



# A Persistent and Spirited Controversy: The State Normal Schools and the Education of Vermonters

*Poorly financed and looked down upon by class-conscious Vermonters, the normal schools often struggled to survive. But they provided opportunities for rural women and men that could not be found elsewhere.*

BY ENNIS DULING

After the Civil War, as the nation turned to peacetime concerns, public-spirited Vermonters called for the establishment of a state school to educate teachers, a so-called normal school. Today the term *normal school* is as quaint and old-fashioned as the telegraph; but like the telegraph, the concept of teaching teachers was revolutionary in its day. Now it is easy to think of jokes (Were there also abnormal schools?). But in 1866, *normal school* was solidly part of the American vocabulary.

## A NEW INSTRUMENTALITY IN THE ADVANCEMENT OF THE RACE

The earliest American schools for teachers were sometimes referred to as *teachers seminaries*; but during the 1830s, *normal school* became

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*Vermont History* Vol. 90, No. 2 (Summer/Fall 2022): 113-146.

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widespread. The traditional explanation for the name was never entirely satisfactory. We are told that *normal* is derived from the Latin *norma*, meaning a carpenter's square, hence a rule or model, and by the nineteenth century from the French *école normale*, meaning a model school. Curiously, European normal schools were not always designed for prospective teachers, but the constant in the name *normal* was the goal of spreading knowledge throughout the population. In an address at the opening of the normal school in Barre, Massachusetts, in 1839, Governor Edward Everett explained the history of the word and concluded that the name was adopted "because it is short, and of convenient use."<sup>1</sup>

In January 1866, the *Vermont Chronicle* in Bellows Falls editorialized, "An enlightened educational policy at once suggests this Normal Institution as among the most natural, economical and important measures that can be adopted for the improvement of our common schools." That spring, an article in the *Vermont School Journal*, which was reprinted widely, asserted that "until we are ready to employ a physician who has never studied medicine, and a lawyer who has never read law, and a minister who has never studied theology, we should not consent to entrust the education of our children to untrained hands." The *Vermont Journal* in Windsor expressed outrage that the necessity for such a school was even an issue: "If our legislature were as wise as men in their position should be, they would not need to be *asked* to grant such a favor, but would not only establish one such Institute in this State, but, at least, one in every county."<sup>2</sup>

On November 17, 1866, the Vermont General Assembly designated the Orange County Grammar School in Randolph as a normal school and called for the creation of two more normal schools so that there would be an institution to educate teachers in each of what was then the state's three congressional districts. Although the assembly backed these schools with Vermont's good name, the state did not acquire the buildings and grounds or adopt a plan to exercise control over the curriculum. The schools were to be "established and maintained without any expense to the State, excepting the payment of the Board of Education for their services." Vermont was joining a national trend but doing so at the least cost possible.<sup>3</sup>

The first private school to teach teachers in the United States was opened by Samuel Read Hall in Concord, Vermont, in 1823. The first state normal school was founded in Massachusetts in 1839. By 1866 there were nineteen public normal schools in a dozen different states. For the earliest advocates, the normal school was part of the ferment of nineteenth-century reforms that promised to improve humankind. At

the dedication of a new building at Bridgewater State Normal School in 1846, Horace Mann, secretary of the Massachusetts Board of Education and a national leader in the movement for educational reform, said, "I believe the Normal school to be a new instrumentality in the advancement of the race. . . . Coiled up in this institution, as in a spring, there is a vigor whose uncoiling may wheel the spheres."<sup>4</sup>

Idealism aside, hard realities argued for a new approach to educating teachers. Early in the nineteenth century, schoolmasters had been young men, often academy or college students earning a little money before embarking on their true careers. By 1860 that pattern had changed, and young women predominated. In 1859-1860, three-quarters of the teaching in Vermont was being done by women, often teenagers. In that year, 4,885 different individuals taught in the common schools. Of those, 1,469 were inexperienced. The Civil War took male teachers off to battle, never to return to the classroom. By 1866-1867, nearly 85 percent of teaching was by women.<sup>5</sup>

After completing the local common school at age fourteen, young women faced the problem of how to continue their education. Many academies accepted girls, but the cost might be prohibitive and for some country girls the relative sophistication of their classmates might be daunting. J. Sullivan Adams of Burlington, secretary of the Vermont Board of Education from 1857 through 1867, imagined a young woman with "an inexhaustible thirst for knowledge," who teaches "in a small school in a remote district," saves her money, and enrolls in an academy until her purse is empty and she must return to the classroom, "and so again and again and again." "Many a school house, in the recesses of our green hills," he believed, "is the scene of as earnest and holy a struggle and of the exhibition of as lofty a resolution in the discharge of known duties, as ever found a wider and more observed theatre on the field of battle or legislative contest for human rights."<sup>6</sup>

Others, however, derided the "schoolma'm," who in their view was a poorly educated girl awaiting an opportunity to marry. Burke town superintendent Rev. Haynes P. Cushing put it bluntly in 1868; "Most of our teachers are females, young and inexperienced; the large proportion of them would be judged of an improper age, and unfit to marry and assume the responsibility of managing their *own* children; how much *less qualified* to take charge of twenty, thirty, or fifty children, many of whom are almost entirely unrestrained at home."<sup>7</sup>

In their 1870 reports to the Board of Education, former acting secretary Jonathan Ross and newly appointed secretary John H. French included a dozen pages of answers to exam questions at institutes for teachers. Ross wrote that he did not provide the material out of "any

desire to criticize or injure,” but both he and French were shocked. Answers included, “Dorset and Rupert and Pownal border on Lake Champlain”; “Benedict Arnold commanded the Americans at the battle of Bennington”; “Champlain first visited Vermont in 1719”; and the explorer’s full name was “John Champlain” or “Frank Champlain.” The two secretaries blamed local superintendents for lax standards and hoped that the normal schools would remedy the problem.<sup>8</sup>

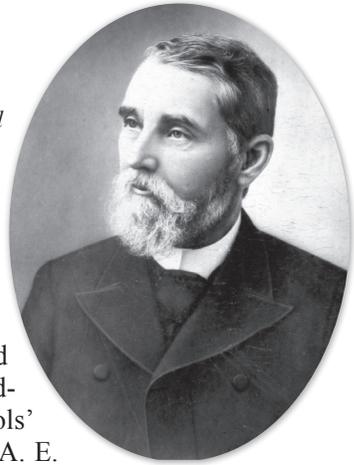
With high expectations, the Vermont normal schools began eighty years of service. This long history can be broken down into four periods: a golden age from 1867 to the mid-1890s; 1896 to 1911, during which the state increased its authority and criticism; 1911 to 1920 as the state took complete control and attempted to modernize and enlarge the schools; and 1921 to 1947 as the Department of Education oversaw teacher education programs that kept the normal-school name while striving to become colleges.

Throughout this eighty-year period, the problems that small, rural, poorly funded schools were asked to solve were enormous and the barrage of criticism they faced focused on a persistent set of questions: Was their curriculum appropriate for aspiring teachers, or were normal schools only academies or high schools by another name? Were they attracting students from across their region, or merely from their local communities? Would Vermont be better served by a single well-endowed institution? And as the rate of technological and social change increased at the turn of the twentieth century, were the schools keeping pace with the needs of Vermont and with programs in other states?

#### 1867-1890s: AN AUSPICIOUS BEGINNING

By the time the legislature established three state normal schools, the Orange County Grammar School, founded in 1806, was transforming itself into the normal school in the Second Congressional District. Johnson Academy, founded in 1828 and sometimes called the Lamoille County Grammar School, was approved as the normal school in the third district. In southwest Vermont, the first district, academies in Bristol and North Bennington expressed interest; but the academy known as Castleton Seminary, founded as the Rutland County Grammar School in 1787, triumphed because it was located where two rail lines met and because the town appropriated \$2,000 to refurbish the building that had housed the defunct Castleton Medical College. Unlike in Randolph and Johnson, Castleton planned for its academy to continue operation, which was likely a mistake. Tension existed between the seminary and the normal school. The attention of the principal was divided, and age and social class differences separated students.

Called “the father of the Vermont normal schools,” Edward Conant was the first principal at Randolph, Vermont superintendent of education, and then principal at Johnson before he returned to his beloved Randolph. Hartness Library / Vermont Technical College.



Both Randolph and Johnson opened under the guidance of exceptional leaders. In his first report since the schools’ founding, State Secretary of Education A. E. Rankin wrote that those schools had “accomplished more than their most sanguine friends had any right to expect.” Little was said of Castleton, which was struggling to find a principal with the skills, disposition, and commitment to launch the normal school.<sup>9</sup>

Randolph Principal Edward Conant is often called “the father of the normal schools of Vermont.” Born in Pomfret in 1829, he studied at Thetford Academy and then Dartmouth, although he left college to begin his career as a teacher before completing a bachelor’s degree. It was said that he struggled to gain his own education, and the effort “made him an ally of every struggling hope. And so, what boy or girl coming to his school did not find in him a friend.” He was principal at Royalton Academy and then Burlington High School before becoming principal in Randolph in 1861. In the summer of 1866, with the agreement of the local board, he began turning the academy into a normal school. Conant believed that normal schools would succeed because they could be selective in their enrollment and could concentrate on the subjects needed to teach, unlike academies that offered a range of classes so wide that instructors could not master them all. Both Middlebury College and the University of Vermont (UVM) awarded Conant honorary master’s degrees in recognition of his knowledge. In 1874, following a legislative restructuring of oversight of public education, Conant took the position of Vermont’s first state superintendent of education and continued to use his expertise and influence on behalf of the three schools.<sup>10</sup>

Johnson was also fortunate in the character of its first principal, Silas H. Pearl, who had attended Craftsbury Academy and UVM. While teaching in Danville, Québec, he was impressed by the McGill Normal School in Montréal and adopted its methods. An unnamed member of

the Vermont Board of Education reported on a visit to Johnson, “There seems to be a peculiar enthusiasm on the part of scholars in that School, which is a strong proof of the fitness of Mr. Pearl for the position he occupies.” Much later it was said of him, “He taught the classes; he swept the building; he made the fires; he rang the bell.” Pearl left Johnson in 1871 to become the first principal of Plymouth Normal School (today’s Plymouth State University) in New Hampshire. He died two years later at age forty. Today the Silas H. Pearl Medal recognizes lifetime service to PSU.<sup>11</sup>

Castleton enrolled three normal students in the spring of 1868, but they attended to prepare for the state teacher examination, not to graduate. All three took the test in Rutland and two passed. No students attended the normal school in 1869; there were three graduates in 1870.

