in the selection of leadership and the determination of programs. Finally, the people must vote, not just in major elections, but in every town and state poll.
To state the goals of the government in Vermont is not to imply that that government bears sole responsibility for pursuing these ideals.

Progress toward achieving these goals ultimately depends on the will of all Vermont citizens.

EDUCATION AND CULTURE

GOAL

Every Vermonter must have access to educational opportunity sufficient to insure the full realization of his abilities.

- The fundamental obligation of education must be the helping of each person to discover his own identity and his place in society and to learn to live creatively in his changing environment.

- To meet the ever-changing needs of the individual in a complex and technically demanding modern society, the breadth and the quality of education must be steadily and substantially improved.

Through such means as:

Progressively raising the qualities of creative leadership in teachers through recruitment, incentives and the establishment of educational internships to facilitate greater opportunity for entering the profession.

Introducing into curriculum at appropriate levels experimental courses using advanced techniques of teaching, in all relevant fields of learning experience.

Identifying early and paying special attention, with appropriate services, to problem learners, and creating an easy flow into, out of and return to education in order to convert the stigma of "drop out" from a permanent handicap to a temporary condition.

Creating a public two-year Community College program sufficiently flexible in nature to include all levels of opportunity for both young and old.

Making better use of all resources in the area, especially Quebec, to take
advantage of the close proximity of many cultures, both foreign and familiar.

Establishing programs in international education which would transcend all borders, serve the needs, and promote an exchange of neighboring cultures.

- Publicly-supported general education should be extended to fourteen years.

Through such means as:

Creating a public two-year regional Community College program sufficiently flexible in nature and scope to provide opportunity for continuing education for every citizen regardless of age and time out of school.

A person willing and able to pursue education beyond fourteen years should be eligible for public support according to his need.

Through such means as:

Carrying eligible students through advanced education in areas where there is a demonstrable urgent national or state service need such as currently exists in medicine, teaching and government service.

Assisting eligible students seeking higher education at the institutions of their choice.

Increasing investment in state-related institutions of higher education directed toward special provision for Vermont student needs, and for subjects of particular interest to Vermont such as rural development economics.

Providing extension education to those who wish to combine work and further schooling regardless of age through such means as off-campus and mobile classrooms, educational television and correspondence courses.

Establishing a body responsible for the planning of public education beyond high school in the state.

- Closer educational cooperation should be encouraged with Quebec.

Through such means as:

Establishing an international educational institution straddling the border.
Exchanging educational television programs.
Exchanging students and teachers at all levels of education.

**GOAL**

Vermont must have an atmosphere favorable to creativity and appreciation of the arts, learning and history.

- Government should support the fine arts.
  
  Through such means as:
  
  Assisting in the financing of facilities for creating, teaching, performing and exhibiting, including educational television.
  
  Giving public recognition to excellence in artistic endeavor through fostering competition and granting awards.
  
  Commissioning works of art to be placed in public view through permanent installation, traveling exhibition and loan.

- Vermont's heritage should be preserved and illuminated.
  
  Through such means as:
  
  Assuring protection in perpetuity of significant historic structures and places.
  
  Recreating history in museums, pageants, exhibitions and literature.

- Communities should be assisted in developing and improving cultural facilities.
  
  Through such means as:
  
  Expanding library services through such methods as an inter-library loan system, bookmobiles, books-by-mail and utilization of technological innovations in reading devices and television.
  
  Forming close ties with the region's public and private colleges and universities.
  
  Making schools centers of educational, cultural, and recreational opportunity for the regional community.
ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

GOAL

Vermont must develop a balanced and sustained economic vitality based on diversity and superiority of production, services and employment and excellence of physical, social and educational environment.

* Employment offering full realization of abilities and compensation commensurate with contribution should be made available and accessible to all employable Vermonters.

Through such means as:

Giving encouragement to existing manufacturing, agricultural, recreational, service and commercial establishments and seeking new employers and facilities.

Assuring adequate manpower skills to meet the needs of the full range of employers, including governments, through management and technical education and through training and retraining.

Promoting and supporting self-employment, particularly in agriculture.

Instituting programs to encourage and take full advantage of technological change of benefit to the people of Vermont.

Enforcing standards and safeguards to protect workers from physical, economic and social exploitation.

* Industrial development efforts should assist existing industry and should seek new employers and facilities being selective on the basis of suitability to the community and contribution to the economy.

Through such means as:

Providing a broad range of financial assistance including access to grants and loans, incentives for cooperative endeavors and creative tax formulas.
Giving assistance to industry through education and training programs, marketing and research assistance, new product and process development and management consultation.

Giving full consideration to the requirements of the community and industry to assure a compatibility between needs and resources and a desirable aesthetic and environmental impact.

Educating communities seeking expansion of their industrial base in the necessity of providing good educational opportunity, sound governmental organization and an attractive physical environment.

Agricultural and forest production should be fostered in recognition of the economic contribution of this production as well as the economic significance of farm and woodland as an environmental factor.

Through such means as:

Providing a broad range of financial, research, training and management assistance.

Encouraging agricultural and wood product processing, manufacturing and marketing establishments.

Finding means of affording public use and enjoyment of private lands under conditions acceptable and beneficial to the landowner.

The potential for recreational and tourist development in Vermont must be realized within limitations imposed by the necessity of protecting and preserving the State's unique and fragile natural qualities.

Through such means as:

Identifying and designating potential public and private recreation areas according to their most desirable use, and setting standards for their development and use.

Determining whether there are areas in the state which lend themselves to large-scale recreational development in the form of parks, preserves or scenic waterways and highways needed to meet national demands.

Establishing a long-range land and rights acquisition program that will make possible public or private non-profit purchase of all available recreation and historic sites meeting established criteria.
Permitting controlled private development on public land providing that land leased for development is matched by additional land acquisitions of equivalent quality and usefulness.

Controlling hunting and fishing according to scientific game management principles and with due regard to the rights of private landowners.

Developing and mapping a system of by-ways, trails, and waterways, including the maintenance of gravel roads and continuance of public rights-of-way, and controlling uses of such a system.

Giving promotional, financial and management assistance to recreation and tourist facility operators.

Providing training for workers in the recreation and tourist field in the art of satisfying and pleasing the clientele.

The present and potential economic contribution of facilities for education, health, culture, research and environmental management must be appreciated and investment in such facilities encouraged.

Through such means as:

Intensifying public and private support for existing institutions, facilities and activities in education and the fine arts and encouraging new facilities.

