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Hardwick on the Map, 1895-1915: Industrialization in Direct Democracy

*We cannot sing the old songs,
Nor is that always best;
Give us the song that's up-to-date,
To Hades with the rest:
We sing a song of Hardwick hills,
Where trade leads by a lap.
So pack your grip and quickly hike
For Hardwick-on-the-map!*
William Traynor¹

By ELIZABETH H. DOW

On June 3, 1914, seven-year-old Charlotte Stone ran an errand for her mother. While walking along the main street of Hardwick, she recognized many of the men who, like her father, worked at the Woodbury Granite Company; they were not at work and some seemed to be crying. When she returned home, her father explained the workers' tears: "Mr. Bickford has died, and the men know they've lost their best friend."²

George H. Bickford had come to the village of Hardwick in north central Vermont in January 1898 as the area's granite industry was expanding. By the time he died, his leadership and efforts were credited with having made the Village, as it liked to boast, the "building granite capital of the world."³ Unlike nearby Barre, known for its production of granite monuments and statues, Hardwick earned a reputation in the early twentieth century granite industry based on the stone that it provided for construction of capitols, office buildings, post offices, banks, and other civic and commercial buildings. Most residents agreed that Bickford's death could drastically change the direction of Hardwick's development: some desired the change; others did not.

Though Vermont generally remained rural and agrarian through the nineteenth century, the emerging affluence of the industrializing states of the mid-Atlantic and mid-West in the 1880s and 1890s created a market for marble and granite that stimulated industrial development in the stone-producing Vermont communities of Proctor and Barre. By 1900, Hardwick, too, was experiencing the effects of industrialization as the demand for its granite increased and the local economy began to boom. Hardwick's emergence as a leader in the state's granite industry was led by John Holden and his son-in-law, George Bickford.

Industrial development and business expansion dominated economic life of late eighteenth-century America. Though historians routinely accept that industrialists controlled the communities in which they located, riding roughshod over labor and local government alike, Herbert G. Gutman has shown that industrialists did not acquire that control immediately or automatically.⁴ A community generally plans and lives according to its self-images and the future its collective imagination projects for it. The new industrialists "disrupted tradition, competed against established social structure and status hierarchy, and challenged traditional modes of thought."⁵ They threatened the community's sense of itself, and frequently only a community's collective self-image stood between an industrialist and his goal. In such instances, a struggle developed at two levels within communities: one involved a general struggle among community factions over the character of the community and how much growth and change it could support without losing that character; and the other involved the personal struggle of an industrialist trying to mold the community to his vision and needs. In time, the industrialist generally prevailed, but only after a battle to gain control of essential governmental services and decision-making power. Industrialization in Hardwick attracted strong-willed entrepreneurs who quickly converted the local elected officials to their views, but faced substantial resistance from an equally strong-willed citizenry. The result was the enactment of a conflict familiar in the history of early industrialization, with the added factor in Hardwick of direct democracy, operating through Town and Village meetings, to influence the outcome.

Industrialization depended largely on the railroads, which spread like spider webs across America beginning in the 1830s. In 1868, hoping to inject new life into the Hardwick economy, the townspeople gambled sixty thousand dollars in municipal bonds on the Lamoille Valley Railroad, part of a through railroad from Portland, Maine, to Ogdensburg, New York. It was a gamble that the town could hardly reject in light of the out-migration it and other Vermont communities were experiencing, but with a grand list of only five thousand dollars could barely afford.⁶ The

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railroad reached Hardwick in 1872 but financial problems delayed its completion until June 29, 1877. Throughout its history the railroad suffered repeated financial difficulties and operated under several different names. From the 1880s to the 1920s it was the St. Johnsbury and Lake Champlain (St.J&LC).⁷ As expected, the St.J&LC carried away the timber, hides, cheese, and butter produced by the area's agricultural economy, along with manufactured products such as small granite items, "vegetable kidney pills," brooms, and butter tubs. But if the St.J&LC enabled Hardwick farmers to reach distant markets, other railroads made those markets ex-



The Woodbury Granite Company in Hardwick, Vermont, as it appeared in its heyday, 1905-1915. Courtesy of Hardwick Historical Society.

ceedingly competitive. Earning a living in hilly northern New England in the late nineteenth century became increasingly difficult. During the railroad's first decade, Hardwick's sixty-thousand-dollar gamble paid a dubious return, as the population actually fell from 1519 in 1870 to 1484 in 1880. The railroad carried away people as easily as it carried away goods.⁸

Hardwick's population pattern had paralleled that of its neighbors through the 1870s. The railroad's arrival eventually facilitated the growth of the granite industry, and, as a result, after 1890 Hardwick's population growth significantly outpaced neighboring communities.

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Populations of Hardwick Area Towns
1840 - 1880

<i>Town</i>	<i>1840</i>	<i>1850</i>	<i>1860</i>	<i>1870</i>	<i>1880</i>
Hardwick	1354	1402	1369	1591	1484
Woodbury	1093	1070	998	902	856
Cabot	1440	N/A	1318	1279	1246
Greensboro	883	1008	1065	1027	1061
Walden	913	910	1099	992	931
Wolcott	910	909	1161	1132	1166

Populations of Hardwick Area Towns
1890 - 1940

<i>Town</i>	<i>1890</i>	<i>1900</i>	<i>1910</i>	<i>1920</i>	<i>1930</i>	<i>1940</i>
Hardwick Town*	1547	1132	1107	1091	1053	998
Hardwick Village	—	1334	2094	1550	1667	1607
Woodbury	810	862	824	686	529	463
Cabot	1074	1126	1116	1036	1107	947
Greensboro	918	874	931	905	831	768
Walden	810	764	739	674	664	547
Wolcott	1158	1066	1049	932	831	772

* Excludes Hardwick Village 1900-1940.