In his 1872 report to the state board, Castleton principal Robert G. Williams, a graduate of Amherst College and Princeton Theological Seminary, admitted his lack of success. Writing in the third person, he commented, “The Principal feels that he has come so far short of the standard aimed at, that so much less than he hoped, has been accomplished, that the results seem quite insignificant.” He begged for more state support. Two years later, Williams was again defensive, blaming Randolph and Johnson for Castleton’s comparative failure. One school had enrolled the pupils from its academy—“certainly, without examination”—while the other relied heavily on local students. In 1876, caught between principals, Castleton nearly missed having statistics recorded in the biennial *Vermont School Report*. That year, Castleton Seminary closed, and enrollment in the normal school began to improve.<sup>12</sup>

When Conant became state superintendent of education in 1874, Randolph hired another notable leader, Abel E. Leavenworth, who was principal of the academy in New Haven, Vermont. Born in Charlotte in 1828, he taught in many Vermont common schools before taking the position of principal at Bolivar Male and Female Academy in Missouri, where he first replaced Mary Eveline Griggs as principal and then married her. Leavenworth taught for ten years before completing his bachelor’s degree at UVM; in 1860, he earned a master’s degree. A friend remembered him as the “embodiment of gentleness and strength.” He was “warm in his affections, stern in his integrity, deep in his sympathies, unswerving in his principles.”<sup>13</sup>

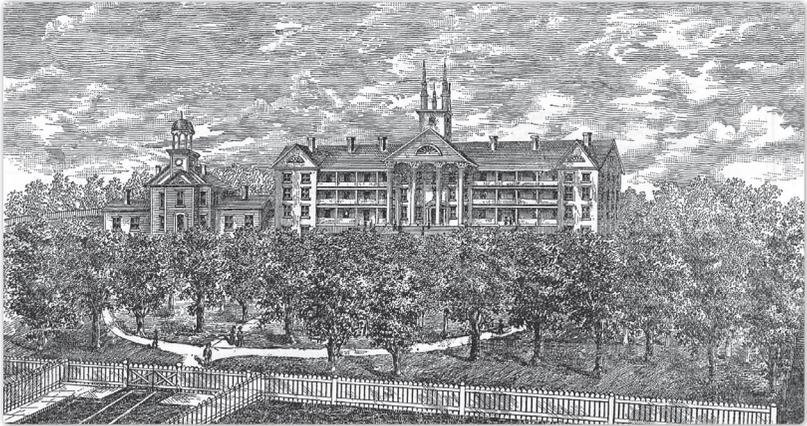
By the start of the Civil War, Leavenworth was principal and owner of Brattleboro Academy and editor of the *Vermont School Journal*, the publication of the Vermont Teachers’ Association. He encouraged his students to fight for the Union and then out of a sense of duty enlisted in Vermont’s 9th Regiment as a private, even though he was thirty-two, the

*Civil War veteran Captain Abel Leavenworth was principal of the state normal schools in both Randolph and Castleton. The Leavenworth family owned the buildings and grounds in Castleton for thirty years. Calvin Coolidge Library / Castleton University.*



father of three children with his wife again expecting. Soon Leavenworth was a sergeant and finally captain. On April 3, 1865, he led the first company of Union infantry into the Confederate capital of Richmond. Although Leavenworth's moment of glory was more footrace than feat of arms, it can still be said that a Vermont schoolteacher led the way as the rebellion collapsed. Students and colleagues, first at Randolph and then at Castleton, took pride in his service, and he was known as Captain Leavenworth for the rest of his life.<sup>14</sup>

Randolph continued to thrive under Leavenworth's administration. But when his wife died in 1879, he resigned and for two years engaged in what he called "general education work" while amusing himself collecting fossils. In 1881, he purchased the buildings and grounds at Cas-



*This engraving illustrated an 1885 Castleton brochure. The main building is the Old Seminary, built in 1829-30. It was destroyed by fire in 1924. To the left is the former Castleton Medical College building, called Normal Hall. It is in a different location today and known as the Old Chapel. Calvin Coolidge Library / Castleton University.*



*In the summer of 1875, students at Randolph were photographed in front of the normal school building, which had just been refurbished. The hall was destroyed by fire in September 1893. Hartness Library / Vermont Technical College.*

tleton. In a curious blend of public and private, the Leavenworth family was to own the state school in Castleton for the next thirty years.

Compared to the frame buildings at Randolph and Johnson, Castleton had impressive facilities—at least from a distance. The main building, which came to be known as the Old Seminary, was a magnificent three-story brick structure built in 1829-1830 that could seemingly grace any college campus. It was flanked by the frame Medical College building, called Normal Hall, which was topped by a cupola. But the Old Seminary was always a white elephant, too large for Castleton's needs, and both buildings suffered from deferred maintenance.<sup>15</sup>

Randolph's building was refurbished and enlarged in 1875, then again in 1893, but it burned in September of that year when the barn of the adjoining Maplewood Hotel caught fire. The school moved into the town hall, but nine days later it too burned. Finally in February 1894, classes moved into a new schoolhouse, which Edward Conant, once again principal, reported was "a larger and better building than we lost."<sup>16</sup> But the new building was no more than an 1890s-style schoolhouse, indistinguishable from those built by many towns around the turn of the century.

#### THE AMBITIOUS YOUTH OF THE LAND

Vermont's normal schools were established to educate teachers and to improve the common schools; but from the start young women and men used their normal school educations for other purposes. Finding unintended opportunities in a normal-school education was also a national trend. Writing in the *Atlantic Monthly* in 1898, Frederic Burk—

soon to be the first president of San Francisco Normal School—found much that was stagnant in the normal schools of the 1890s. But there had been a time when the schools attracted the “ambitious youth of the land,” he wrote. “The normal school was to them a sort of convenient compromise for the college. At that period, also, there were no colleges for women, and the normal school was woman’s one educational opportunity.” The term *college* exaggerates the Vermont schools’ role, but there is an element of truth in it. At their best, the early Vermont normal schools filled a niche similar to that of community colleges today, providing accessible education that could lead to employment.<sup>17</sup>

Today colleges speak of first-generation students—those who are the first in their families to attend college. Normal school students were often first generation in a broader sense, the first in their families to go beyond the one-room schoolhouse. They passed an examination before entrance and had goals in pursuing their education. They cultivated a reputation of being mature. Castleton principal Edward Hyde, who followed Principal Williams, claimed that “the frivolousness and false notions of life which sometimes creep into young ladies’ boarding schools . . . are comparatively unknown.” Many students were older than those at academies. In 1882, for instance, the average age of Johnson students “when enrolled” was nineteen.<sup>18</sup>

Photographs of early classes at all three Vermont schools show women and men in their best clothing, looking serious and professional. Pride and fellowship are unmistakable. The schools were small institutions by modern standards. In the mid-1870s, enrollment at Randolph



*The summer 1872 graduating class at the State Normal School at Randolph was a mix of women and men preparing to teach but also having other career aspirations. Hartness Library / Vermont Technical College.*

averaged slightly more than 150, Johnson and Castleton about fifty each. In 1875, fifty-nine students graduated from Randolph's two courses of study, fourteen from Johnson, and twenty-seven from Castleton.<sup>19</sup>

The young women who attended the Vermont schools were often country girls of limited means and modest backgrounds. Charles H. Stearns—student at Johnson in the early days, businessman, Vermont lieutenant governor (1904-1906), secretary of the Johnson board of trustees, and defender of the schools—recalled, “Why, in times past I have seen girls come in there at Johnson—and you have probably seen it here [at Castleton]—on a load of wood, with their bedding piled on top and food to cook for themselves so they could train themselves for teaching. And those girls wore woolen stockings and cowhide shoes. And I have seen those girls come out the best teachers the state ever had.” But the students were always more diverse than any simple class divisions, any rural-urban or “uphill-downhill” divide. Several of the most notable graduates in any era attended during the early normal-school years.<sup>20</sup>

Evelyn M. Wood of Pomfret graduated from the first course at Randolph in the fall of 1867 at age twenty and completed the second course the next year. She taught school for twenty-two terms before marrying Dr. Daniel Webster Lovejoy of South Royalton and as was expected at the time, ending her teaching career. When he died in 1880, Evelyn, now age thirty-three, returned to the schoolhouse and then studied for a year at Wellesley College before becoming principal of Royalton Academy. She went on to be high school principal and superintendent of city schools in Aberdeen, South Dakota. She earned a bachelor's degree at the University of Chicago and studied at the University of Berlin. She taught at St. Cloud (Minnesota) Normal School and in schools in Helena, Montana. She found time to write a novel, *Dandelion or Out of the Shadows* (1899). On her return to Royalton in 1906, she again served as principal of the academy and took on the task of writing the town history, which is a model of how to write local history.<sup>21</sup>

Helen M. Winslow of Westfield graduated from Johnson in 1872 at age twenty-one. Although her family was not wealthy, she was a descendant of the brother of a governor of the Plymouth Colony. Her father was an accomplished musician and composer; her mother was a poet. Winslow taught one term and then worked as a telegraph operator before beginning a career as a journalist, editor, novelist, and poet. In 1921, she told the Vermont house and senate education committees, “If it hadn't been for the Johnson normal school, which gave us poor girls a chance to get an education without going to the big cities, I don't know how we would ever got [*sic*] one. I know that whatever