Investing in centers of innovation in the arts and sciences, for example, the re-creation of an early 19th Century Vermont community, an ecological research area, a creative design complex and a center for the application of technology to the performance, transmission and preservation of the arts.
GOAL

Nature and past generations of Vermonters have bestowed a unique environmental legacy that must be wisely used for the benefit of society and must be preserved, protected, and restored where blighted.

- Vermont must adopt a pattern of development that provides for growth consistent with environmental quality.

  Through such means as:

  Institutionalizing long-range, coordinated comprehensive planning on the local, regional, state and inter-state levels.

  Creating through education, training and work programs a consciousness of the acute need for environmental management.

  Meeting the increasing demands for more living and working space by designing and building new communities.

  Revitalizing older population centers by undertaking imaginative and attractive rehabilitation.

- The beauty of village and countryside should be preserved.

  Through such means as:

  Adopting land use controls, including restrictions and prohibitions relating to development in depth along scenic highways and waterways.

  Providing incentives for scenic protection and restoration including the purchase of agreements restricting land uses.

  Acquiring scenic areas for preservation and development.

- Pollution of air, water and soil must be strictly controlled and limited.

  Through such means as:

  Enforcing existing regulations.
Sponsoring and utilizing research in the science and management of waste control and disposal.

Promoting inter-governmental cooperation in abating and preventing pollution including establishment of standards of pollution control that provide the maximum resource protection that is economically feasible.

Providing technical and financial assistance where needed and appropriate to those responsible for pollution.

Recognizing the growing problem of noise and adopting noise abatement measures.

Wilderness areas and areas of particular ecological significance should be preserved.

Through such means as:

State and federal outright purchasing or otherwise assuring perpetual protection with economic provisions to assure that towns are not unduly penalized.

Encouraging formation of non-profit private conservation organizations which may purchase or receive and manage natural areas.

Offering incentives to towns to establish nature areas and trails.

Promoting public appreciation and use of such areas.
HEALTH AND SOCIAL SERVICES

GOAL

Every Vermonter must be assured the highest attainable level of health in an environment which contributes positively to personal and family well-being and self-sufficiency.

- Government must promote the highest level of health attainable for every person.

Through such means as:

Uniting with neighboring states and the private health sector in comprehensive physical and mental health planning directed to discovering present and anticipating future health needs and demands, and recommending measures to provide comprehensive health care.

Encouraging development of evaluation techniques and assurance of quality and cost control in the delivery of medical services.

Providing in cooperation with neighboring states education and training to meet the personnel requirements of a full range of quality health services and providing sufficient incentives to guarantee the maintenance of qualified staff in the region.

Sponsoring research in the health care delivery problems peculiar to remote areas.

Attention must be concentrated on the prevention of sickness and injury and the promotion of measures to maintain good health to achieve maximum individual development.

Through such means as:

Creating community centers - encompassing a neighborhood or several towns - to provide a full-range of health and social services.

Minimizing all forms of pollution of air, soil and water and taking such other sanitary measures as are needed to prevent the spread of disease and promote healthy environment.

Providing a range of outdoor and indoor facilities for exercise, recreation and retreat.
Improving education and training in nutrition, particularly for low-income families.

Health care should be delivered in a manner that is effective in meeting individual and community need.

Through such means as:

Establishing patterns of health care delivery based on the relationship between the severity and uniqueness of an ailment and the location of the curative facility.

Devising a unified approach to treatment through full care facilities — that would include provision for the mentally disabled and the alcoholic — and coordinated administration of public and private health, mental health and social services on the community level.

Taking full advantage of the general and specialized health services of neighboring states through exchange agreements.

Establishing a state medical emergency and records information system through utilization of communications and data processing technology.

Encouraging group medical practice throughout the state.

Developing an effective transportation system to and from health care centers for general and emergency patients.

GOAL

General social services, including traditional welfare services, must provide a barrier against poverty and social deprivation and offer the means of realization of maximum individual development and self-sufficiency.

- Welfare services should take the form of a concerted effort to meet all the economic, social and cultural requirements of the deprived individual.

Through such means as:

Integrating health, welfare and rehabilitative services and special education, training and employment programs on the community level in a community health and social service.
Coordinating efforts related to health and social services through comprehensive planning with the objective of minimizing administrative encumbrances and assuring maximum responsiveness to individual needs and opportunities.

Providing assistance for those with a potential for self-sufficiency including income supplements, work opportunities, paid training, and financial incentives to mutual self-help projects.

Training community service aids and utilizing them to take broad responsibility for discovering the needs and meeting the demands of the disadvantaged and providing incentives greatly to increase interest in working in this field.

GOAL

Offenses against society must be recognized and treated as a symptom of disorder both in the individual and in his social environment.

- Conviction and sentencing of the public offender should include efforts to discover and appreciate the individual and environmental problems contributing to his offense and remedial action should be undertaken.
- Rehabilitation of the public offender should be the objective of his treatment both in correctional institutions and upon release.
Every citizen must have a decent place in which to live.

- The State must assure that every citizen can be safely and pleasantly housed within his means, paying particular attention to housing for the aged and for those with low incomes.

Through such means as:

- Participating in financing of housing rehabilitation and construction using loan guarantees, rent supplements, direct loans and outright construction.
- Emphasizing rehabilitation of existing housing.
- Taking whatever measures are necessary to assure that the necessary resources - money, men and materials - are available to meet the demand for adequate and economic housing.
- In concert with municipalities, seeing that housing, building and sanitary codes are set and enforced.
- Adopting measures to control speculation in land and development of land according to a set plan.

- Principles of good design and suitable location for housing should be fostered.

Through such means as:

- Public and private sponsoring of architectural design competitions, demonstration projects and design assistance with emphasis on developing innovative design for low-cost housing.
- Adopting local and regional plans and controls that promote rather than inhibit good design and location and that protect and preserve environmental quality.
- Implementing a statewide plan for development based on a concept of concentrated residential settlement and open space preservation, and the creation of entire new communities.
Locating residential development to take maximum advantage of recreational opportunity.

Providing State incentives for community development of municipal parks and recreational developments within easy reach of all residents.
PUBLIC SERVICES

GOAL

All aspects of the public need for transportation, communications, utilities and safety must be met in a manner that is coordinated, efficient and economical and that contributes positively to environmental quality.

The State should develop a coordinated transportation system that serves the social as well as the developmental needs of the people of Vermont.

Through such means as:

Allocating public funds in support of transportation development on the basis of demonstrably superior safety, efficiency, economy of mode and environmental impact.

Integrating air, rail and highway networks.

Designing transportation services to accomplish specific social and economic objectives such as providing improved access to social services, employment, education and recreation.

Developing a coordinated regional transport system, but insisting that the federal government share maintenance as well as construction responsibility for interstate facilities.