Granite has been valued for centuries as a building material because of its beauty and durability. But its high density made it difficult and costly to quarry, cut, and transport until the middle of the nineteenth century. By the 1880s granite was widely used in building construction.⁹ *Granite Cutters' Journal*, a labor union newsletter, observed: "A curious illustration of the increase of wealth in the United States during the last decade is in the fact that the value of the output of granite has far more than doubled. . . . Among rich people granite has been selected for building and ornamental purposes, because the costliness . . . is an indication that it is the best material to be had. The vast increase in the use of it for bridge, dam, street and other work is proof of the growing wealth of cities and counties."¹⁰

This preference for granite buildings was made practically mandatory by the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893—the Chicago World's Fair—which featured a "vast and harmonious collection of perfectly constructed and snowy buildings"¹¹ of more or less classical architecture, known as the White City. This "more or less classical" style was called "Beaux-Arts," and until the emergence of steel-skeletoned sky-

scrapers in the post-World War I era, Americans sought to show good taste by insisting on "Beaux-Arts treatment of all future railroad depots, courthouses, libraries, lecture halls, clubhouses and comfort stations in public parks." As a result the value of granite quarrying and "manufacturing" in Vermont skyrocketed over 900 percent from \$59,675 in 1880 to \$610,963 in 1890, then another 83 percent to \$1,113,788 in 1900.¹²

Granite was first cut in Hardwick in 1868, and thereafter "the stone business" grew slowly but continuously; between 1875 and 1890 new businesses opened along the StJ&LC and the number of stone-cutting sheds rose from two to six.¹³ The men in those sheds had a broad range of skills, and most were in business alone or with a partner or a few employees. They cut monuments and curb stone and other small items, which they then shipped to market on the railroad.

These economic gains spurred the desire among some businessmen in the village of South Hardwick for more growth, but their efforts were restricted by town government. In 1890 South Hardwick, housing roughly a quarter of the town's population and almost all its industry, was subject to problems and opportunities peripheral or foreign to the interests of the large number of farmers who dominated town meeting votes. Village leaders sought incorporation of the village so it could regulate its own business and issue bonds for capital improvements, and the legislature complied, transforming South Hardwick into the Village of Hardwick in November 1890.¹⁴ Once freed from the foot-dragging of uninterested farmers, the Village immediately set about making itself a "first class place" with an infrastructure to support industrial development.

Village incorporation drastically altered the Town's relationship with the emerging granite industry. In effect the Village was made parent to the adolescent industry, and the Town became the indulgent grandparent, enjoying the rewards and avoiding most of the headaches. The Town established real estate valuations and tax exemptions and maintained the cemeteries, but seldom was bothered with the daily problems created by industrial growth. The thriving Village, as both an incorporated entity and a collection of residents, wrestled with chronic housing shortages, traffic jams, and garbage in the streets. Village government provided police and fire protection, safe sidewalks and water, electric power, sewage disposal, and street repairs.¹⁵

In the late 1880s and early 1890s, most of the Hardwick granite sheds were located along the line of the StJ&LC, which ran through the northern portion of the Village. Stone from the quarries going to the sheds was hauled north on the main street of the Village, across the Lamoille River through a covered bridge, and up a short, steep hill to the sheds along the tracks. It was a difficult and destructive trip. The granite weighed

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approximately two hundred pounds per cubic foot,¹⁶ and it required up to twenty horses and three days to haul a load of stone from the quarry to the cutting shed. At best the town's roads were a mixture of dirt and sand that became rutted in all but perfect conditions, so the stone wagons regularly damaged and occasionally nearly destroyed the roads they traveled. One large stone, pulled by eighteen horses, was "followed by a one-horse rig piled high with axes, shovels, pevies [sic], blocks and tackles to repair culverts broken in transit."¹⁷ It was obvious to many that a branch line from the StJ&LC to the quarries would expand the granite industry and eliminate damage to town roads. In 1892 Village civic leaders and various quarry owners pressured the Boston and Maine Railroad (B&M), which controlled the StJ&LC, to build a 1.7 mile branch, called the Quarry Railroad, to a loading site at the foot of Buffalo Mountain. With that in place the granite industry in Hardwick nearly doubled its number of sheds—from six sheds in 1890 to eleven in 1895.¹⁸

The Quarry Railroad eased Village street maintenance problems, accelerated growth of the granite-cutting business by extending the amount of railroad track along which the sheds could be built, and provided convenient access to the quarries just south of Hardwick. Nevertheless, stone from the rich quarries near the Village of Woodbury still traveled six or



Twenty-horse-and-ox team and crew hauling granite up the main street of Hardwick Village, ca. 1895. Such traffic caused ongoing damage to the village streets and led to the building of the Quarry Railroad. Courtesy of Hardwick Historical Society.

seven miles by horse-drawn wagons to reach the Quarry Railroad. Owners of those quarries campaigned to get the railroad extended further, but they faced serious difficulties: the route required expensive and unusually steep grades, the nation was suffering the results of the 1893 financial panic, and the B&M pleaded poverty.¹⁹

Undaunted, in 1894 a group of area businessmen incorporated the Hardwick and Woodbury Railroad Company (H&W) as a modest enterprise with capital stock of only fifty thousand dollars.²⁰ In February, before the H&W's first official meeting, the *Granite Cutters' Journal* enthusiastically reported that it was "probable that the Woodbury branch railroad will be completed to the quarries in Woodbury this season, which will develop some of the largest quarries in the country."²¹ The railroad organized in Hardwick, March 16, 1895, with representatives from the StJ&LC and the B&M pledging their companies' complete support, short of actual financing.²²