*Helen Winslow of Westfield graduated from the State Normal School at Johnson in 1872. She was a noted Boston journalist, poet, and novelist. In 1921, she testified on behalf of the normal schools before the Vermont house and senate education committees. From A Woman of the Century (1893).*



success I may have had owes much to the grounding I got in Johnson.” An 1893 biographical dictionary of “Leading American Women in All Walks of Life” noted that her writing had been published in “almost every Boston daily.” Her books came later. *Concerning Cats: My Own and Some Others* (1900) is a charming series of essays on cats, including her favorite, Pretty Lady. Winslow’s novel *A Woman for Mayor* (1909) tells of Miss Gertrude Van Deusen, who takes the unprecedented step of running for mayor of the city of Roma to oust a corrupt administration.<sup>22</sup>

In the early days, applicants to the normal school could be as young as fifteen, but Lucy Langdon Williams, who had been a student at Castleton Seminary, graduated from the normal school in 1878 when she was thirteen and already able to pass the teacher certification examination. Her great-grandfather Samuel Williams was a founder of the *Rutland Herald*; her grandfather Charles K. Williams was chief justice of the Vermont Supreme Court and governor (1850-1852). When Lucy’s family moved to Philadelphia, she graduated from Philadelphia High and Normal School for Girls and then earned a PhD at the University of Pennsylvania. Unlike many career women at the time, she married and raised a family. As Lucy Langdon Williams Wilson, she wrote about education, nature, history, art, and her own life and opinions. She was head of the biology department at Philadelphia Normal School and was the first woman to direct an archaeological excavation in the American Southwest.<sup>23</sup>

Mary A. Willard, who was born in Landgrove, attended two Vermont normal schools. At twenty-five, she was part of the small 1868 class at Castleton, and then continued her normal studies at Randolph. After teaching and then training as a nurse, she earned a homeopathic medical degree at New York Medical College and Hospital for Women. By the

turn of the century, she was a prominent figure in Detroit, an authority on health issues and a leader of the city's Women's Christian Temperance Union and Equal Suffrage Association.<sup>24</sup>

In their first decades, the Vermont normal schools attracted men who wished to prepare for college, professional studies, business, or modern farming. The mix of women and men was something new in education. For the first time, women were in the majority in a career-oriented, co-educational institution. Until well into the twentieth century, the principals were men, who taught advanced subjects, but the remainder of the faculty was unmarried women, most of whom had studied at normal schools. Their impact may be hidden, although it was undoubtedly great. They were role models for their female students and a revelation to men.<sup>25</sup>

The presence of men contradicts many assumptions about normal schools and is largely overlooked. In fact, ten of the first twenty graduates at Randolph were men. Two became doctors, four businessmen, and one a college professor and lawyer. Two died young, one while studying law. Although these men taught at least briefly, only one had a lengthy career as a teacher and principal, but by the time the school's 1885 *Alumni Record* was published, he was practicing law in West Burke. In its first ten years, Randolph graduated 362 students from the first course (251 women and 111 men) and forty-six from the more advanced course (twenty-five women and twenty-one men). At Johnson during Silas Pearl's principalship, fifteen of the ninety-five graduates were men, often going on to professional careers. Castleton enrolled few male students in the earliest years, but during the 1880s, men thrived under Principal Leavenworth. In the first ten years of his administration, nearly 30 percent of the graduates were men. At Castleton's twenty-fifth anniversary celebration in June 1893, nonalcoholic toasts were offered to "the normal graduate as a 'Knight of the Grip'" (sales and businessman) and to "the normal graduate as a college man." Vermont normal-school men could be found across the country, raising sheep in Colorado, banking in Idaho, editing a newspaper in Wisconsin, and curing raisins in California. One graduate was an engineer at Chicago's Columbian Exposition; another was a draftsman at the Baldwin Locomotive Company in Philadelphia.<sup>26</sup>

The Vermont state normal schools were flexible out of necessity. Despite the name, they were largely private, entrepreneurial institutions, carving out a place for themselves in a rapidly changing educational landscape. But as valuable as twenty-first-century Vermonters might see the normal schools' role in educating rural women and men, they were not established to prepare men for college or business or to edu-

cate women for life outside the schoolroom. As the Board of Education asserted in 1870, "If Normal Schools were instituted, as some seem to think, for the purpose of higher instruction in some indefinite way, or for the purpose of bringing the art of instruction to perfection, or for any other amateur work, the proposal to endow them at the public expense would be an impertinence. Their purpose is to train teachers for the public schools."<sup>27</sup>

To that end, in January 1871 the Vermont Board of Education, with the advice of the three principals, designed a curriculum. The first course included arithmetic, history, the constitutions of the United States and Vermont, penmanship, orthography, single-entry book-keeping, and composition, among other subjects. Geography stressed map drawing. Mental arithmetic was important, as were elocution and "vocal culture." The second or advanced course added algebra, double-entry bookkeeping, physiology, sciences, and a choice of two subjects from a list that included astronomy, chemistry, surveying, evidences of Christianity, rhetoric, and intellectual and moral philosophy. Literature was rooted in the distant and uncontroversial past and included the essays of Francis Bacon and Milton's *Paradise Lost*. "No studies not laid down in the two courses of study, will be pursued in the Normal Schools," the board declared. No mention was made of pedagogy or how to teach.<sup>28</sup>

In 1878 the legislature passed an act mandating that "no foreign languages, ancient or modern, shall be a subject of instruction in any normal school." In the view of the legislature, languages were the sphere of academies and high schools and a prerequisite for college—and therefore not necessary.<sup>29</sup>

The Castleton catalog from 1879-1880 shows a course of study through two years that follows the board's curriculum. Psychology was added to the subjects. *How to Teach* by Kiddle, Harrison, and Calkins was an assigned textbook. Lead author Henry Kiddle was the superintendent of schools in New York City. By 1882, Johnson was stressing "pedagogy" in a student's second or "professional" year.<sup>30</sup>

At a time when the common schools provided the only formal education most Vermonters received, teachers needed to be able to teach everything from the ABCs and simple arithmetic to formal writing, world geography, and algebra. Examination questions for graduation and for teaching certification were published in the Vermont school reports from the 1860s into the 1880s, so it is possible to get a sense of what information and skills the earliest normal students learned. The questions come from a world in which specifics had to be memorized, not looked up in an encyclopedia or online; maps were drawn by hand; and

calculations were made mentally or with pencil and paper. Today some questions may strike us as straight from a fiendish edition of *Trivial Pursuit*, but others reveal the useful knowledge of an earlier age.<sup>31</sup>

A merchant sold broadcloth at 5 per cent less than the marked price, and yet made a profit of 25 per cent. At what per cent advance on cost were the goods marked?

Through what waters will a ship pass, in a voyage from Quebec to Canton, via Cape of Good Hope?

Draw a map of Vermont 6 in. long, showing the principal rivers and mountain peaks, and the location of each shire town with the name of the same.

Miss Mary Bowen wishes to invite Ellen Jones to meet a few friends at her house next Tuesday evening. Write the note of invitation.

What is the length of rope that must be tied to a horse's neck that he might feed over an acre?

The difference in time between New York and San Francisco is 3h. 14m. 41sec. What is the difference in longitude? [This question was posed in 1879. Time zones were not introduced until 1883.]

Give your views of the necessity of corporal punishment.

Name the rulers of England, and the houses to which they belong, since the Norman conquest.

By what means will you secure the ventilation of a school room which has no provision for that purpose?

Then as now, there was always a danger of instructors "teaching to the test" or preparing students for the examination rather than building a foundation of knowledge and skills. In 1882, Dr. Thomas Goodwillie, superintendent in Vernon, called it a "cramming process." "Wonderful scholars are turned out without any aim, balance, or comprehension of life's duties—mere book-worms, walking dictionaries or cyclopaedias."<sup>32</sup>

But Miss Fannie C. Taylor, a graduate of Randolph normal school and later "lady principal" of Fair Haven Graded School, described her experiences teaching at Castleton. Her subjects included spelling, geography, orthographic drawing, and Shakespeare. "It has been our aim to make practical the work done. We have not confined ourselves to the textbook, but have investigated other fields, seldom failing of reward."<sup>33</sup>

#### ESTABLISHING THREE SCHOOLS WAS A "DEPLORABLE MISTAKE"

In 1870 the Vermont Board of Education praised teachers at Johnson and Randolph, but also called for a single normal school, "thoroughly provided with means for its work." By 1874, the board was convinced the three schools were "feeble" and beset with "difficulties and embarrassments." It had been a "deplorable mistake" not to concentrate the state's efforts on one liberally endowed school. The board asked why

the state was supporting normal schools at all when academies in Vermont supplied more teachers, and students looking for a quality education often attended normal schools in other states?<sup>34</sup>

The question of how many normal schools there should be was perennial, debated well into the twentieth century and with echoes today as the Vermont State Colleges System seeks to unify institutions under the name Vermont State University. It was said the normal schools could barely survive financially; they were in fact local, not regional or statewide institutions; and rather than provide a unique education for future teachers, they competed with high schools and academies in teaching traditional subjects. By the twentieth century, opponents of the three schools pointed out that rural communities did not have the population to offer students an extensive student teaching experience.