Controlling highway access and use of adjacent land in consideration of factors of safety, efficiency of use, preservation of scenery and costs of construction and maintenance.

Redefining responsibility for construction, maintenance and use of town roads, taking into consideration possible cost sharing among groups of towns, state and federal participation, seasonal use and designation for recreation purposes.

Exploring the implications of new modes and routes of interstate and international transportation system in the light of Vermont’s location.

The public should have assurance that utility services, including communications, are
available, economical, of high quality, safe and do not desecrate the environment.

Through such means as:

Promoting consumer-producer cooperation in the planning, delivery and pricing of utility services.

Enforcing standards and broadening public jurisdiction over planning and development of utility services.

Improving intergovernmental coordination of utility service regulation.

Protection of persons and property should be comprehensive and efficient.

Through such means as:

Integrating fire, police and other emergency services.

Training to understand, respect and obey laws and to prevent their violation using television, mobile exhibits, school programs and other public information devices.
PART II

A PATTERN OF DEVELOPMENT

CHAPTER 1: VERMONT OF THE PAST

As a basis for the consideration of a concept of goals and patterns of development for Vermont's future, it is necessary to regard the past and the present trends in the state and in the region of northeastern North America which surrounds it.

It seems hardly necessary, however, to document in charts, graphs, lists and illustrations the familiar elements of change that daily force themselves on the consciousness of Vermonters. On the other hand, contemplation of the Vermont of earlier and recent times is useful in trying to understand and anticipate the forces that will shape the state's future.

Past generations of Vermonters were largely made up of farmers, lumbermen, artisans and workers in small industrial enterprises. The productivity of the land was the basis of the economy. In every generation to the present, the native sons as often left the state as stayed, lured by the opportunities of the opening West and the growing industrial centers to the east and south. Until the end of the Second World War, the typical farmer was tending a modest herd of cows on a modest piece of property - usually a hundred and fifty acres or less. Yet he was able to maintain surprising self-sufficiency. His economic and social life was completely attuned to the local village. His children attended a neighborhood school that served a cluster of farms. He was relatively isolated economically, geographically, socially and culturally.

In the 19th Century Vermont's agricultural and forest activities were diversified. Purebred Merino sheep provided a profitable base; the production of beef cattle flourished; horses and hogs were raised for export; wood products supplied the home builders, wagon and implement makers, paper mills and fueled the stoves and boilers.

By mid-Century, the advent of radical change was becoming apparent, however. The opening of the West saw the first evidences of a population exodus which continued unabated for the
next century. Farmers were attracted by the more arable soil of the mid-western and the western plains, the longer growing season and the availability of larger tracts of land.

The out-migration intensified with the outbreak of the Civil War. The small Vermont farmer, financially unable to send a hired substitute, was forced to send his son to the Union Army. Vermont suffered proportionately heavier casualties than any other state. After the war many of the surviving young men remained in the South or went West, reducing the population even further.

In the latter third of the 19th Century, Vermont farmers, feeling the new impact of Western lamb and beef, began to concentrate on dairy commodities. Population growth in the Eastern cities and the improvement of rail and road connections opened up new markets for milk and butter.

At that time Vermont also had more than a thousand saw mills. Grazing and lumbering resulted in clearing of over 80 per cent of the State's land.

Reverberations of the industrial revolution became evident in Vermont in the latter half of the 19th Century when small, local industries began to decline. Many farmers found that part-time agriculture without supplemental outside employment was inadequate. They sold their land to another farmer and left for the city to work in the new factories. Much of the marginal farm land was abandoned.

With the depletion of timber, the logging industry began to decline, reducing the number of saw mills by half. The decline of the small farm and the family industry and the development of a semi-industrial economy accelerated through the first half of the 20th Century.

Extractive industries such as granite in Barre and marble in the Rutland area flourished. Textile production expanded. Vermont's economic evolution paralleled that of most of the nation.

In the first half of the 20th Century, the abandonment of farms coupled with modernization of farming techniques reduced the number of farms from 33,000 to 9,000 and the amount of the
### TABLE I  TRENDS IN VERMONT FARMING

<table>
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<tr>
<td>1925</td>
<td>27,786</td>
<td>141</td>
<td>67%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>24,898</td>
<td>156</td>
<td>67%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1935</td>
<td>27,061</td>
<td>149</td>
<td>69%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>23,582</td>
<td>156</td>
<td>62%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1945</td>
<td>26,490</td>
<td>148</td>
<td>66%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>19,043</td>
<td>185</td>
<td>59%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1954</td>
<td>15,981</td>
<td>208</td>
<td>56%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1959</td>
<td>12,099</td>
<td>243</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1964</td>
<td>9,247</td>
<td>273</td>
<td>43%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Central Planning Office, Montpelier, Vermont

### TABLE II  CORRELATION OF MANUFACTURING AND FARM MARKETING VALUES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>VALUE ADDED BY MANUFACTURING ($000)</th>
<th>CASH RECEIPTS FROM FARM MARKETING ($000)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1947</td>
<td>149,715</td>
<td>114,432</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1954</td>
<td>222,965</td>
<td>103,810</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1955</td>
<td>231,792</td>
<td>109,866</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1956</td>
<td>255,273</td>
<td>109,801</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1957</td>
<td>265,272</td>
<td>115,475</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1958</td>
<td>235,898</td>
<td>114,301</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1959</td>
<td>271,580</td>
<td>118,035</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>282,458</td>
<td>123,404</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>286,195</td>
<td>126,523</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1962</td>
<td>326,598</td>
<td>126,217</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>309,253</td>
<td>125,130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1964</td>
<td>319,385</td>
<td>125,776</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>444,456</td>
<td>128,647</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: United States Departments of Commerce and Agriculture
State's land used in agriculture from 81 to 43 per cent (Table I).

In comparison to earlier times relatively few Vermonters now endeavor to make their entire living by farming, although milk production remains a very important element of the State's economy (Table II). The full-time farmers are generally men who enlarge their holdings by acquiring the stock and the use of the acreage of operators who, unable to diversify and to master the required new production, marketing and management techniques abandon agriculture and look to urban areas for their livelihood. In several parts of the State, the actual ownership of the majority of land and homesteads has gone to vacationers.

Non-resident ownership of land for vacation and recreation purposes began at the turn of the Century. The advent of mass skiing coupled with high speed highway construction in the 40's and 50's greatly accelerated purchase of land for recreation and vacation home development, and escalated land values by phenomenal proportions. However, new jobs, businesses and economic opportunities were created by the development of recreation facilities.