Planning to issue stock, and assuming they could raise additional capital through town bonds as the StJ&LC had, the H&W board of directors commenced building in the spring before full funding was available. They hired local workers and on July 6, 1895, petitioned for a special Town Meeting "To see if the Town will vote to aid in the construction of the Hardwick and Woodbury Railroad. . . ."²³ The scheme undoubtedly sparked much discussion throughout the spring and early summer; the large crowd that turned out for the July 20 meeting included more voters than usual.²⁴ Those favoring the aid likely claimed that the railroad would help the granite industry grow, bringing more people and taxes to pay for expanding local and state municipal services. To those opposed, the ten thousand dollars was just an extra burden on top of the twenty-one thousand dollars still owed on the StJ&LC bonds,²⁵ and there was a strong feeling that the only beneficiaries would be the B&M and the Fletcher Granite Company.²⁶ Fletcher, based in St. Albans, opened a quarry near Woodbury in 1887, and by 1895 had taken over others in that area, shipping all the stone to St. Albans to be cut.²⁷ Many at the meeting, including union members concerned about jobs in Hardwick, questioned why Hardwick should back Fletcher's railroad, which actually would not add new customers or tenants. After a lengthy debate and complicated procedural struggle, the voters turned down the request for ten thousand dollars.²⁸

The railroad backers called for another Town Meeting on August 17, 1895, "to see if the town will reconsider its vote taken July 20, 1895." Again the request was defeated.²⁹ Fletcher and the selectmen, the Town's elected administrators, presented a new agreement at a third meeting, September 3, 1895. The selectmen announced that if the town would agree

to invest twelve thousand dollars in H&W stock, Fletcher would move his operation to Hardwick by spring and discontinue cutting Woodbury granite in St. Albans by fall. But the offer came too late; the issue had been debated all summer and the town had made up its mind. It voted to "pass over" the resolution, killing it with a voice vote.³⁰

Throughout the 1890s businessmen in Hardwick believed fervently – evangelically – in "progress" and strived to make the Village and Town a "first class place." "The best is none too good for us" was the expression endorsed by the newspaper as the town's motto and the population was admonished regularly to "Boom Hardwick." But despite the enthusiasm, Hardwick lacked the financial leadership necessary for major industrial development. The handful of men who possessed the interest, energy, and willingness to take the necessary risks lacked sufficient capital to do so.

In most American communities of the era, businessmen would have needed only to convince elected officials that the town's wagon should be hitched to their star and a way would have been found to support the proposed ventures. Fletcher and the railroad supporters had done this – the selectmen united behind their plans. But in Hardwick the industrialists were forced to use special Town or Village meetings to persuade the public to support their needs. Repeatedly, it was in Town and Village meetings that the conflicts between the vision of the industrialists and officials on one side and that of the Town and Village electorate on the other were acted out on the question of growth and industrial development.³¹

In 1895, the combined forces of the elected officials and business leaders could not convince the community to invest in a railroad, an action taken by governments of many types all over the country, and by Hardwick itself thirty years earlier. Fiscal concerns may have played a part, but it is doubtful whether the question was decided on purely fiscal arguments. Village growth itself appeared as a double-edged sword, producing economic growth but also social disorder. Barre, where population had tripled between 1880 and 1890 as a result of growth in the granite industry, was an unsightly, overcrowded boom town.³² Hardwick residents, watching the number of Village residents grow, may have feared a similar fate. The affluent community leaders derived their wealth from pre-industrial pursuits of land speculation, farming, logging, merchandising, and money-lending. They and the majority of the electorate liked the image of the town as the home of independent, hard-working, self-sufficient farmers and shopkeepers. The Village was prospering, and they did not mind that the aspiring industrialists did not have a railroad. After three meetings, railroad supporters finally recognized they could not change that.³³

These were the economic and political circumstances when John

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Stedman Holden, entrepreneur and self-made man, arrived in Hardwick. Holden was born in 1845 in Charlton, Massachusetts, the son of a cobbler and farmer. In the 1860s, when he might have gone off to the Civil War, he attended Wesleyan Academy in Wilbraham, Massachusetts, and Eastman's Business College in Poughkeepsie, New York. Between 1868 and 1888 he sharpened his entrepreneurial skills in businesses as divergent as general merchandising and oil refining.³⁴ In 1889, in partnership with Charles W. Leonard, a Boston financier, he bought the Bennington Woolen Company, which had gone into receivership. Holden made the company profitable again, but the business climate for textile mills in Bennington cooled through the 1890s, hitting a "sharp crisis" in



Hardwick & Woodbury Railroad construction crew. Trestle skeletons were gradually filled in with waste granite from the quarries. Courtesy of Hardwick Historical Society.

1896-97.³⁵ Holden and Leonard were looking for protective diversification; Hardwick's railroad supporters were desperate for a backer. In the fall of 1895 Holden and Leonard came forward with the funding to complete the H&W. Their price was control of both the railroad and the Wood-

bury Granite Company.³⁶ Holden knew nothing about running a railroad or manufacturing granite, but, having succeeded in a number of businesses, he was confident that he would succeed again. The Woodbury Granite Company had begun as a partnership that opened a quarry in Woodbury in the early 1880s. In 1895 it was owned by E. R. Fletcher who relinquished it to Holden and Leonard.³⁷

Holden assigned supervision of the Woodbury Granite Company quarry to his brother, Daniel, who concentrated on modernizing the facilities before the H&W reached it in October 1897. George Bickford, Holden's son-in-law, replaced Daniel as superintendent of the company in January of 1898, and in June 1898 Bickford became its treasurer and general manager.³⁸

George Hamilton Bickford was born in Barton, Vermont, in 1868. His father, a Methodist minister, died less than a year later. Young Bickford attended Montpelier Seminary, where his mother taught, and graduated from Wesleyan College, Middletown, Connecticut, in 1891, second in his class, with honors in history and English literature. After a year of teaching and a stint at selling textbooks, he married Alice Holden in 1894 and went to work for her father at the Bennington mill. The partnership between Bickford and Holden is a classic story of capitalist success—a poor but bright young man marries a rich man's daughter and forms a partnership with his father-in-law. In 1898 the Bickfords moved to Hardwick.³⁹ Bickford had intelligence, charm, and ambition; Holden understood business and passed his knowledge on to Bickford. The mills remained Holden's chief interest, so he stayed in Bennington where he was active in civic and political affairs, but he and Bickford kept in close touch.