In the beginning the Vermont legislature intended to give no financial support, but in 1868 five hundred dollars was appropriated for each school. The amount increased gradually, and the terms of the appropriation changed so that by 1892 each school was receiving \$2,500 plus twenty scholarships. But whatever the amount, it was never enough.<sup>35</sup>

By 1888, the three schools together had graduated 1,450 students, more than half of them from Randolph. But the benefits were not spread equally around the state. More than a quarter of Castleton graduates came from the town of Castleton; a similar proportion of Johnson graduates were residents of that town. Local students made up a smaller percentage at Randolph, but the total of 162 graduates from the town of Randolph was the highest by far for any town in the state.<sup>36</sup>

Supporters of the schools argued that the number of graduates did not tell the whole story. Abel Leavenworth maintained, "Many attend for a part of the course and then engage in teaching. So great is the demand for their services, it is difficult, oftentimes, for them to get away from their schools so as to return and complete the course." In 1888 when there were nearly four thousand teachers in the common schools, 554 of them had attended a Vermont normal school at least for a time.<sup>37</sup>

Vermont never allowed the schools to become complacent in their designation as *state* schools. In 1870 their status was extended to 1875; then in 1874 at a time of mounting controversy over their future, they were continued to 1880. Leavenworth recalled, "In 1878 a strong effort was made to abolish the three schools and establish one in their stead. I was at the time principal of much the largest school at Randolph. A most searching investigation was made. Most of the members of the joint committees of the two houses visited at Randolph, driving over the hills from Montpelier in carriages so as to take us by surprise. (Had we been informed of their coming, not an exercise of the school would have been changed because of their visit.)" The joint committee praised

Leavenworth for his work. The schools were continued to 1890, then to 1900. Finally in 1898, the legislature extended the schools until 1920, although the debate about their status did not subside.<sup>38</sup>

In 1896, the legislature created a five-person board of normal school examiners, supervisors, and commissioners, which had the responsibility of establishing curriculum, determining entrance and graduation standards, and hiring and firing staff. For the first time, the state normal schools were largely under state control.<sup>39</sup>

By then the old guard was losing its authority. In the spring of 1892, Abel Leavenworth suffered a stroke. His sons rallied around the old man and the family business. Philip, the youngest, who had just graduated from Yale and planned to study law, came home as assistant principal and in 1897, after his father's retirement, became Castleton's principal. Abel died on June 3, 1901, at seventy-two. The *Fair Haven Era* ran his obituary on page one under the headline "End of a Long and Useful Life!" and called upon "the youths of Vermont . . . to read and pattern after the life of the subject of this sketch."<sup>40</sup>

Edward Conant served as Vermont superintendent of education from 1874 to 1880 and then for three years was principal at Johnson before he returned to his beloved Randolph. He wrote textbooks for Vermont schools. *Geography, History and Civil Government of Vermont* (1890) was issued in many editions and came to be known simply as *Conant's Vermont*. *The Vermont Primary Historical Reader and Lessons on the Geography of Vermont, with Notes on Civil Government* (1895) was for younger students and had illustrations on nearly every page.<sup>41</sup>

By the 1890s, however, Conant was no longer at the forefront. On the question of student teaching—increasingly seen as the key to teacher education—he wrote in 1896, "We are able to give a small amount of this practice by bringing children from the public school before our classes during the last term of their study." Conant died on January 5, 1903, at seventy-three. In a memorial address, Walter E. Howard—former Castleton principal (1876-1878), president of the Board of Normal School Commissioners, and political science professor at Middlebury College—called Conant a great teacher: "No man of his generation, or of any generation, appreciated his profession better, valued its opportunities higher, counted its duties greater, deserved its honors more."<sup>42</sup>

#### 1896-1911: TEACHING THE "YEOMANRY OF THE LAND"

Beginning in 1897 and continuing for a decade, the three Vermont state normal schools were promoted through a single photo-illustrated brochure that described a uniform curriculum. A one-year preparatory course for students as young as fourteen was followed by a two-year "lower course," leading to a teaching certificate valid for five years. A

one-year “higher course,” included, among other subjects, algebra, advanced sciences, commercial law, and even Latin. “The work of the normal school is distinctive,” read the 1903 pamphlet. “It is professional rather than academical, and is, therefore, to be distinguished from the secondary or elementary school. . . . It is not the rival of the high school or academy.” Tuition was free for Vermonters, but there were charges for incidentals and room and board.<sup>43</sup>

By 1900 Castleton had pulled ahead in enrollment and number of graduates, but the three schools together supplied only eighty-four new graduates that year through their lower course.<sup>44</sup>

Men were now a rarity. In 1903, Castleton student Eva Marion Pierce of Cream Hill in Shoreham described the dynamic in the school magazine, *The Normal Student*:

He wasn't a king, though he held his head  
As high as the haughtiest king,  
And he stalked about with a lordly air  
And a proud and pompous swing.

He wasn't a king or an emperor  
Though built on the royal plan;  
There were forty girls at Normal Hall  
And he was the only man.<sup>45</sup>

By the second decade of the century, the Vermont schools were entirely female. Although education officials could be circumspect in dis-



*By the second decade of the twentieth century, Vermont normal school students were all young women. This photo shows the Castleton class of 1915. Within a few years, normal school enrollment in Vermont and across the country plummeted. Calvin Coolidge Library / Castleton University.*

.....

cussing social class differences, there is no doubt that normal school students were perceived as coming from less educated, less influential families.

Early in the century, the reports from the schools had a defensive tone. The principals seemed to be running as fast as they could but falling further behind. Every book added to the library, every newly acquired piece of laboratory equipment, seemed to be a triumph. Details of improvements often revealed how far the schools had to go. From 1904 to 1906, Castleton took a step forward with the installation of indoor plumbing, a sewer, and a pipe to conduct "pure mountain spring water" into the main building "at no expense to the State." But the Old Seminary building was still being heated by numerous small woodstoves in the rooms of the boarders as it had been more than half a century earlier. For all three schools, maintenance could not be a priority. In 1906 Johnson principal Edward Collins confessed, "The trustees of the Lamoille County Grammar School, whose building is inhabited by the State Normal School, expend upon it more than their revenue, but the old building wears out rather faster than it can thus be renewed."<sup>46</sup>

Nationally, the first decade of the twentieth century was the height of the normal school movement. In 1906, there were 181 public normal schools in forty-two states and three territories, educating nearly 60,000 students. The Vermont normal school principals must have despaired to see photographs of the imposing normal buildings elsewhere and to study state appropriations for the education of teachers, which were published by the federal government. No adjustment for population, enrollment, or number of campuses made Vermont look good. The Vermont commissioners addressed the question of facilities: "Compared to the educational palaces which shelter the normal schools of larger and wealthier states these seem humble and even meager. But buildings do not make a school, and while magnificent buildings and ornamental grounds are undoubtedly inspiring and educative, good teachers and enthusiastic and ambitious pupils will make a good school anywhere."<sup>47</sup>

The normal schools faced unceasing criticism from the Vermont superintendent of education, Mason S. Stone. He had been state superintendent from 1892 to 1901 and then served as superintendent of schools in Manila, Philippines, which was a U.S. colony following the Spanish-American War, before returning to the Vermont superintendent position in 1905. Stone was a Progressive, a proponent of efficiency and modern thought. He believed that school lighting, seating, heating, and ventilation should all be "scientifically correct," but he found everything to be substandard in the three Vermont normal schools. Teachers were poorly paid; admission standards and the preparation of students were low, as was enrollment; the curriculum was inadequate; and opportunity for

student teaching was limited by the rural location of the schools. "All of the buildings are inadequate for present purposes and are much inferior to many of the school buildings of Vermont villages," he wrote in 1908. By that year each school was receiving \$7,500 per year from state revenues. Stone commented, "No other state north of Mason and Dixon's line and east of the Mississippi River treats its normal schools in such an impecunious manner."<sup>48</sup>

Stone was instrumental in building Vermont's twentieth-century educational system, but his contempt for young women still drips from the pages of his reports. He comes across as a colonial administrator who is certain he knows how to civilize the backward people in his charge, in this case country girls. In his 1908 report, he expressed outrage at the "mental deformities produced at the hands of crude and callow girls." Two years later he wrote, "The so-called teaching by some unfledged and untrained girls seems a travesty." And he refused to grant that teachers were striving to succeed in a challenging profession. "All young women employed in teaching intend and expect to marry. . . . Therefore teaching is not a life work and, consequently, not a profession." He favored what he called "sub-normals," programs in high schools and academies that could graduate great numbers of young women with some training so they could teach for a few years before marriage. He was dismayed that married women were increasingly found in the classroom.<sup>49</sup>

In his retirement, Stone wrote a history of education in Vermont in which he refought the old battles and proved to his own satisfaction that he was right all along. He devoted nearly thirty pages to the deficiencies of the normal schools, terming them "the chief obstruction to the educational welfare of the children and the educational progress of the State." He marshaled decades of statistics and opinions in his cause, writing, "the collision between three normal school localities and the welfare of 60,000 school children of Vermont . . . [was] the most persistent and spirited educational controversy since the organization of the State's educational system."<sup>50</sup>

As the debate raged in 1910, the State Board of Education came to the defense of normal school students. Board president Walter Howard wrote, "Let it be remembered that they [normal school students] are the product of Vermont people and Vermont homes, and while they are not, as a general rule, from the wealthy families, yet they do fairly represent the yeomanry of the land and any criticism based upon them is a criticism upon our own people." He cited the example of a young woman who milked ten cows at the family farm to save the cost of a hired man so that the money could go for her normal school education. "Some people might consider that a thing for mirth, contempt and ridicule but

it seems to us that it is a matter of pride and commendation, with a touch of the pathetic.”<sup>51</sup>

#### 1911-1920: THE NORMAL SCHOOLS SHOULD BE CLOSED

In 1910, with little opposition, the General Assembly voted to close the normal school in Randolph and replace it with an agricultural school. Superintendent Stone reported that the Randolph normal school was unable “to meet the uncompromising requirements in training facilities whereby the institution would be both economic and efficient.” The last normal school class graduated in June 1911; the agricultural school admitted fifty-two students in September. In the same session, the General Assembly authorized the construction of a dormitory at Johnson, not to exceed \$12,000, and leased to the state all that school’s property for ninety-nine years. The state board was empowered to purchase the grounds and buildings at Castleton for a sum not to exceed \$20,000. When these transactions were complete, for the first time the state could be said to own the normal schools.<sup>52</sup>

The legislature also provided for as many as fifteen one-year teacher-training courses at high schools and academies. Most significant for the future of higher education was the teacher education program established in a single room on the third floor of Thompson Hall at Lyndon Institute in Lyndon Center.<sup>53</sup>

Now the state faced the problem of how to improve facilities, raise admission and graduation standards, increase enrollment, and provide classroom observation and practice for every student. The change in governance coincided with a low point in enrollment. The members of the Board of Education were all new and optimistic, perhaps naive. They reported in 1912, “We rejoice in the progress made and believe that our normal schools were never so deserving of commendation and of our patronage.” Admission was soon open only to those who had completed secondary school. The legislature appropriated \$10,000 for repairs and improvements to Castleton’s facilities, \$7,000 of which was designated for a modern steam heating plant.<sup>54</sup>

That same year, the legislature authorized creation of a nine-member commission to study Vermont’s entire educational system. Chaired by Vermont Supreme Court Associate Justice John H. Watson, the commission included the president of Columbia University, the mayor of Montpelier, the president of the Vermont Teachers’ Association, and the president of AT&T, Theodore N. Vail, who was a benefactor of education in Lyndon, where his estate was located. For expertise, the commission turned to the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching. The *New York Times* summarized the findings in a banner headline on February 15, 1914: “First state school survey bares grave defects.”<sup>55</sup>

.....