Social changes reflect the changing patterns of occupation and income. Economic and social life no longer centers on the village. Farmers and villagers, utilizing new highways spend more of their time and money in urban centers miles from their homes. The district school has been converted into a summer home and children board a bus for transportation to a union school which often serves an entire county. Movies, radio and television substitute for village socials. The automobile is a dominant factor in determining patterns of life.

The contrasts of the past fifty years best illustrate the impact of social change on Vermonters. Gone are kerosene lamps and outhouses, one-room schools and one-horse shays, crank telephones and poor farms, consumption of sulphur and molasses, circus posters and minstrel shows. Vermont has entered the world of jets, computers, ulcers, tranquilizers, nuclear power, four-lane highways, shopping center complexes, color television and mobile homes.
CHAPTER 2: VERMONT OF TODAY AND TOMORROW

Some 65 million Americans and Canadians live within 500 miles of Vermont's borders (Table III). In 15 to 20 years, this Northeastern North American population will reach 80 million if present growth trends continue. Moreover, in the next two decades, this concentration of population ringing Vermont will be brought much closer in time as new high-speed highway, rail and air service is further developed (Figure 1).

Shorter work weeks and rising incomes will multiply the time and money available for vacation living in Vermont for these surrounding millions.

The combination of shorter work weeks and better transportation connections can be expected to create a new phenomenon: an appreciable number of people will make Vermont their home and commute to major cities in the surrounding region. Moreover, the trend of former non-resident property owners settling in the state, particularly at retirement age, can be expected to accelerate.

With these new Vermonters added to population projected on existing trends (Table IV), the State may well move from its present 420,000 residents to nearly 575,000 before two decades have passed. Half of this population will probably live in the urban areas of the State (Table V).

Vermont is already experiencing increasingly rapid change due to growing population within and around the State, improved highway links to major population centers and general affluence in the region. These trends will accelerate.

Vermont and Vermonters have profited greatly in recent years from the opportunities produced by growth and change. A new Vermont is emerging attuned to life in the second-half of the 20th Century. Modern schools and hospitals, space-age industries, multi-million dollar recreation developments and magnificent new highways have vastly improved the economic and social character of the lives of most Vermonters.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>0/100</th>
<th>0/200</th>
<th>0/400</th>
<th>0/500</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>United States</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>26.0</td>
<td>40.5</td>
<td>52.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>9.5</td>
<td>12.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>12.0</td>
<td>31.0</td>
<td>50.0</td>
<td>64.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1985 (high estimate)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>0/100</th>
<th>0/200</th>
<th>0/400</th>
<th>0/500</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>United States</td>
<td>11.0</td>
<td>34.0</td>
<td>52.0</td>
<td>67.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>7.5</td>
<td>14.0</td>
<td>17.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>16.0</td>
<td>41.5</td>
<td>66.0</td>
<td>85.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1985 (low estimate)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>0/100</th>
<th>0/200</th>
<th>0/400</th>
<th>0/500</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>United States</td>
<td>10.0</td>
<td>30.5</td>
<td>47.0</td>
<td>61.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canada</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>7.0</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>13.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>14.5</td>
<td>37.5</td>
<td>59.5</td>
<td>74.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
THE INTERSTATE HIGHWAY SYSTEM
IN NORTHEASTERN UNITED STATES
AND IMPORTANT CONNECTING ROUTES TO VERMONT

BY THE VERMONT DEPARTMENT OF HIGHWAYS
HIGHWAY PLANNING DIVISION
SCALE: 1 INCH = APPROX 70 MILES
1964
### TABLE IV  VERMONT POPULATION PROJECTIONS*  
(in thousands as of July 1)  
(High)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vermont Total</td>
<td>390</td>
<td>420</td>
<td>462</td>
<td>495</td>
<td>530</td>
<td>569</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0-4</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>30</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5-17</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>67</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18-44</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>102</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45-64</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>40</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65 and over</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>21</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>192</td>
<td>226</td>
<td>243</td>
<td>259</td>
<td>279</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0-4</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>30</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5-17</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>67</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18-44</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>81</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>101</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45-64</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>43</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65 and over</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>32</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>198</td>
<td>236</td>
<td>252</td>
<td>271</td>
<td>290</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Projected on existing trends.

*** TABLE V  URBAN DEVELOPMENT IN VERMONT  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>State Population</th>
<th>Per Cent Urban**</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>352,428</td>
<td>31.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>359,611</td>
<td>33.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>359,231</td>
<td>34.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>377,747</td>
<td>36.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>389,881</td>
<td>38.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>***1980</td>
<td>495,000</td>
<td>46.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: United States Census 1960  
** Communities of 2500 or more  
However, progress has come at the price of much undesirable development and social estrangement along the familiar patterns of the industrial Northeast.

These adverse effects of change have varied widely by area within the State. In and around the commercial and industrial centers typical urban-suburban growing pains are evident: hap-hazard commercial and residential sprawl; critical shortages of housing, school rooms, hospital beds and social services; environmental deterioration including loss of open space, pollution of air and water, and obliteration of natural life and beauty. Stop-gap solutions have spawned proliferation of governmental jurisdictions. Costs and prices have steadily risen in the face of insatiable demands for land, buildings, roads and services.

Rapid recreational facility and vacation home development in a number of rural areas has created comparable problems in those areas.

By contrast, quite extensive areas of the State are experiencing economic stagnation. Farming is on the decline, particularly in the more remote and upland areas. Facilities for vacationers are limited. Industrial employment is scarce and relatively poorly paid. However, living costs and demands for social services follow state and national trends - steadily upward - causing unmanageable burdens on families and communities.

The traditional rural scene in Vermont, characterized by concentrated settlement in villages and open countryside dotted with farms, is disappearing. The sharp distinction between village and countryside is blurring throughout the state. Highways between towns are becoming ribbons of residential and commercial development. Where strip development has become intense, particularly on the outskirts of the larger towns and in the most popular ski and recreation areas, the effects have been highly detrimental. Concentrated building along the highways has blocked access to the countryside as it has obliterated the visual pleasure of the open road. Cars pulling on and off the road cause congestion and hazard.

Movement of commercial activity out from the traditional centers has left some downtown
areas with serious problems of deterioration and stagnation often compounded by obsolete and fragmented governmental jurisdiction. These centers find themselves less and less able to raise the financial support necessary to rebuild the facilities required to restore their commercial vigor.

Residential building around the largest centers has followed both strip and subdivision patterns. Former meadow and woodland have been ruled into quarter, half and acre lots criss-crossed by new roads, sewer and water mains and utility lines. Excessive consumption of land and pleasant scenery has resulted from this dispersal. Environmental deterioration from erosion and pollution has been common. Irreplaceable physical features and wildlife habitats have been destroyed.

Rapid and haphazard development has accentuated town problems of providing education and services.