At the time the Bickfords moved to Hardwick, questions about the Village's future development were still unresolved. Village meetings were frequent and well attended; Village residents demonstrated an active concern for the well-being of their community. For ten years modernizing projects flourished, funded by public and private money.⁴⁰ One recurring debate was whether to purchase electric power. By 1894 a Hardwick mechanic had developed a private hydropower plant, and Hardwick's electricity enthusiasts advocated a Village-funded "electrical light plant" to convert street lighting from oil, but in 1894 and in 1895 the voters turned it down, as they had turned down the railroad.⁴¹ In 1896, however, responding to a great deal of "public education" on the matter, they authorized a contract with a private power company "to establish and maintain an electric light system."⁴²

Two months after the lights went on, the power company had several contract disputes with the Village; the lights went out in February 1897



and the contract was voided. Brief as the experience was, it was enough to build a constituency for electrical power. At Village Meeting a few months later, the villagers voted to build their own facility. Through the spring and summer, they struggled with the details. As they worked, everyone was aware that H&W was winding its way toward the Woodbury quarries. Holden and Leonard were making plans to start cutting large monuments and mausoleums, but were hesitating to set up sheds and offices in Hardwick until they were assured sufficient low-cost electrical power for modern quarrying and stone cutting. Finally, on July 26, 1897, after seven special Village Meetings to settle details, the voters instructed the trustees to go ahead with "an electric light plant . . . as fast as possible." The growth advocates had won, and Holden announced the company sheds would be located in Hardwick. The *Gazette* speculated that the shed area "will be a little city by itself . . . one of the most complete and extensive stone working plants in the country . . . The company has many large orders on hand now, among which is one for several hundred car loads of cut stone for the dam soon to be erected across the Connecticut River at Holyoke."⁴³

The Village power plant, completed in December, generated 150 to 200 horsepower for about 1,125 inside lights and 150 street lights in the Village and nearby Mackville. Simultaneously, the Woodbury Granite Company developed its own hydropower facilities, as did E. R. Fletcher. All of them created excess power and sold it to other manufacturers. The Woodbury Granite Company occasionally supplemented the Village supply.⁴⁴

With the H&W and the power plant in place, Hardwick's industry needed workers. In 1898 the *Gazette* reported, "Everyone is full of orders. . . . One firm states that where the profit had been five and ten per cent . . . [it is now] twenty-five per cent . . . There is an oversupply of work and a correspondingly small supply of men to do it."⁴⁵

Unlike the immigrants who came to America with nothing but "muscles and need" and "formed a pool available for any labor, at any price, under any conditions,"⁴⁶ the granite workers who followed the granite boom to Hardwick — immigrant and native alike — were never totally dependent on their employers. The role of the cutters, highly paid craftworkers who carved, lettered, and dressed the granite, was critical to the industry, and they established a national union in 1877, known after 1907 as the Granite Cutters' International Association (GCIA).⁴⁷ The first GCIA local in Hardwick was established in 1890, and, by its own accounts, was readily accepted.⁴⁸ Cutters and other specialists in the stone industry sold their labor under terms of a union contract, and they came and went as the work, the contract, the weather, and personal inclination dictated. The GCIA was an affiliate of the American Federation of Labor, which

followed a national policy of staunchly supporting the free enterprise system while demanding that manufacturers share more wealth and improve working conditions. Manufacturers were able to lure workers to the hinterlands of Hardwick by contracting with the union for higher wages than competing areas.⁴⁹ Contract demands originating through the efforts of national radical unions entered Hardwick contracts only after acceptance by the large stone manufacturers in Barre. Hardwick industrialists never faced large numbers of angry workers advocating radical economic programs.⁵⁰

By 1900, granite was the dominant industry in the Village, with fifty-nine percent of the male work force employed in a granite-related activity. Since most of the stone was quarried in Woodbury, most of the quarry workers lived there; Hardwick's labor force supported the cutting sheds. A total of 221 granite cutters were employed in Hardwick in 1900; ten years later the number (222) was essentially unchanged. Village population, nevertheless, expanded by sixty percent from 1,312 to 2,095, with job growth occurring in occupations auxiliary to the granite cutters in the industry (blacksmiths, carpenters, secretaries) and in response to the needs of the workers (laundries, boardinghouses, merchants). The 1900 Village census identified ninety-nine job titles; by 1910 the number had grown to 244.⁵¹

The partnership of Holden and Bickford exploited the potential in the local stone. Hardwick had always stood at a disadvantage competing with Barre in the monument market because Barre had better monumental stone. But Barre stone was too expensive for construction purposes. Woodbury granite was particularly well-suited as a building material because of its large grain and the fact that it lay in unusually large sheets in the earth.⁵² By October 1898 the Woodbury Granite Company had entered the building-granite business.⁵³ In 1903 it won the bidding on the contract for the Pennsylvania State capitol, at the time the largest building-granite contract ever offered. The company was thereby obliged to produce 400,000 cubic feet of granite, quarried, cut, delivered, and set in place in two years, a requirement that was regarded by the industry as impossible to meet.