The foundation's three experts—Edward C. Elliot of the University of Wisconsin, Milo B. Hillegas of Teachers College, Columbia University, and William S. Learned of the Harvard School of Education—found inadequacies everywhere from salaries, equipment, and textbooks to the horse-drawn sleighs and wagons that preceded school buses for transporting students. But their harshest criticism was aimed at the normal schools. Castleton's facilities were so "poorly arranged and indifferently equipped" that "there is a serious doubt of the desirability of expending any more money on these buildings." At Johnson the "housing, equipment, and general material arrangements" were better, but taken together the two normal schools had little impact on the teacher shortage. They should be closed and "all available funds and energy devoted to developing and improving the training classes and to providing better salaries for elementary teachers."<sup>56</sup>

The two schools fought back. Castleton principal Charles A. Adams, who had bachelor's and master's degrees from Middlebury College and had studied at Johns Hopkins, published a pamphlet entitled "Facts and Questions Regarding Vermont's Normal Schools." He argued that the Carnegie study was flawed, the commission did not give the normal schools a hearing on the charges against them, and most superintendents favored the continuation of the schools. In their 1914 reports to state education officials, both Adams and Johnson principal Archibald G. Peaks, who held two doctorate degrees from New York University, cited encouraging statistics. In September 1913, the entering class at Castleton was fifty-three, forty-eight of whom were high school graduates. Thirty different towns were represented. At Johnson sixty-three students were enrolled in 1913-1914 from twenty-three towns and eleven counties.<sup>57</sup>

By then, a normal school education was focused on how and what to teach younger children. While there was some review of academic subjects, the curriculum stressed music, drawing, sewing, cooking, "hygiene and sanitation," and "morals and manners." The Castleton brochure for 1914 told prospective students, "Every subject which they study, has but one object—their preparation for the *Profession of Teaching*."<sup>58</sup>

Despite uncertainty and continued opposition, the normal schools may have been on a path to stability, but World War I intervened. In an industrialized, mobilized economy, young women had many employment opportunities. In 1916 the normal schools and training classes had approximately 400 students; in 1918 the number dropped to 250. Commissioner of Education Milo Hillegas, who had been an expert for the Carnegie study, explained, "Normal schools throughout the country

have suffered great losses in students. Our own schools are not exceptions in this respect.”<sup>59</sup>

In 1919 a bill was introduced in the Vermont House of Representatives to extend the schools’ charters to 1940, but it did not gain support. The Board of Education wrote, “In sincerity and sympathy it [the board] undertook to promote these institutions as superior teacher-training agencies. Notwithstanding, the student bodies gradually lessened.” Since the legislature refused to recharter the schools, “on August 1st, 1920, they ceased to exist as state normal schools.”<sup>60</sup>

#### 1921-1947: WE KEEP ALIVE OUR “MORIBUND” NORMAL SCHOOLS

In 1921, the Vermont General Assembly came close to establishing a teachers college in Burlington. The proposal, which was made by the State Board of Education with assistance from Teachers College, Columbia University, came with an offer from the Carnegie Foundation of \$100,000 for construction. The controversy that followed can be viewed as the house versus the senate, rural towns against Burlington, or supporters of the two recently closed normal schools against UVM. At a personal level, the dispute was between Representative Charles Stearns of Johnson, sponsor of a house bill to reopen the normal schools, and Mason Stone, who had just completed a term as lieutenant governor. Stearns told Florence Ransom, who chaired the committee to restore the school in Castleton, “When I get to thinking how dastardly mean the two schools have been treated, it makes my blood fairly boil.” He believed that he had driven two thousand miles around the state to rally support and that the press had charged him with “all the crimes of the decalogue.”<sup>61</sup>

The memorable witness at a February 1921 joint House and Senate Education Committee meeting was Boston writer Helen M. Winslow, who was there at the behest of Stearns, a classmate at Johnson fifty years earlier. She told lawmakers and a crowded house and gallery, “I beg of you to give the poor girls of Vermont the opportunity to get an education within the reach of their purses, so they will be willing to go back to the small towns and raise the standard of living in Vermont.” Pro-teachers-college witnesses included UVM President Guy W. Bailey and Florence M. Wellman, secretary of the Vermont Teachers Association.<sup>62</sup>

The legislative session was nearly over before a compromise was reached. The state board was authorized to establish three to five “two-year teacher training courses” and an unspecified number of one-year courses at high schools and academies. The contentious terms *teachers*

*college* and *normal school* did not appear in the law. Burlington, Castleton, and Johnson were not mentioned.<sup>63</sup>

Initially, the two-year programs were held at UVM, in the village of Castleton “in the Normal School building,” and in Lyndon Center at Lyndon Institute, where a one-year course had been offered since 1911. Twenty-two one-year programs were also established. In the beginning of the new era, Johnson hosted a one-year course in the normal school facilities and then in 1925 increased it to two. The courses were to be “conducted by the State Department of Education of Vermont.” The curriculum was closely prescribed and stressed teaching methods in all academic subjects: Arithmetic and Methods, English and Methods, Hygiene and Methods, etc.<sup>64</sup>

But what kind of programs were they? At first, the biennial reports from the State Board of Education avoided capitalizing *normal school*, signifying a break with the institutions that closed in 1920. These programs were normal-school (or training) *courses*, not *schools*. But at Castleton there was never a doubt that the course was a rebirth of the school that closed in 1920, although with a slight name change. Locally and in documents, it was referred to as Castleton Normal School, not the State Normal at Castleton. Gradually, the upper case returned to the reports of the Board of Education.<sup>65</sup>



*From its founding as a one-year program in 1911 until 1947, Lyndon Normal School utilized the facilities of Lyndon Institute. After Thompson Hall burned in 1922, Lyndon Institute and the normal school moved into this new brick building. Vermont Historical Society.*

The program at Lyndon Institute had the advantage of being based at a respected private academy with excellent facilities. When fire destroyed the institute's main building, Thompson Hall, in January 1922, a fine brick building was constructed and dedicated by the end of the year.

Castleton and Johnson were hampered by the same problems that had afflicted the normal schools from the beginning: limited resources and facilities and a continuing condescension by some toward the young women the schools served. The *Rutland Herald* put this point of view succinctly: Castleton catered "to the requirements of the calico-attired country girl of limited means whose only hope to earn a livelihood [is] by teaching in the 'little red school house' back home."<sup>66</sup>

When Johnson Normal School principal Ralph Jenkins (1928-1935) gave a toast at the New England dinner during the 1934 National Education Association convention in Washington, he began by quoting from Dorothy Canfield Fisher's well-known essay "Vermont: Our Rich Little Poor State." Like Fisher, his theme was Vermont's old-time Yankee virtues of self-reliance and thriftiness. Tongue-in-cheek, he commented, "We keep alive our 'moribund' normal schools and won't even take the trouble to find out what a teachers college is." Then in a serious note, he added, "We have taken greater strides in teacher-training during the past dozen years in comparison with where we were in 1922 than any other state in the union." Jenkins had a PhD from New York University and had been principal at Burr and Burton Academy in Manchester and Black River Academy in Ludlow. He was responsible for the "Johnson Plan for Vitalized Teaching," which received favorable coverage in the Vermont press.<sup>67</sup>

Jenkins's counterparts—Caroline Woodruff at Castleton and Rita Bole at Lyndon—deserve to be high on any list of distinguished Vermont educators. Woodruff and Bole were confident and persistent, exercising authority in ways that women seldom had before them. Both saved their institutions from closing and built the foundation for modern colleges.

Woodruff (principal, 1921-1940) was born in West Burke in 1866. Her father was a farmer, but she was no unsophisticated country girl. She was educated at St. Johnsbury Academy and then the State Normal School at Johnson. She was the last of Vermont's prominent educators to have never completed a bachelor's degree. For twenty-eight years, she was a teacher and principal at the Union Graded School in St. Johnsbury. In 1914-1915, she was the first woman president of the Vermont State Teachers Association (today's Vermont National Education Association). She taught at Johnson normal school and served as superintendent of schools in southern Essex County. She was taking classes at Teachers College, Columbia University, when she was asked by Education Commissioner Clarence Dempsey to lead the restructured Castleton program.