Although difficult to document, the social cost of disruption of traditional patterns of living must be recognized as considerable. The sense of community is lost. Antagonisms are created between the invaders and invaded in new areas of concentrated settlement. The sprouting of new governmental jurisdictions to meet crisis needs for services undermines the unity of political deliberation represented by the traditional town meeting, and tends to diminish interest and involvement in government.

In many rural areas there has been intensive development of recreational facilities, tourist accommodations and vacation homes. While much is being done that is well-planned, tasteful and considerate of environmental values — and the economic rewards for the communities have been great — problems have arisen similar to those in the commercial centers. The countryside has been changed by strip development on the highways, dispersal of commercial establishments and small lot second home sub-divisions creating congestion. Traditional village social patterns and relationships have been lost.
A major shift in land use patterns has occurred. Whereas 100 years ago 80% of the land was cleared, today close to 70% is brush and forest covered (Table VI). The accompanying map, Existing Land Use 1962, illustrates this recent pattern (Figure 2).

Land values have soared (Tables VII and VIII). Speculation in land has become exaggerated. Instances of exploitation of land for quick profit are becoming common. Rising land values and alternative employment opportunities have hastened the abandonment of farms (Graph 1).

These areas are becoming extensions of suburbia. Among the new residents and vacationers, the prosperous middle class predominates. Frictions with the rural Vermonter and his way of life are inevitable. The character of rural life is sharply altered.

There remains another Vermont remote from the vitality of the commercial centers and recreation areas. The remoteness is often not in physical distance as much as it is in character. In fact, there are pockets of deprivation within all of the economically vibrant areas as well as in areas of the State which have not flourished. As land values, living costs and taxes have risen, low income earners have been pushed to less and less desirable areas and homes removed from job opportunities, social services and educational and cultural facilities. Areas of such settlement tend to develop in the decaying center and on the periphery of prospering communities.

Other areas of the State deficient in commercial, industrial or recreational resources have tended to stagnate. Farming and woods industries have declined in economic importance and there has been little compensation. Providing for educational needs and social services has become more and more difficult. These areas continue to lose population, particularly among the most productive age groups.

Considering the anticipated growth in Northeastern North America in people, incomes, and transportation facilities, and the impact of this growth on Vermont, it is reasonable to believe
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LAND USE</th>
<th>ACRES</th>
<th>% OF STATE AREA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Forests, (all woodlands including pastured woodland, state and national forests and parks)</td>
<td>4,085,560</td>
<td>66.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agricultural uses (open farm land)</td>
<td>1,468,542</td>
<td>23.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Water and Marshes</td>
<td>322,297</td>
<td>5.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Highways</td>
<td>127,768</td>
<td>2.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vacant land (mountains, rock)</td>
<td>67,402</td>
<td>1.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban</td>
<td>48,038</td>
<td>0.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All others (railroad facilities, utilities and communications, dispersed residential, mines and quarries, military installations, public buildings, stadiums, race tracks, etc.)</td>
<td>43,531</td>
<td>0.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>6,163,138</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Central Planning Office, Montpelier, Vermont
The area identified on this map as State Parks, Forests and National Forests does not necessarily indicate public ownership. For example, the National Forest has been identified in terms of authorized purchase area which includes large areas in private ownership.

The preparation of this report/map was financially aided through a federal grant from the Department of Housing and Urban Development under the Urban Planning Assistance Program authorized by Section 701 of the Housing Act of 1954 as amended.
TABLE VII  LAND PRICE TRENDS SINCE 1956
Average Sales Price Per Acre
for Parcels of 20 Acres or More

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dairy Towns</th>
<th>1956</th>
<th>1966</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Brookfield</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cabot</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chelsea</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clarendon</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cornwall</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Derby</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newport Town</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rupert</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Williamstown</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1960</th>
<th>1965</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bridport</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brighton</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Williston</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Other Towns</th>
<th>1956</th>
<th>1966</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Barnard</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bloomfield</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bristol</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East Haven</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lowell</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newark</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newfane</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plainfield</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Readsboro</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rochester</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strafford</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waterford</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Fairlee</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whitingham</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woodbury</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Williamstown</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

Summary

Average Percentage Increase, Early to Late Period, for Dairy Towns: 161%
Average Percentage Increase, Early to Late Period, for Other Towns: 158%

Source: Vermont Tax Department
TABLE VIII
LAND APPRAISAL AND SALES PRICE PER ACRE 1963-1968
(SKI TOWNS)
20 ACRE MINIMUM

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NAME OF TOWN</th>
<th>1963 APPRAISAL FAIR MARKET VALUE PER ACRE</th>
<th>1968 SALES PRICE PER ACRE</th>
<th>1968 AVERAGE TAX PER ACRE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Warren</td>
<td>$89.</td>
<td>$400.</td>
<td>N.A.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stowe</td>
<td>24.</td>
<td>800.</td>
<td>$.62½ to $2.94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sherburne</td>
<td>83.</td>
<td>400.</td>
<td>.71 to 5.32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waitsfield</td>
<td>63.</td>
<td>500.</td>
<td>2.74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jamaica</td>
<td>50.</td>
<td>300.</td>
<td>.63 to 1.49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1956</td>
<td>1966</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fayston</td>
<td>$12.50</td>
<td>$365.00</td>
<td>N.A.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1/ Figures have been rounded to the lowest $100

Source: Vermont Tax Department
VERMONT FARM TRENDS 1920-1975

Graph 1

No. of farms
Scale - Thousands

Avg. Size of farms
Scale - Acres

Proportion - Land in farms
Scale - %

Est.

1920 '25 '30 '35 '40 '45 '50 '54 '59 '64 '75

0 5 10 15 20 25 30

300 250 200 150 100 50

30 25 20 15 10 5
that both the favorable and unfavorable trends currently to be observed will be accentuated in
the two decades ahead. The possibilities of the future for Vermont are tremendous and exciting.
The dangers are equally apparent.
CHAPTER 3: OPTIONS FOR THE FUTURE

Vermont urgently needs to make fundamental policy decisions concerning the future of the State. There are two basic alternatives:

Accept as inevitable current patterns of social and physical growth and dismiss as impractical attempts to guide the growth of the State according to a design for integrated development; or

Act positively to organize the State in terms of people, resources and environment with the goal of developing and perpetuating a harmonious and creative society.

Vermont and Vermonters can and must act positively to adapt to change. Progress requires that growth and change be controlled through the conscious and sustained effort to adopt and pursue specific goals and objectives. These goals and objectives must be translated into explicit patterns of social and physical development. A choice among alternative growth patterns must be made. The framework most appropriate to the achievement of established goals must be selected.