The contract signed, the company was in much the position of the hunter who has caught his bear by the tail, fearful as to its ability to hold on, and unable to let go. A plant must be created, new derricks lifted on the ledges, trees removed, dirt shoveled and the granite sheets bared ready for the quarrymen. Capital must be procured, on terms that would not prove crushing. Workmen must be found. Above all, continuous deliveries must be made, for the building could not be delayed. . . . Inside eight months the stone was being furnished on contract time. By the end of the first year the quarry and

plant were ahead. The twenty-second month found the work shipped complete, with two months still remaining, unneeded. The feat was unprecedented, and the company's fame was established. Hardwick was on the map. . . .⁵⁴

These events coincided with a gradual decline of participation in local government. Between 1887 and 1900 fifteen different men served on the town board of selectmen in "the Yankee tradition of passing office around." Between 1900 and 1915, only six different men served as selectmen, and five of the six held significant financial interests in the Village. Between 1890 and 1910, while the Town's population doubled from 1600 to 3300, no election lured more than 500 voters to the polls. Residents of the rural areas withdrew from town politics as men with Village focus gained control of town affairs.⁵⁵

Participation fell off in the Village also. Records through the 1890s are filled with reports of special meetings on many subjects as citizens debated what was best for the Village and how it could be achieved. But the people drawn to Hardwick by the granite industry seldom participated in Town or Village politics, and the records for the decade between 1900 and 1910 show a closed network developing to manage civic affairs. Other residents apparently lost the sense that they could contribute to the decision-making process and withdrew. The debate over growth that was so lively in the 1890s had been won by the pro-growth faction, which readily took charge of implementing its ideas. The number of details debated in Village Meetings declined. From 1900 to 1912 not one Village Meeting was convened at citizen request; all were called by the trustees so the community could legitimize trustee decisions.⁵⁶

Following the Pennsylvania capitol contract in 1903, Holden and Bickford opened an operation in Bethel, Vermont, and, several years later, another in Northfield, Vermont. Cutting and quarrying were done at all sites, and stone was shipped from one site to another on a regular basis at a reduced rate offered by the railroads. When the work exceeded the company's capacities, it subcontracted with other firms. The Woodbury Granite Company gradually became a vertically integrated enterprise owning not only quarries, sheds, offices, and power plants at its manufacturing sites, but forests and sawmills to meet its lumber needs and pastures for its animals. The company did not design buildings, but when awarded a contract it took total responsibility for a project, from turning architectural drawings into designs for hundreds of individual stones to sending crews on site to put the stones in place. In 1912 the company signed 117 contracts — one every three days — involving thirty-two office buildings, nineteen mausoleums, fourteen banks and post offices, five railroad stations, three schools and theaters, two Masonic temples,

residences, hotels, courthouses, public memorials, and one government building, garage, hospital, and church.⁵⁷

Locally the company easily overshadowed all others. In 1903 the ten granite companies in Hardwick had a total Grand List valuation of \$66,400. The Woodbury Granite Company accounted for forty-five thousand dollars, almost four times that of the next largest company, E. R. Fletcher, at twelve thousand dollars. By 1910, Hardwick's thirteen companies were valued at \$124,300. The Woodbury Granite Company accounted for eighty thousand dollars; E. R. Fletcher was still second at eighteen thousand dollars. Except for the Woodbury Granite Company, Hardwick's sheds were small, owned by individuals or partners who cut curb stone or monuments.⁵⁸

The company had a major impact on the state's industry. In 1901, Vermont quarried building granite valued at \$16,343. Six years later that figure had exploded more than six thousand percent to \$1,009,353. Windsor County, where the profitable Bethel quarries were located, contributed more than half the total amount, \$774,460, and Washington and Orange counties, which were listed as a single entity and contained the Northfield and Woodbury quarries, provided \$234,583.⁵⁹ In 1907, Vermont was producing nearly as much granite for just buildings as for its total production of 1900.



*Family outing at the Woodbury Granite Company quarry, ca. 1905.
Courtesy of Hardwick Historical Society.*

In 1912, inspired by a report issued by the Vermont branch of the National Child Labor Committee, the Episcopal Diocese of Vermont surveyed eight industrialized communities for information on social and economic conditions. They concluded that workers in Hardwick, Barre, and Bethel were peaceful, prosperous, and free of exploitation, and credited union strength as the reason for the good conditions. Most in the work force were unionized and some were among the highest paid craftworkers in the nation. The report noted that many granite workers earned as much as or more than small-town professional men. Though there is no public record of what Hardwick's "professional men" earned, in 1907 when the GCIA in Hardwick struck for a \$3.20 daily minimum, the Village paid its one policeman two dollars per day and its day laborers, \$1.65.⁶⁰

After the death of John Holden in 1907, George Bickford emerged as a civic leader in Hardwick. His name had not appeared in public records prior to 1907, but soon thereafter he became involved in local government committees investigating problems in the electricity and water supplies. Bickford proved to be a savvy politician. As the largest employer in town, he demonstrated interest and considerable influence in many Village issues. He frequently spoke his mind at Village Meetings; until 1912, he never made a recommendation in a public meeting that was not adopted. He enjoyed respect and success, but his company's interests were also well-served by his ability to influence decisions about Village water and power supplies.⁶¹

Bickford was the dominant figure in the Village and knew well the people with whom he had dealt in civic and business matters since 1898. He was a superb salesman, a gregarious, energetic man who invariably spoke to all he met on the streets, including children.⁶² He loved a challenge. "Autos having broken the routine of spending Sunday [afternoon] on the porch, he sought every week the next highest hill to tackle while little George carried the rock to trig the wheel in case of another defeat." He frequently drove a carload of his son's teen-age friends to baseball games, which he enjoyed as much as they.⁶³

In 1903, the Bickfords bought the Judevine house. Alden Judevine, who settled in South Hardwick in the late 1830s, had been the most prosperous and influential man of his generation in the area. In the early 1880s he built himself a fashionable "Queen Anne" mansion with black marble fireplaces and imported English oak mantels—it was the most palatial house in the community. The Bickfords symbolically assumed the Judevines' position as community leaders.⁶⁴

Within a year of coming to Hardwick, Alice Bickford had joined the other prominent ladies in the Village in forming the "Fortnightly Club,"

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a literary group. Mrs. Bickford also participated in a similar group, the Village Improvement Society, which focused on Village appearance and safety issues. In 1907 she led the drive to build a hospital in the Village in memory of her father.⁶⁵ All this activity among the "gentlewomen" of the Village helped to integrate the leading industrial family into the social leadership of the Village dominated by the pre-industrial elite. Social integration, nevertheless, did not always bring political support for Woodbury Granite Company needs. The critical issue became electricity.