*Caroline Woodruff, Castleton principal from 1921 to 1940, was described as having the traits of Dowager Queen Mary of England and Tom Sawyer's Aunt Polly. She led a reborn normal school as it grew in enrollment and offered three-year and then four-year programs that had similarities to those of colleges. She served as president of the National Education Association. Calvin Coolidge Library / Castleton University.*



When fire destroyed the Old Seminary building in January 1924, and there was once again talk of opening a teachers college in Burlington or perhaps Rutland, she rallied the Castleton community, quoting a biblical passage from Haggai: "And the glory of the latter house shall be greater than that of the former." The verse became a defining statement in the history of the school.<sup>68</sup>

A profile in the *Rutland Herald* described Woodruff as combining "several of the best traits of Dowager Queen Mary of England and Tom Sawyer's Aunt Polly." She had high aspirations for Castleton students and for herself. A cultural history of the 1920s and 1930s could be written based on the writers, artists, actors, musicians, and activists who spoke and performed at her request. A partial list includes Robert Frost, Dorothy Canfield Fisher, Norman Rockwell, Pearl S. Buck, Helen Keller, and polar explorer Richard Byrd. Students sat at her table in the dining hall with trepidation, knowing she would expect refined manners and polite conversation. When she was awarded an honorary doctorate of education by Norwich University, she relished being known as *Dr. Woodruff*.<sup>69</sup>

In 1937, Woodruff was elected president of the National Education Association (NEA). In the spring of 1938, she was an overnight guest in the White House and introduced Helen Keller at the annual meeting of the American Association of School Administrators in Atlantic City. As president of the NEA, she arranged for President and Eleanor Roosevelt to address the association's convention in New York in July 1938. With war looming, the theme of the convention was "The Responsibility of Education in Promoting World Citizenship."<sup>70</sup>

Rita Bole (principal 1927-1947; president, 1947-1955) did not gain a national reputation, but her impact on the school in Lyndon and its



*Rita Bole was principal of Lyndon Normal School from 1927 to 1947 and then continued as president of Lyndon Teachers College until 1955. Two times she saved the school from closure. She was instrumental in the college's move to the former estate of Theodore N. Vail, who had been president of AT&T. Samuel Read Hall Library / NVU Lyndon.*

students was profound. At her retirement in 1955, the *Lyn News* called her "Vermont's leading woman educator." She was praised for her "simple and direct leadership," her "understanding and unlimited patience," and her "sense of humor."<sup>71</sup>

Born in Bangor, Maine, in 1895, she was raised in East Hardwick, Vermont. Like Woodruff, she attended St. Johnsbury Academy. After high school she taught in Danville, Peacham, and Hardwick before taking the one-year normal course at Lyndon in 1916-1917. She earned a bachelor's degree at Middlebury College, graduating in 1921, and then taught in Hardwick and Swanton. She returned to Lyndon as principal in 1927 at a low point in the school's history. That spring the Board of Education almost eliminated the program but granted it a one-year reprieve to see what Bole could do. "There was little to work with in the office; there was no secretary and, worst of all, there were practically no students," she remembered years later. It took a summer's work to open with a class of forty-five, but enrollment continued to grow. She took the 1935-1936 school year off to earn a master's degree at Teachers College, Columbia University, and then led the normal school until 1947, when she became president of Lyndon Teachers College.<sup>72</sup>

The students of the three schools came from rural backgrounds, the education they received was limited, and their personal lives were closely supervised, but photographs from the time show young women looking altogether collegiate. At Castleton, they posed for yearbook photos as part of the athletic association (some of them in sweaters with a big letter C), the ukulele and mandolin club, the glee club and orchestra, the staff of the *Castle-Tone*, and the commuter association. Each year they performed Shakespeare outdoors at night. The costumes were splendid; for *Twelfth Night* a live horse appeared on the grassy stage. Photos taken a few years later at Johnson and Lyndon are



*The 1927 Castleton Normal School athletic association posed on the steps of the new classroom building with equipment from several sports. Most often young women played intramural sports or gathered at other schools for a day of informal competition, but during the 1930s the Vermont normal schools had the beginnings of varsity teams. Calvin Coolidge Library / Castleton University.*

similar: bands with ukuleles, young women holding basketballs. Winter carnivals were big events. In the 1930s at Lyndon, students presented the operettas of Gilbert and Sullivan. Johnson prided itself on a connection with the art community and hosted exhibits and artists. In 1935, Johnson students taught classes in mathematics and English at the Civilian Conservation Corps camp in Elmore, an early example of community service. During the Depression, even the job of underpaid



*Lyndon Normal School's 1936 production of Gilbert and Sullivan's *The Mikado* was a major effort. News articles and photographs from all three normal schools show them striving to offer programs similar to those of colleges. Samuel Read Hall Library / NVU Lyndon.*

schoolteacher offered some security, and the schools were able to advertise that their graduates found good teaching positions.<sup>73</sup>

Men began to return. In 1933 Castleton graduated nineteen women and two men from a three-year course. In 1936, five women and three men earned the institution's first four-year bachelor's degrees, and Castleton began calling itself "a higher institution of learning." Two men enrolled at Lyndon in 1933, and the school graduated its first three-year class in 1934 and awarded its first four-year degrees in 1944. Johnson graduated its first three-year class 1935.<sup>74</sup>

Sports were a growing part of the educational experience. Women's basketball teams competed against academies and junior colleges. Games by these emerging varsity teams were sometimes important enough to be featured in local newspapers. "Unbeaten girls' teams play here," announced the *St. Albans Daily Messenger* about the January 18, 1933, basketball game between Johnson and Bellows Free Academy-St. Albans. (BFA won 39 to 18.) But most often female students played intramural sports and gathered at other schools for a day of informal competition. By the late 1930s, men's basketball teams from Lyndon and Castleton played each other in games that were billed as the Vermont Normal School Championship. The Castleton team traveled as far as Maine and Connecticut for competition.<sup>75</sup>

In the 1930s, Castleton and the teaching program at UVM vied for having the greater enrollment. In 1939-1940, Castleton had 159 students, UVM 160, Lyndon 115, and Johnson 96. But as happened a generation earlier, war caused a drop in enrollment. Men (and now women) enlisted in the armed services, and a wartime economy offered many good-paying jobs. By the end of the war, enrollment at the three normal schools was 38 percent of what it had been in 1940, and the teacher shortage had grown. Although the Serviceman's Readjustment Act of 1944—the "GI Bill"—included normal schools in its educational support for veterans, the Vermont schools did not benefit.

#### 1947 TO THE PRESENT: NEW NAMES, SAME OLD TROUBLES

In his inaugural address in January 1947, Governor Ernest W. Gibson Jr. called for turning Castleton and Johnson into "efficient top-notch teachers colleges." That April the General Assembly established the two colleges, to be administered by presidents. The state contracted with UVM and Lyndon Institute to continue the programs there. The school in Lyndon was to consider itself a college, but the contract between the state and Lyndon Institute was for two years, and many observers believed it would be terminated at the end of that time. The act made no mention of the normal schools and reads as if the colleges were created out of thin

air. Although the term *normal school* lingered in a few other rural states, with the passing of the Vermont schools, an era was ending.<sup>76</sup>

With a new name, four-year degrees, and the promise of improved facilities, enrollment increased; but existing problems were made worse by overcrowding and the failure of the legislature to fund construction quickly. In February 1949, the *Rutland Herald* published a pamphlet bringing together several articles on the teachers colleges. “Legislators See Castleton College ‘Inadequacies’” read the headline of a story that was illustrated by a photograph of three men living in a room large enough for one. Johnson had no on-campus dormitory for men, and President William H. Carter told the *Herald* that he had to refuse admission to several married veterans because of a lack of housing. Although the *Herald* warned of a “bumper crop of babies” reaching school age, another headline read, “State Can Afford Only Two Teachers’ Colleges.” At first, Lyndon once again was threatened with closure; but as Bole told the history, “While Northeastern legislators were working at Montpelier, the students and faculty went all out to indicate to all Vermont that there was initiative, spirit, and morale here.” With Lyndon’s future more secure, Johnson faced some calls for closure, but Carter marshaled the support of alumni and friends.<sup>77</sup>

By 1960, the combined enrollment at Castleton, Johnson, and Lyndon teachers colleges was more than four times what it had been in the last year of the normal schools; the Lyndon campus was on the beautiful former estate of Theodore Vail; the schools were strengthening their faculties, enlarging their programs, and striving for accreditation; and new construction was reshaping all the campuses. In 1961, the three teachers colleges became state colleges and joined with Vermont Technical College—successor of the old Randolph normal school, the Vermont School of Agriculture, and the short-lived Vermont Agriculture and Technical Institute—to form the Vermont State Colleges (VSC), supervised by a chancellor. Across the system, the 1960s into the 1970s were years of construction and new and more rigorous academic programs. The Community College of Vermont, founded in 1970, merged with the VSC in 1972.

According to the statute establishing the system, the colleges were to be “supported in whole or in substantial part with State funds.” In 1980, however, the state appropriation covered 49 percent of the cost of the colleges; in 2018-2019, the state share was 17.5 percent. By then Vermont was forty-ninth in the nation in state funding per student, and the family share of college costs was the highest in the nation. The Vermont colleges had again changed their names, an inexpensive way of appearing to rise in the academic hierarchy and leave behind their background as normal schools, teachers colleges, and state colleges. In 2015, Castleton became Castleton University, and in 2018, Lyndon and Johnson, which are

about forty-five miles apart, merged to form Northern Vermont University (NVU).<sup>78</sup>

However, the system suffered substantial budget deficits made worse by the COVID-19 pandemic. In April 2020, Chancellor George B. (“Jeb”) Spaulding called for the closure of NVU and Vermont Technical College. Spaulding faced what *VT Digger* termed “a brutal backlash” and resigned two weeks later. To save the system, the board of trustees voted to merge the two recently named universities and Vermont Tech to form an impressive-sounding Vermont State University. As this article goes to press, it is unclear how Vermont State University will function in practice or whether it will attract students and be financially viable.<sup>79</sup>

#### A FORGOTTEN HISTORY

Leaders of the state normal schools are remembered in the names of campus buildings: Leavenworth and Woodruff halls at Castleton; Conant Hall at Vermont Tech; Rita L. Bole Complex at NVU-Lyndon; Stearns Student Center at NVU-Johnson. But in other ways, the normal schools are forgotten. “Former normals have generally buried their roots as deep as possible,” wrote Christine A. Ogren, a professor at the University Iowa, in *The American State Normal School: “An Instrument of Great Good,”* which was researched in part at Castleton. She cited colleges that sandblasted the word *normal* from the front of buildings. The Vermont schools never had enough money to have *normal* carved anywhere, but her point still applies.<sup>80</sup>

At first, all the Vermont teachers colleges recognized the founding of the normal schools as the true date of their birth—Castleton and Johnson, 1867; Lyndon, 1911. But as a liberal arts college, Castleton State College preferred to remember the Rutland County Grammar School date of 1787, the same year as the U.S. Constitution was written. A historical marker erected in 1986 in front of the town library on Main Street, Castleton, asserts that the 1787 date makes the institution “Vermont’s First College.” Johnson State College began to look back to the school founded in 1828. Arguably, Lyndon could have insisted on 1867 as the year the Lyndon Literary and Biblical Institution was chartered but chose instead the beginning of the one-year normal school program. The Vermont State Colleges System dates its corporate origins from 1961, which is legally correct but ignores nearly a century of service by state normal schools and teachers colleges that led directly to the VSCS.<sup>81</sup>