To accomplish the objective of integrated development according to a predetermined design will require a complex combination of decisions and policies, programs and projects, incentives and restraints, commitments and investments in both the public and the private sectors. If goals and objectives are accepted, and a framework is adopted, the choices among ways and means will be illuminated.

Without the benefit of an explicit policy determination to set a desirable pattern of physical development, Vermont will surely mimic the sprawl pattern found in virtually all urbanizing areas of this country. This sprawl pattern is illustrated in broad terms in the series of maps on the following pages (see Figures 3, 4 and 5). Such a pattern can, and must, be avoided.
Figure 3

Vermont Population 1960

* 10,000 persons

 Incorporated places x 322
 Unincorporated places x 1,482

 Source: U.S. Census
Figure 4

URBAN DEVELOPMENT PATTERNS IF PRESENT TRENDS CONTINUE 1975

Central Planning Office
Dec. 1968
Figure 5

URBAN DEVELOPMENT PATTERNS IF PRESENT TRENDS CONTINUE 1990
What are some of the alternate patterns of growth in Vermont that conscious policy determinations would create? ¹

Assuming that Vermont will take the option of continuing to act positively to guide its growth – rather than simply responding to change with improvisation – a first alternative would be to adopt a policy of maximum geographic dispersal of effort and investment. Every town and every area of the State would share in proportion to population in every developmental program whether it be in education, health, commerce, housing, agriculture, recreation or whatever.

Such a policy would appear to accentuate existing economic imbalances as well as to hasten environmental deterioration. The limited financial resources of the State would be dissipated while a multitude of second-rate facilities and inadequate services would emerge. Fragmentation of government would be perpetuated. Costs of supporting a transportation system to serve such dispersion would be excessive. Statewide commercial and residential sprawl would be encouraged.

The opposite possibility would be the concentration of effort and investment in Vermont’s largest and fastest growing center, the Burlington area. The objective would be to build a great metropolitan center on the fertile plain of northwest Vermont which would be the focus of the State’s commercial industrial, cultural and social life. Much of the rest of the State would be regarded as the playground of Burlingtonians, supported by the economic vitality of the new metropolis. The southern counties would depend on a similar relationship to the urban centers of southern New England and New York.

Were such a choice of pattern politically acceptable – which is very doubtful – its short-run consequences would be harsh. Finding opportunity concentrated in the great center, vast numbers of Vermonters would migrate there. Provision of adequate services and facilities to those remaining in remote areas would become less and less possible. As the metropolis grew and prospered, links to outlying areas could be affected, but the economic and social cost of the

¹The four alternative patterns are illustrated on Figure 10, pages 54-57.
interim stagnation and deprivation of these areas would probably be unsupportable.

Even a well-planned and carefully developed metropolis in the Burlington area would inevitably devour some of the State's best agricultural land. The future realization of Vermont's agricultural potential lies principally in the "fertile crescent" of the northwest counties (Figure 6).

A policy of forced-draft urbanization of the area could be expected to bring to Vermont an intensification of both city and rural social problems of the type that are defying solution in other states.

Another possibly pattern of development would be the selection of three or four "growth centers" based on present size and future potential. Burlington would be joined by Rutland, Barre, Montpelier and/or the Hartford area at the State’s major Interstate junction. Developmental effort would be concentrated on these areas as regional centers.

Such a limited selection of regional centers would not serve the State’s population adequately. Too many areas would remain remote from the services, facilities and opportunities of these centers.

By increasing the number of regional centers, a design that appears best suited to Vermont’s needs emerges.

Taking into account factors of size, geographic location, existing facilities, present and proposed transportation links and political acceptability, ten natural regional centers can be identified (Figure 7). These are:

- St. Albans
- Burlington
- Rutland
- Bennington
- Brattleboro
- Newport
- Springfield
- St. Johnsbury
- Barre-Montpelier
- Hartford (White River)
Figure 6

INTENSITY OF DAIRYING

- Index up to 40 (low intensity)
- Index 40 - 59 (medium intensity)
- Index 60 or more (high intensity)
Acceptance of this multi-center concept implies a rejection of both maximum dispersal and maximum concentration of effort as impractical and undesirable. Also suggested is a bias toward reasonably small-scale endeavor. Vermont is surrounded by a region committed to large-scale enterprise. "Bigness" of city, industrial and commercial establishment, educational or other facilities are regarded in Northeast North America as either desirable or inevitable or both.

It is consistent with Vermont's traditional outlook to question the thesis that progress and "bigness" are synonymous, and, moreover, to find justification in taking the opposite direction. This bias is not prompted by nostalgia: there is an urgent need to demonstrate practical alternatives to the urban world.

Implementation of a multi-center pattern of development involves:

1. Focusing economically generative public investment in the designated regional centers. Such investment would include public participation in industrial, commercial and residential development and support of education and training facilities and programs.

2. Concentrating public health and social service programs and facilities in the regional centers.

3. Providing a range of incentives and restraints to encourage concentration of private investment and developmental activities in the regional centers.

4. Developing a transportation network designed to facilitate access to the centers from every part of the region served by the center.

Particular attention must be given to the planning of growth in these centers. To control their tendency to sprawl will require programs to revitalize traditional commercial districts, rehabilitate older residential districts and build well-designed new residential areas that preserve environmental quality.

Entire new communities and expanded villages should be developed as satellites to the regional centers. Providing housing and full range of facilities and employment opportunities for all income groups, these new villages should engage modern knowledge and technology in a
Figure 7

VERMONT
MAJOR GENERAL TRADE AREAS
1963-64

TRADE CENTER
BOUNDARY
TRADE AREA
BOUNDARY
INDEFINITE TRADE AREA

MASSACHUSETTS

NEW HAMPSHIRE

NEW YORK

CANADA

ST. JHN'BURY

ST. ALBANS

GREAT BURLINGTON

WATERBURY

MONTPELIER

WINDSOR

HANOVER

SPRINGFIELD

BELLOWS FALLS

BENNINGTON

BRATTLEBORO

ST. JOHN'S BURY

ST. ALBANS

GREAT BURLINGTON

WATERBURY

MONTPELIER

WINDSOR

HANOVER

SPRINGFIELD

BELLOWS FALLS

BENNINGTON

BRATTLEBORO

CENTRAL PLANNING OFFICE

SCALE

5 10 15 MILES

UVM RG. ENTRUM/END 6/64
demonstration that new departures in design can create a superior quality of living in an atmosphere of social and cultural stimulation. These new communities must be designed to preserve—while fully utilizing—the environmental values of Vermont.