Hardwick's power plant had managed to keep up with the needs of the Village and to supplement the needs of the granite industry until about 1908 when various problems developed. The Village applied a series of stop-gap measures, but by early 1911 power delivery was a major concern; the lights flickered at night. An "expert electrician" investigated and reported to Bickford and the Hardwick Board of Trade that equipment at the main power station on the Lamoille River six miles west of Hardwick at Potterville was adequate, but that it was badly supervised and maintained and Village wiring was "not the best. . . . The light flickered in the evening evidently from the effects of the moving picture machines."⁶⁶ In 1911, unions went on strike for higher wages because the "uncertain and limited" power supply meant that they "were never certain whether they [could] work full time." The *Gazette* reported that the power problem was the reason the Union Granite Company, after fifteen years in Hardwick, had relocated in Morrisville, sixteen miles west.⁶⁷

A committee investigating the "uncertain and irregular" power supply recommended the Village build a dam at the juncture of Alder Brook and the Lamoille River, a quarter mile west of the Village, to eliminate the uncertain flow of water at the power plant caused by irregular rainfall. The dam would capture seventy-five million cubic feet of water and assure the power plant a steady and controllable supply of water. Construction was completed in 1911.⁶⁸ The new dam stabilized the power supply, but by the following May operating expenses rose, forcing a rate increase, and an "expert" from Burlington assessed the condition of the Potterville dam as "failing"; a new dam was needed there.⁶⁹

Electric power was a major concern to George Bickford. In March 1912, he had won the contract for the Northwestern Mutual Life Insurance Building in Minneapolis, Minnesota. At that time the Hardwick plant was cutting granite for the construction of the Minneapolis Post Office, the Miners Bank of Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania, the Bureau of Engraving and Printing building in Washington, D.C., and the Citizens Bank building of Michigan City, Indiana. The contract for the Minneapolis Museum of Fine Art had been signed but the cutting not yet started, and

the contract for the Cleveland City Hall was on the market with no takers. Bickford had fixed his company's labor costs through 1916 by the terms of the May 1911 union contract. He knew his granite production costs from the quarry and railroads, and he needed to be sure of a predictable, reliable, and inexpensive supply of power before he bid on the Cleveland contract. He was willing to enlarge the company's own power plant and stone-cutting facilities to accommodate the Cleveland contract, but the failing dam at Potterville could cause a serious shortage of auxiliary power if not replaced quickly and managed well.⁷⁰

Through the summer of 1912 a citizens' committee investigated the situation at the Potterville dam and on August 9 proposed to a Village Meeting of twenty-five people that a new dam should be built. The meeting accepted the proposal, then by a ten to five vote accepted a Bickford motion that the Village lease its power plants to his company. Village trustees, in charge of but apparently failing to effectively supervise the day-to-day operation, perhaps realized that the utility demanded full-time, knowledgeable management and that George Bickford could handle the job. The trustees had worked with him for a decade or more and most admired his talents and trusted him. The Village and the Woodbury Granite Company drew up a contract assigning management of the power plant to Bickford.⁷¹

Outside the Village officials' circles, Bickford attracted both admiration and distrust. The very size of his company and scope of its activity was a source of concern to the owners of other granite sheds who might have to compete with him and to the pre-industrial elite accustomed to exercising authority in the community. Nevertheless, Bickford was well-known and admired by many who had nothing to fear from him. In addition to carrying the favor of the local elected officials, he had actively sought broader public acceptance because he knew that the town meeting mechanism of direct democracy was available to those who would oppose his plans. The railroad supporters in 1895 had failed to grasp this point; the power plant issue presented Bickford with a similar test.

E. R. Fletcher reacted with alarm to the proposed arrangement between the Village and Bickford and sought the opinion of a Burlington engineer familiar with the situation. The consultant opposed the proposal, indicating that the Village was being paid a fifth what it deserved and noting "there seems to be a spirit of faintheartedness in regard to this plant that is unbecoming to many of the men of Hardwick, and which is not displayed in other matters."⁷² If the Village leaders were "fainthearted," the Village citizenry was not: at a meeting on August 28, 1912, they voted, 63 to 20, to reject the contract without "one word of comment . . . in favor of the proposition or against it. . . . The idea of leasing

out the power plant was entirely too new . . . and entirely too large . . . to be decided upon at once." They also voted to start building a new Potterville dam as quickly as possible.⁷³

Bickford had failed the test and was caught off guard, but he quickly argued that if defeat of his offer was because the public lacked details of the contract, the contract should be published and another meeting called to reconsider the issue. Despite some opposition from some smaller shed owners, a second meeting was called and the proposed contract was published in the *Gazette*. One of the town auditors argued in the paper that the Village would make a profit two thousand dollars greater by leasing the plant than by managing it, and that the contract would assure both parties a reliable power supply during peak demand periods—the company's heavy demand was during the day and the Village's during the evening.⁷⁴ At the second meeting, held September 20, George James, chief auditor for both the Woodbury Granite Company and the Village of Hardwick, symbolizing the honest interests of both parties, moved that the Village accept the contract; the motion passed, 125 to 83.⁷⁵

The terms of the contract called for the Village to continue handling residential light customers, but all power for industrial use would be sold to Bickford for a lump sum. Bickford, in turn, would sell it to other customers at prices set by the contract and would be responsible for care and management of the power plant. Opponents of the contract remained active as the negotiations continued. They feared that Bickford would abuse his power as manager of electricity sold to other sheds, some of which were owned by men, especially E. R. Fletcher, who had opposed Bickford on other matters over the years. Despite these objections, the contract was signed December 2, 1912. On the same day Bickford opened his Granite Trust Company in direct competition with the local bank.⁷⁶