Today a researcher must be persistent to find information on the Vermont normal schools on the current institutions’ websites. The 2021-2022 Castleton online catalog includes a thousand-word history of the university that does not once use the troublesome term *normal school* or discuss

the importance of the education of teachers. On the NVU website, both Johnson's and Lyndon's early roles as "teacher training" schools are mentioned, but only Johnson appears as a normal school. Vermont Technical College, which has been reinvented several times since being a normal school, seems to be the most forthright about its origins as "the state's first normal school for the purpose of educating teachers." Although the website is promotional and not history, the text draws a connection between the achievements of Edward Conant's school and today's college. Vermont Tech's Harkness Library has posted online many fine photos of the State Normal School. Of course, all the above details may change as marketing experts for Vermont State University reinterpret the past to satisfy the present, but it would be remarkable if the heritage of the normal schools is featured.<sup>82</sup>

Poorly financed and looked down upon by class-conscious Vermonters, the normal schools often struggled. But they provided opportunities for rural women and men that could not be found elsewhere. In this vital work, they were in advance of more prestigious institutions. Graduates of the normal schools taught generations of rural children and had an impact on the state and the nation at work and at home. Rather than a secret, the role the normal schools played in Vermont's history should be a matter of pride.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Henry Barnard, ed., *Normal Schools and Other Institutions, Agencies, and Means Designed for the Professional Education of Teachers* (Hartford, CT: Case, Tiffany, 1851; reprinted by Colorado State Teachers College, 1929), 124, Edward Everett address, 179-80.

<sup>2</sup> The *Vermont Chronicle*, 20 January 1866; comments from the *Vermont School Journal* appeared in the *Burlington Times*, *Vermont Journal*, *Vermont Chronicle*, and the *Enterprise and Vermonter* (search in newspapers.com); *Vermont Journal*, 30 June 1866.

<sup>3</sup> *Acts and Resolves Passed by the General Assembly of the State of Vermont at the Annual Session, 1866* (Montpelier, VT: Freeman Steam Printing Establishment, 1866), 3-5. These annual volumes were the work of many printers. Below, they are referred to as *Acts and Resolves* with the year.

<sup>4</sup> Mason S. Stone, *History of Education: State of Vermont* (Montpelier, VT: Capital City Press, 1936), 124; Christine A. Ogren, *The American State Normal School: "An Instrument of Great Good"* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 213-235, app. 1-2; Horace Mann, "Remarks at Bridgewater," Barnard, *Normal Schools*, 196.

<sup>5</sup> *Fourth Annual Report of the Board of Education* (Burlington, VT: Free Press, 1860), 89. The first Vermont School Report was issued in 1828, then again from 1846 to 1851, and finally in a series starting in 1857. They were the work of numerous printers across Vermont. Below, all reports will be referenced by the report number or numbers from the title page and most importantly the year of publication; *11th Report* (1867), 101.

<sup>6</sup> *4th Report*, 100.

<sup>7</sup> *12th Report* (1868), 66.

<sup>8</sup> *14th Report* (1870), 26-31, 60-66, quotes, 31, 60.

<sup>9</sup> Ennis Duling, "'Hallowed Halls': 1867-1920," in Tony Peffer, ed., *Big Heart: The Journey to Castleton's Two Hundred and Twenty-fifth Birthday* (Castleton, VT: Castleton State College, 2012), 50; *11th Report*, 10; *12th Report* (1868), 29.

<sup>10</sup> *The Normal Register: A History of the First Vermont State Normal School, Its Instructors and Alumni* (Montpelier, VT: Argus and Patriot Steam Job Printing, 1885), 7; Walter E. Howard,

“Edward Conant,” *Memorial to the Late Edward Conant* (Randolph, VT: Alumni of the Orange County Grammar School and Randolph State Normal School Courtesy of Trustees, 1910), 5-6; *11th Report* (1867), 184-86.

<sup>11</sup> *History and Alumni Record of the State Normal School, 1867-1887, Johnson, Vermont* (Morrisville and Hyde Park, VT.: News and Citizen Print, 1887), 9-13; *History and Alumni Record, 1867-1941* (Johnson, VT: Johnson State Normal School Alumni Association, 1941), 10-12; *14th Report*, 6; “Rang the bell” from Pearl Reunion of the Johnson Normal School, June 16, 1915, in Kenneth Raymond, *History of Johnson State College: 1828-1984* (Johnson, VT: Johnson State College, 1984), 48; Hiram Orcutt, “In Memoriam,” the *Rhode Island Schoolmaster* 20 (Providence, RI: Providence Press, 1874), 21-24.

<sup>12</sup> *15th Report* (1872), 249; *16th Report* (1874), 263; *24th Vermont School Report* (1876), 63. The reports were renumbered and renamed as School Reports beginning in 1876.

<sup>13</sup> Mary Matthew McDevitt, *The Educational Contributions of the Leavenworths of Castleton, Vermont* (Rutland, VT: Tuttle, 1957), 10-18; Walter E. Howard, “Remarks delivered upon the occasion of the presentation of a portrait of Abel Leavenworth,” June 22, 1911, Castleton University (CU) Archives.

<sup>14</sup> G. G. Benedict, *Vermont in the Civil War: A History of the Part Taken by the Vermont Soldiers and Sailors in the War for the Union, 1861-5* (Burlington, VT: Free Press Association, 1888), 2: 263-66; McDevitt, *Leavenworths*, 15-17.

<sup>15</sup> Ron Powers, “‘We’ll Ne’er Forget’: 1787-1867,” in Peffer, ed., *Big Heart*, 23-25.

<sup>16</sup> *33rd Report* (1894), 50; “Great Fire at Randolph,” *Vermont Watchman and State Journal*, 20 September 1893.

<sup>17</sup> Frederic Burk, “Normal Schools and the Training of Teachers,” *Atlantic Monthly* 81, no. 488 (June 1898): 774.

<sup>18</sup> “Vermont State Normal School, Castleton, 1874-5” (Ballston Spa, NY: Journal Printing House, 1875), 14, CU Archives; *27th Report* (1882), 47.

<sup>19</sup> *24th Report*, 59, 81, 90.

<sup>20</sup> Charles H. Stearns, “Address to a county meeting in Castleton, November 11, 1920,” CU Archives, Florence Ransom folder, 2-3; the “uphill-downhill” divide is studied in Paul M. Searls, *Two Vermonts: Geography and Identity, 1865-1910* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England/University of New Hampshire Press, 2006).

<sup>21</sup> Evelyn M. Wood Lovejoy, *History of Royalton, Vermont with Family Genealogies 1769-1911* (Burlington, VT: Free Press, 1911), notes on Lovejoy’s life, 336, 339-40.

<sup>22</sup> “Hot Fight Over School Bills,” *Brattleboro Daily Reformer* (16 February 1921), 5; Frances E. Willard and Mary A. Livermore, eds., *A Woman of the Century: Fourteen Hundred-Seventy Biographical Sketches Accompanied by Portraits of Leading American Women in All Walks of Life* (Buffalo: Charles Wells Moulton, 1893), 791-92; Helen M. Winslow, *Concerning Cats: My Own and Some Others* (Boston: Lothrop Publishing Company, 1900); Winslow, *A Woman for Mayor: A Novel of To-day* (Chicago: Reilly & Britton, 1909).

<sup>23</sup> William Gould Vinal, “Mrs. Lucy Langdon Williams Wilson,” *Science Education* (Dec. 1958): 456-59; Frances Joan Mathien, “Lucy L. W. Wilson, Ph.D.: An Eastern Educator and the Southwestern Pueblos,” Don D. Fowler and David R. Wilcox, eds., *Philadelphia and the Development of Americanist Archaeology* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2003), 134-55; Duling, “Hallowed Halls,” 67.

<sup>24</sup> William Harvey King, *History of Homoeopathy and Its Institutions in America* (New York: Lewis Publishing, 1905), 4: 298; for a sampling of Willard’s many strongly held opinions, *Detroit Free Press*, 18 May 1892; 26 January 1898; 1 December 1903; 25 August 1905 (p. 1 with photo); 5 November 1905.

<sup>25</sup> Duling, “Hallowed Halls,” 53; W. Boyd Barrick, *Vermont’s First College: A Chronicle of the First One Hundred Years of Castleton State College, 1787-1887* (c. 1988, unpublished manuscript, CU Archives), 257.

<sup>26</sup> *History of the First Vermont State Normal School*, 10-11; *24th Report*, 67; *History and Alumni Record of the State Normal School 1867-1887, Johnson, Vermont*, 7-22, 37, 43; Duling, “Hallowed Halls,” 66; *Celebration of the Twenty-Fifth Anniversary of the State Normal School at Castleton, Vermont, and Register of Teachers and Graduates* (Rutland, VT: Tuttle, 1894), 27-28.

<sup>27</sup> *14th Report*, 10.

<sup>28</sup> *15th Report*, 232-34.

<sup>29</sup> *Acts and Resolves* (1878), 106.

<sup>30</sup> “Catalogue and Circular of the State Normal School, at Castleton, Vermont, for the Year Ending June 24, 1880” (Rutland, VT: Tuttle, 1880); Henry Kiddle, Thomas F. Harrison, and N. A.

Calkins, *How to Teach: A Graded Course of Instruction and Manual of Methods for the Use of Teachers* (New York: J. W. Schermerhorn, 1875); *27th Report* (1882), 47-48.

<sup>31</sup> *11th Report*, 24-32, see 25; *16th Report*, 221-41, see 222, 226, 227; *25th Report* (1878), app. 54-69, see 55; *26th Report* (1880), app. 86-113, see 99, 112.

<sup>32</sup> *27th Report*, 39.

<sup>33</sup> Duling, "Hallowed Halls," 62; Fanny C. Taylor, "Report of Classes" (Fall term 1881 into 1882-83), quote from January 7, 1882, CU Archives.

<sup>34</sup> *14th Report*, 9; *16th Report*, 5; *25th Report*, 7.

<sup>35</sup> Stone, *History of Education: Vermont*, 150-51.

<sup>36</sup> *30th Report* (1888), 63-69.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, 50, 134-35.