The selection of ten centers for priority effort and investment does not mean that the smaller population centers of the State will be ignored. Many of these are already growing and prospering because of industrial, recreational or educational establishments. These activities must be supported and fostered. Some of the smaller population centers are, however, growing too rapidly and haphazardly. The desirability of such growth should be carefully considered and alternative courses sought, particularly that of the creation of distinct new communities.

Other smaller centers are experiencing decline and decay. These problem areas should be given priority in improvement of access to the regional centers. Lacking the potential for self-sustaining growth, they must seek regeneration as part of a regional center complex.

By concentrating industrial, commercial and residential expansion in regional centers, the character and quality of rural areas can be preserved. The centers will provide employment opportunity and social facilities within reach of all who wish to continue to live in the countryside. However, a conscious policy of planned and ordered growth is as vital to the rural areas as it is to the population centers. Pressures of vacation home and recreation development—and, worse, land speculation—must be met by democratically accepted designs and controls.

It is fundamental to the further sound development of every rural, suburban and urban area of Vermont that a concept of open space preservation be understood and adopted. It must be realized that there is an alternative to sprawl. Policies must be adopted to encourage concentrations of settlement—commercial, residential, industrial—encompassed by open areas to which residents have access (Figures 8 and 9). The natural beauty of Vermont can be and must be preserved and shared through adoption of developmental designs that reward density of settlement with visual enjoyment of and easy access to parkland and natural areas. Such patterns are in the
Vermont tradition.

What is required for the realization and integrated development by design is a decision and statement by Vermonters that they want progress but on their own terms. Vermont intends to control its own destiny.

In doing so, Vermonters intend to make the very best use of the State's extraordinary qualities and traditions and to follow the most promising of present trends and attitudes.

The commitment to a framework for organizing the expanding population and resources of the State could accomplish many specific objectives. It would:

- attract outside industrial and recreational investment
- reassure present investors and semi-residents of protection
- preserve the State's agricultural and forest base
- provide choice of urban, suburban and rural living throughout Vermont
- Preserve essential community life in the State
- foster rural area development on the concentration and space preservation concept that is classic to Vermont
- balance political concerns and mitigate against urban-suburban rural polarization
- Provide the setting for establishment of new towns and planned expansion of satellite villages
- promote local control and initiative within guidelines of a State consensus built on a balance of benefits from State incentives and investments.

Adoption of such a development policy will be costly, it will take time and sustained effort, it will meet vigorous opposition from selfish interests, it will mean acceptance of controls and sacrifice of absolute property rights, and it will require enormous citizen initiative.
Common areas are usually park and recreation sites but other uses—such as farming—can be as enhancing. At Starwood, a 900 acre lot sale development outside Aspen, Colorado, planners Harman, O'Donnell and Henninger laid out the bulk of the home sites on the slopes, and saved 300 acres of the meadows below as common area. Homeowners association will lease it as pasture land; cattle will provide the pastoral scene and with no charge for maintenance.
Figure 9

Excerpts from "The Common Green" brochure, fomented by Santa Clara County planners in 1961.

Village Green: original subdivision plan.

The cluster plan finally adopted.
By pursuing these objectives, Vermont can contribute significantly and substantially to the search for solutions to the national crisis — the major urban problems — in which Vermont is becoming increasingly — if unwillingly and unwittingly — involved.
THE BURLINGTON REGION

The Map of the Burlington Region illustrates the cluster theory. This shows how, if definite clusters are developed, each according to its optimum size, that it would be possible to retain the sense of community, utilize the major transportation systems already in place and develop a pattern of open space inter-penetration without giving way to suburban sprawl. The creation of new towns and expanded existing village clusters would receive the population growth instead of building up a large city at the expense of its surrounding municipalities and the rest of the State. The unique character of Vermont could be retained in a fast-developing economy.
PART III

GUIDELINES FOR INTEGRATED DEVELOPMENT

The Vermont Planning Council was created by legislation in the spring of 1967 with the purpose "that the state benefit from an integrated program for the development and effective employment of its natural and human resources and in order to promote the health, safety and general welfare of its citizens...."

The Statutes say the Council shall "act as a representative agency to initiate and coordinate state, regional and local planning activities...."

The Statute prescribes that the Governor be Chairman of the 11-member Council; that the Commissioners of Administration, Development and Highways be members ex-officio; that the Governor name an additional agency head each from the natural and human resource areas; that the House and Senate name one representative each, and that three public members be appointed by the Governor.

The same Statute created the State Planning Officer to be Director of the then existing Central Planning Office (CPO) and named the CPO as the executive staff of the Council.

The principal reasons for the creation of the Council were the following:

1. To bring together under one umbrella overall responsibility for the diverse planning efforts going forward in various state, regional and local bodies;

2. To encourage and coordinate more effective state agency planning;

3. To broaden the scope and concern of CPO planning to truly comprehensive social, environmental and economic planning

Recent Vermont planning efforts have a variety of historic sources.

Increasingly through the decade, the Federal government has been insisting on comprehensive planning as a prerequisite to project grants.

Various, on the State, regional, or local level, planning has been necessary to establish eligi-
bility for sewer, water, housing, urban renewal and recreation grants.

But local and regional planning is not primarily concerned with attracting federal investment. Currently 183 towns and cities in 14 regions have voted to undertake planning. These communities represent close to 90% of the State's population.

The real inspiration to plan would seem to be a deep concern among Vermont citizens about the future. The fast pace of change within the State, the proximity of surrounding multitudes with their potential impact on uses of Vermont land and the increasing problems of meeting - out of meager and sometimes diminishing local resources - the demands for schools, roads, welfare, recreation and health facilities in an inflationary economy.

A contributing factor to Vermont's planning interest is a general nationwide determination to make state and local government more effective. The Federal government has been struggling with a range of domestic problems pushed toward Washington in earlier decades. In the last few years, states and communities have been asked to take back responsibility for more and more of their own affairs, often in partnership with Federal agencies. Vermont, clearly, has welcomed this change.

Another element is the "information revolution" which, through technological advances, makes a gigantic reservoir of data available and provides the means of manipulating this data as the basis for studying alternative courses of future action.

To mention, finally, an important root of Vermont planning, Governor Hoff, on taking over in 1963, found himself, like Governors before him, with a budget that was all lines and figures and contained no real clue to the goals, objectives, priorities, program justifications or long-range implications of proposed expenditures.

Planning activity in Vermont is as diverse as its roots. The Vermont Planning Council was created to bring all of the elements of planning together before the Governor.

Planning is not the province or responsibility of one official or agency of state government. - It is - or should be - an activity of all agencies as well as of public, quasi-public and private
bodies on the inter-state, state, regional and local levels throughout Vermont. It involves the production of plans - often to meet Federal requirements - but its more important function is to generate imaginative and intelligent thinking about the future course of the State on a continuing basis. Planning involves coordination of state efforts, but certainly is not aimed at stifling innovation in programming by State agencies.