Until Bickford ventured into the banking business, only granite manufacturers had voiced objections to the electric department contract. But Bickford's bank threatened the pre-industrial establishment. For many years the Hardwick Savings Bank and Trust Company (HSB&T) had been the local bank. In 1895 it was supported by about 450 depositors; by 1906, prospering from granite industry expansion, it boasted nearly two thousand. Although they had not been politically active during the first decade of the new century, bank stockholders, members of families who had dominated the village in the previous century, retained a vision of the Hardwick they had known before the influx of new granite-related residents. They had suppressed ambivalence or resentment as the industry expanded, aware of the money it brought the local economy; they, too, were landlords and merchants. They tolerated the things they disliked,

but their tolerance ended with the formation of the Granite Trust Company; it was prepared to award loans for which a granite contract was collateral — a practice the HSB&T had never allowed. That policy would benefit small manufacturers as well as Bickford and would attract customers and depositors from the substantial community of prosperous granite workers. Furthermore, it provided Bickford with a source of readily available local funds that the HSB&T could not control. Bickford's independence from the HSB&T removed from the pre-industrial elite any control they may have felt they had over the future of their Village, and his new bank threatened their investments in the HSB&T. Concern that Bickford's bank would hurt the HSB&T was well founded — between 1913 and 1915, its commercial deposits dropped by twenty-nine percent.⁷⁷

After the power plant contract was signed and the bank was in business, a clause in the contract that was not in the draft approved at the Village Meeting came to light: the trustees had given the Woodbury Granite Company, i.e., Bickford, an option to buy the Alder Brook Dam power installation when the contract expired.⁷⁸ When that became known, the pre-industrial elite joined the small granite manufacturers in opposing the contract. The ensuing battle pitted Bickford, backed by the Village officials, against the small shed owners, backed by the Village's former establishment.

Those opposing Bickford and the trustees challenged the legality of the option to buy the Alder Brook installation under the Village charter. In response, the town's local state representative, a staunch Bickford man, submitted a charter amendment to the legislature to assure the power to sell. The opposition then asked the state to investigate the contract and simultaneously asked the Village to reconsider the contract at a Village Meeting.⁷⁹

In the hearing conducted by a legislative Committee on Municipal Corporations, the witnesses against the contract, most of them small granite manufacturers, objected to the amount of power Bickford had acquired, directly and indirectly. Their biggest concern was for becoming dependent on the Woodbury Granite Company for their electricity, fearing that certain sheds would be denied electric power if Bickford were dispensing it. Some claimed that the Woodbury Granite Company was paying less for its power than the smaller operators and was thus making a profit from power needs of the smaller sheds. Still others objected to the company's special rates from the railroad. One even decried the influence on the rental market exercised by one company (presumably Woodbury Granite) employing four hundred men, preferring twenty companies employing twenty men each.⁸⁰

The Village Meeting was held a week after the legislative hearing, before

the committee's decision was announced. Bickford's opponents claimed the contract to be in restraint of trade. They acknowledged the problem of poor supervision of the power plant and suggested an engineer be hired to supervise the operation.⁸¹ Bickford's supporters denied any illegality and pointed out that the Village and the Woodbury Granite Company had a contract in place, and on the strength of that contract the company had taken on several large projects, the Cleveland City Hall among them. For the Village to change its mind would amount to a breach of contract, and it would be liable for any losses the company might experience as a result. The Village could not afford to take the chance. On January 17, 1913, the contract was reaffirmed 194 to 95. The legislature, however, denied the Village the right to sell the Alder Brook plant, relieving the voters' real concern about the lease contract.⁸²

Until this controversy, the industrialists had used Village Meeting to explain their plans and policies and solicit authorization, so it was seen as a vehicle for promoting industrial development, not for blocking it. Issues were decided at Village Meeting where they were discussed and voted upon immediately by the voters in attendance. The town meeting system required that citizens attend the meeting to cast a vote. Beginning about 1900, neither Village nor Town voters had exercised their power, and the trustees had made major policy as well as minor administrative decisions with very little input from anyone but the industrialists in the Village. In 1913, Bickford's opponents tried to use Village Meeting to force their will on the trustees, but it was a novel use of the system in that era in Hardwick, and they failed.⁸³

"Hardwick-on-the-map," trumpeted again and again in the newspaper during 1895-1904, proclaimed the success Village leaders sought as they developed municipal utilities and services. And, for the most part, the citizenry agreed with their leaders. Hardwick welcomed the Woodbury Granite Company when it settled in the Village and pointed proudly to the company's success and the prosperity that followed. Clearly there were many who agreed with the *Gazette* editor that "the way to make the place grow is to give the glad hand to the men that manufacture."⁸⁴ Throughout this period, the records and the local newspaper reflect official support and enthusiasm for the wants and needs of the granite industry in general and the Woodbury Granite Company in particular. Nevertheless, though industrialization did not come to Hardwick uninvited, it did not come unresisted. There was an underlying reservation about how much the place should grow and how the glad hand should be offered. The reservations surfaced in 1895 when both the H&W and the electric-light plant were defeated, and again in 1912-13 in the fight against leasing the electric plant to the Woodbury Granite Company. The 1895 reservations seem to have



George Hamilton Bickford, 1868-1914. Courtesy of Hardwick Historical Society.

come from several different segments of the community, but the 1912 resistance came from a coalition of small manufacturers and displaced establishment, both feeling threatened by the local giant.