<sup>38</sup> Stone, *History of Education: Vermont*, 151; Abel Leavenworth to Charles Rice of the *Rutland Herald* (October 17, 1896), CU Archives; *Acts and Resolves* (1896), 17-18.

<sup>39</sup> *Acts and Resolves* (1896), 17-19.

<sup>40</sup> McDevitt, *The Leavenworths*, 18-19; *Fair Haven Era*, 13 June 1901.

<sup>41</sup> Edward Conant, *Geography, History and Civil Government of Vermont & The Vermont Primary Historical Reader and Lessons on the Geography of Vermont, with Notes on Civil Government* (Rutland, VT: Tuttle, 1890, 1895).

<sup>42</sup> *34th Report* (1896), 70; Howard, *Memorial to the Late Edward Conant*, 5.

<sup>43</sup> Vermont State Normal Schools brochure, 1903-1904 school year, 7, CU Archives.

<sup>44</sup> *36th Report* (1900), 74, 77-78, 82.

<sup>45</sup> Eva Marion Pierce, "A Normal Young Man," *The Normal Student* 2, no. 2 (State Normal School at Castleton, February 19, 1903): 11.

<sup>46</sup> *39th Report* (1906), 105, 112.

<sup>47</sup> For instance, *Annual Reports of the Department of the Interior for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1906; Report of the Commissioner of Education 2* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1908); *38th Report* (1904), 135.

<sup>48</sup> *40th Report* (1908), 13, 17, 12.

<sup>49</sup> John C. Huden, *Development of State School Administration in Vermont* (Burlington, VT: Vermont Historical Society / Free Press Printing, 1944), 167; *41st Report* (1910), 20; *40th Report*, 10, 18, 19.

<sup>50</sup> Stone, *History of Education: Vermont*, 153-82; quotes, 160-61.

<sup>51</sup> "[1st] Report of the State Board of Education," (July 1910), 15. Beginning in 1910, the reports of the Vermont Board of Education were published in addition to the *Vermont School Reports*. Eventually, the biennial reports were numbered as board reports and Vermont school reports. For instance, "Fifth Biennial Report of the State Board of Education, Forty-Eighth Report in Entire Series" (1924).

<sup>52</sup> *Acts and Resolves* (1910), 64-70; *42nd Report* (1912), 48-49, 178.

<sup>53</sup> *Acts and Resolves* (1910), 66; *42nd Report*, 29; Harriet Fletcher Fisher, *Lyndon Institute, Images of America* (Charleston, SC: Arcadia, 2000), 43.

<sup>54</sup> "2nd Report of the Board of Education" (1912), 6; *Acts and Resolves* (1912), 73, 347.

<sup>55</sup> *New York Times*, 15 February 1914, 41.

<sup>56</sup> "A Study of Education in Vermont Prepared by the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching at the Request of the Commission to Investigate the Educational System and Conditions of Vermont" (Montpelier, VT: D. B. Updike, Merryman Press, Boston, 1914), 9, 113, 123.

<sup>57</sup> "Facts and Questions Regarding Vermont's Normal Schools" (1914), CU Archives; *43rd Report* (1914, dated Jan. 1915), 147, 155.

<sup>58</sup> "The State Normal School, Castleton, Vermont: Annual Catalogue 1914-1915" (Rutland, VT: Tuttle, 1914). The emphasis is in the brochure.

<sup>59</sup> *2nd Biennial Report of the State Board of Education* (1918), 18. The report for 1912 can also be considered the second.

<sup>60</sup> *3rd Report of the State Board* (1920), 19; Stone, *History of Education: Vermont*, 153.

<sup>61</sup> "Teachers' College Bill Is Defeated in the House," *Burlington Free Press*, 11 March 1921, 1-2; Stearns to Ransom, July 8, 1920, in Marjorie Ryerson, "'Clear and Strong': 1920-1940," Peffer, ed., *Big Heart*, 97; Raymond, *History of Johnson State College*, 26-27.

<sup>62</sup> "Hot Fight Over School Bills," *Brattleboro Daily Reformer* 16 February 1921), 5; *Burlington Free Press*, 11 March 1921; Raymond, *History of Johnson State College*, 26-27.

<sup>63</sup> *4th Report of State Board*, *47th Report*, (1922), 11.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, 12-18.

<sup>65</sup> *6th Report of State Board, 49th Report* (1926), 19-21 refers to the programs as “training courses.”

<sup>66</sup> “Impressive Dedication Exercises,” *Vermont Union-Journal*, 27 December 1922; Fisher, *Lyndon Institute*, 22-23, 25-27; “Castleton Normal’s Future Rests with State Legislature,” *Rutland Herald*, 5 January 1924.

<sup>67</sup> “Vermont Stability,” *Montpelier Evening Argus*, 14 July 1934; Raymond, *History of Johnson State College*, 29, 58; *Burlington Daily News*, 8 April 1931.

<sup>68</sup> Ryerson, “Clear and Strong,” 99-101, 106-111; Holman D. Jordan, ed., and eleven members of the Classes of 1967 and 1968, *And the Glory of the Latter House shall be Greater than that of the Former: An Informal History of Castleton State College* (Castleton, VT: Castleton State College, 1968); Marcella Jackson, “How Is That Miss Woodruff?” written c. 1938, *Castleton Alumni Review* 7, no. 1 (Winter 1990): 12-13.

<sup>69</sup> Vincent P. Wilber, “Vermont of the Week: Dr. Caroline S. Woodruff,” *Rutland Daily Herald*, 9 January 1939.

<sup>70</sup> “Miss Caroline Woodruff Guest at White House,” *Springfield Reporter*, 14 April 1938; “Miss Woodruff Elected Head of Educators,” *Barre Daily Times*, 2 July 1937; “N.E.A. to Open 4-Day Parley in City Tomorrow,” *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, 26 June 1938.

<sup>71</sup> *Lyn News* 1, no. 17 (July 23, 1955): 1-2.

<sup>72</sup> *Ibid.*, 3; *7th Report of State Board, 50th Report*, (1928), 13; “School Notes,” *St. Johnsbury Republican*, 2 September 1935; *Lyndon State College: Celebrating Lyndon’s 100th Year, 1911-2011* (Yearbook, 2011), 5-6.

<sup>73</sup> *Castle-Tone* yearbooks for the 1920s; *The Verlyn* yearbooks 1934-1938; “State artists recognized at Johnson fete,” *Burlington Daily News*, 7 November 1939; CCC instruction, *Morrisville News and Citizen*, 6 March 1935; good teaching positions, *Caledonian-Record*, 10 July 1931.

<sup>74</sup> *General Catalogue* (1937), 62, 67, and *General Catalogue of the Graduates of the Castleton Normal School, 1867-1937* (1937), CU Archives.

<sup>75</sup> *St. Albans Daily Messenger*, 18 and 19 January 1933; *Caledonian-Record*, 29 November 1937, p. 4; *Birdseye*, 17 February 1939, CU Archives.

<sup>76</sup> Inaugural address of Ernest W. Gibson Jr. (January 9, 1947), <https://sos.vermont.gov/Acts and Resolves> (1947), 93-94; a list of state normal schools with locations, dates of founding, name changes, and names as of 2005 can be found in Ogren, *American State Normal School*, 212-35.

<sup>77</sup> “Vermont’s Teachers’ Colleges,” a pamphlet, *Rutland Herald* (February 1949), CU Archives. See also Mel Wax, “Legislators View ‘Inadequacies’ at Castleton College,” *Rutland Herald*, 24 February 1949, “Claims State Lacks Funds for College,” 25 February 1949, and “Legislators Face Decision on Colleges,” 28 February 1949; “Miss Bole Tells Rotary of Lyndon’s Growth,” *Lyn News* 1, no. 17 (23 July, 1955): 3; for the suggestion that Johnson be closed, R. W. M. [Robert W. Mitchell], “Odds and Ends,” *Rutland Herald*, 29 December 1950; Raymond, *History of Johnson State College*, 63.

<sup>78</sup> 16 V.S.A. § 2171; “Vermont State Colleges System Impact” 2016-2017 and 2018-2019 online at [www.vsc.edu](http://www.vsc.edu). Data from VSCS financial statements and “Young Invincibles State Report Card, 2018.”

<sup>79</sup> Lola Duffort, “VSC Chancellor Spaulding to resign after campus closure backlash,” *VTDigger*, 28 April 2020, [vtdigger.org/2020/04/28/vsc-chancellor-spaulding-to-resign-after-campus-closure-backlash/](http://vtdigger.org/2020/04/28/vsc-chancellor-spaulding-to-resign-after-campus-closure-backlash/); Fiscal Year 2022 Appropriations Act, No. 74, H.439, Sec. B.602-03 and Sec. E.602.2.

<sup>80</sup> Ogren, *American State Normal School*, 2-3.

<sup>81</sup> Photo of campus sign, “Castleton Teachers College Est 1867,” in Andre Fleche, “‘Spirit of Us All’: 1940-1957,” in Peffer, ed., *Big Heart*, 152; an early college seal with “1867” as pictured in Raymond, *History of Johnson State College*, 63; “History of Lyndon Teachers College,” *Lyn News* 1, no. 17 (23 July 1955): 2; *Lyndon State College: Celebrating Lyndon’s 100th Year, 1911-2011* (Yearbook, 2011); “Our History in Vermont,” Vermont State Colleges System online at [www.vsc.edu/system-facts/history/](http://www.vsc.edu/system-facts/history/), accessed February 2022.

<sup>82</sup> <http://catalog.castleton.edu/content.php?catoid=24&navoid=2317>; [www.northernvermont.edu/about/mission-and-history/history/](http://www.northernvermont.edu/about/mission-and-history/history/); [www.vtc.edu/meet-our-president/history-of-vermont-tech/](http://www.vtc.edu/meet-our-president/history-of-vermont-tech/); [www.flickr.com/photos/hartnesslibrary/albums/](http://www.flickr.com/photos/hartnesslibrary/albums/); [www.vsc.edu/system-facts/history/](http://www.vsc.edu/system-facts/history/). All accessed in February 2022.