It is a process by which the choices facing the State can be brought to light and intelligent long-range decisions encouraged.

Planning must itself be inspired and guided by goals. The Vermont State Framework Plan is a concept of the State's future expressed as a statement of goals and as a pattern of development. This concept is drawn in general terms. Its purpose is to stimulate public discussion of the fundamental choices facing the people of Vermont.

To translate this Framework Plan into policy decisions and program action will require a broad concensus of Vermont's people.

This Framework Plan concept must be tested in public confrontation. These ideas and objectives must be challenged, revised and refined in open forums. Broad public understanding and support must be secured if this design for integrated development is to become the basis for action toward shaping the future.

It is, therefore, the intention of the Vermont Planning Council to encourage debate on this document. Regional Planning and Development Commissions will be invited to host public forums at which the Framework Plan will be presented and discussed. The 1969 Session of the General Assembly will be presented with the Framework Plan as part of the Council's biennial report in the hope that Legislators will find in it matter for critical consideration. State government agencies will be invited to advise the Council of their reactions and proposals. Those responsible for sectoral planning activities, such as comprehensive health planning, natural resource planning and law enforcement planning, will be asked to judge the applicability of the Framework Plan guidelines in their efforts.
A new administration will take over the leadership of Vermont government in 1969. It is the intention of the Council to offer this new administration a version of this Framework Plan which reflects public reaction and response to this first draft.

In 1967, The Comprehensive Plan for Outdoor Recreation in Vermont was produced by the Central Planning Office and the Interagency Committee on Natural Resources. In 1968, the Department of Administration issued the Vermont Public Investment Plan. Both documents will undergo revision in the coming year. In view of the Council, a synthesis of the Framework Plan and these two plans must be achieved. As regional plans are formulated, they should be included in this process of synthesis.

The resulting guidelines for development could then become the accepted basis for policy and program decisions on the state, regional and local levels, including those relating to capital investment priorities.

Designs for a Planning, Programming, Budget System and a Statewide Information System are to be completed by mid-1969. These systems will provide tools for the refinement and implementation of an integrated development plan on the State level.

Eight regional planning and development commissions are now engaged in funded comprehensive area planning programs. An additional six commissions are preparing programs for funding during the next eight months.

These fourteen commissions will encompass all but a scattering of Vermont’s towns. These planning and development groups provide the means of applying the concepts of the Framework Plan on a regional and local basis.

This initial attempt to spell out goals and a development design for Vermont’s future is regarded by the Vermont Planning Council as a beginning, and only a beginning. The Council is determined to provoke discussion and decision on a concept of integrated development that will guide growth and harness change to the ultimate benefit of all Vermonters.
APPENDIX

LIST OF PUBLICATIONS

Reports prepared for the State Central Planning Office as part of the Comprehensive State Planning Program (Phase I - Inventory State).

Central Planning Office

STATE PLANNING IN VERMONT

Sargent-Webster-Crenshaw & Foley

METHODS AND PROCEDURES FOR CONDUCTING MULTI-PURPOSE PLANNING SURVEYS USING ELECTRONIC DATA PROCESSING TECHNIQUES.

POPULATION - STATE OF VERMONT

LABOR FORCE - VERMONT

INCOME - STATE OF VERMONT

AN ECONOMIC ANALYSIS OF AGRICULTURE IN THE STATE OF VERMONT

POTENTIALS FOR INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT IN VERMONT

RETAIL, WHOLESALE AND SELECTED SERVICES - VERMONT

TRANSPORTATION - VERMONT

Vermont Resources Research Center - University of Vermont

#1 NATURAL AREAS - Vogelmann

#2 STATE AND LOCAL TAXATION AND FINANCE IN VERMONT - LeSourd and Sinclair

#3 THE OUTDOOR RECREATION INDUSTRY IN VERMONT - Bevins

#4 PHYSICAL, ECONOMIC, ADMINISTRATIVE REGIONS IN VERMONT - Tompkins, Miles, Baynton, Sargent
APPENDIX

#5 TRENDS IN LAND USE, 1673-1964 – Sargent

#6 VERMONT LAND CLASSES – Sykes

#7 PROJECTED LAND USE FOR AGRICULTURE – Sargent

#8 TRENDS IN VERMONT AGRICULTURE – Sykes

#9 THE RURAL LAND MARKET IN VERMONT – Sykes

#10 MIGRATION FROM FARMING IN CENTRAL VERMONT – Sykes

#11 PUBLIC HIGHER EDUCATIONAL FACILITIES IN THE STATE OF VERMONT – Bankus, Dunham, Rowell and White

#12 VERMONT RESOURCES – EXTENT, MANAGEMENT, AND DEVELOPMENT POTENTIAL – Sargent

#13 PROGRESS REPORT 1963-1964

#14 PROCEDURE FOR COMPARING VERMONT TOWNS IN TERMS OF LOCAL TAX BASE, TAXES PAID, AND EFFORT – Sinclair

Northeast Planning Associates

CORRECTIONAL INSTITUTIONS

GENERAL HEALTH, MENTAL HEALTH AND WELFARE FACILITIES

QUALITY OF LOCAL WATER SUPPLIES

NATURAL GAS, ELECTRIC AND TELEPHONE UTILITIES

LIBRARY FACILITIES

Marie Sealy

ECONOMIC IMPACT OF SELECTED COLLEGES UPON THE COMMUNITY AND REGION IN WHICH THEY ARE LOCATED.

Gebelein & Willis

THE ECONOMIC SIGNIFICANCE AND IMPACT OF PRIMARY RECREATIONAL FACILITIES ON SELECTED AREAS IN VERMONT
APPENDIX

Technical Planning Associates

RECREATIONAL SITE POTENTIAL IN VERMONT
INDUSTRIAL SITE POTENTIAL IN VERMONT

Water Resources Department

WATER SUPPLY FACILITIES AND IMPOUNDMENTS

Joseph Marshall

INTERGOVERNMENTAL PAYMENTS AND TRANSFERS

James Wilson

A BRIEF SURVEY OF STATE AND LOCAL FINANCE ADMINISTRATION IN VERMONT

Scheele & Squire

VERMONT POPULATION PROJECTIONS TO 1990

Tax Department

A PRELIMINARY REPORT ON PROPERTY TAX ASSESSMENTS IN VERMONT

Commissioner of Taxes

A REPORT OF EQUALIZATION

Central Planning Office

SUMMARY REPORT OF STUDIES – Jane Yamamoto