For the pre-industrial establishment, the Village's status as "the building granite capital of the world" had been fun, but as Bickford amassed power and influence, and therefore more independence, images of "the way it's supposed to be" became disrupted and resistance grew. These socially elite resisters failed to recognize their natural allies—small granite shed owners—until it was too late. Bickford had gained necessary support among the elected officials and then trapped the electorate into supporting him. He undoubtedly figured that he could sign a contract for the Cleveland City Hall before effective opposition could be brought against him so long as the Alder Brook power plant option was not made public until after the power plant contract was signed. The negotiators for the Village accommodated his needs. The combination of that conspiracy of silence and the quick signing of the Cleveland contract effectively defeated the power of the people to vote their will without fear of substantial reprisals.

The Village's contract allowing the company to run the utility lasted five years. By the time it expired, Bickford had died, the Woodbury Granite Company was under new ownership, the country was at war, and the

granite industry was in a slump. The contract was not renewed, but the Village had come to appreciate committed management of the power supply and paid the Village president, one of the trustees, or the Village Clerk a regular stipend for managing the electric department until a full-time manager was hired in the 1960s.⁸⁵

On June 3, 1914, George Bickford died in the John Holden Memorial Hospital in Hardwick from a burst appendix, peritonitis, and gangrene; he was forty-five. The Village was stunned. The union secretary wrote of Bickford in the *Granite Cutters' Journal*, "He was a keen business man and as would be expected, this branch had some pretty lively bouts with him. . . . [But] he was a gentleman. The branch turned out in a body to the funeral service."⁸⁶

In the end not everybody thought him a gentleman. The residual anger from the battle over the electric company and the bank emerged as the board of directors of the John Holden Memorial Hospital, undoubtedly dominated by the pre-industrial elite, changed the name to the Hardwick Hospital less than eighteen months after Bickford's death.⁸⁷

William Clifford, manager of the Bethel branch of the company, took over Bickford's post, then purchased the company in 1916. During World War I, building with granite slowed, and the Hardwick branch of the company gradually became less and less active. In July 1917 the *Granite Cutters' Journal* reported, "Hardwick is certainly on the bum. The house owners will have to boost it as a health resort to get their houses rented." The following year was worse: "Business has taken a big slump here. The Woodbury Granite Company has shut down flat."⁸⁸

The granite industry died slowly in Hardwick. The Woodbury Granite Company reopened a few months later, surviving on large monuments and mausoleums until the Great Depression.⁸⁹ The monument sheds competing with Barre gradually went out of business. The H&W ceased operation in 1934, and the local quarries were generally abandoned. Most of the workers left. Those who stayed changed occupations and the Village economy came to rest again on small local industries and the surrounding agricultural communities.⁹⁰

The vagaries of the marketplace had provided the opportunity for Hardwick's heyday as an industrial force, and the same vagaries were instrumental in removing it. In its quarter century of industrial glory, the Village faced the universal struggle of communities in the midst of change to define an identity and retain control of that definition. Despite the illusion of involvement and control afforded by Town and Village meetings, the Hardwick public acted only as a brake on the movement to industrialize. The community could, and did, reject or accept what the elected officials brought before it, but it never went beyond that except in 1912-13 when

it tried unsuccessfully to reject an agreement between the trustees and the Woodbury Granite Company.

A community is not a monolith; it comprises many parts with different visions and aspirations. The aspirations that prevail are those achieving the most support in the places where it makes the most difference—generally where business and civic leaders come together. Despite the “hands on” quality of direct democracy, a few visionaries are more successful in pursuing their visions than a community of diverse groups whose visions have many small differences that must be reconciled. In Hardwick the industrialists prevailed: in that way Hardwick’s experience typified that of many other communities, with and without direct democracy.

Woodbury Granite Company Structures (Partial list through 1914)

Iowa State Capitol, (steps and platforms), Des Moines, Iowa
 Kentucky State Capitol, (base course and interior polished columns),
 Frankfurt, Kentucky
 Pennsylvania State Capitol, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania (1903)
 Wisconsin State Capitol, Madison, Wisconsin
 Chicago City Hall and Cook County Court House, Chicago, Illinois
 City Hall, Cleveland, Ohio
 City Hall, Des Moines, Iowa
 City Hall, Hartford, Connecticut
 City Hall, Youngstown, Ohio
 Mahoning County Court House, Youngstown, Ohio
 U.S. Post Office, Court House and Custom House, Providence, R.I.
 U.S. Post Office, Grand Rapids, Michigan
 U.S. Post Office, Minneapolis, Minnesota
 U.S. Post Office, New Bedford, Massachusetts
 U.S. Post Office, Washington, D.C.
 American Bank Note Co. Building, New York City
 Bank of Amityville, Amityville, New York
 Bank of Portsmouth, Virginia
 Bank of the Ohio Valley, Wheeling, West Virginia
 Bankers Trust Co. Building, New York City
 Belleville Savings Bank, Belleville, Illinois
 Bridgeport Trust Company, Bridgeport, Connecticut
 Citizens Bank, Michigan City, Indiana
 Citizens National Bank, Wooster, Ohio
 Citizens Savings Bank, Cedar Falls, Iowa

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First National Bank, Creston, Iowa
 First National Bank, Lidgerwood, North Dakota
 Franklin Savings Institutions, Greenfield, Massachusetts
 Mahoning National Bank, Youngstown, Ohio
 Merchants and Illinois National Bank, Peoria, Illinois
 Miners Bank, Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania
 National Savings Bank, New Haven, Connecticut
 Ohio National Bank, Columbus, Ohio
 Old Colony Trust Co. Building, Rochester, New York
 Peninsular Bank, Detroit, Michigan
 Peoples Savings Bank, Toledo, Ohio
 Title Guarantee & Trust Co. Building, New York City
 Union Trust Co. Building, Rochester, New York
 Fergus Reid Building, Norfolk, Virginia
 Glens Falls Insurance Co. Building, Glens Falls, New York
 Insurance Exchange, Chicago, Illinois
 Masonic Temple, St. Johnsbury, Vermont
 Northwestern Mutual Life Insurance Co. Building,
 Minneapolis, Minnesota
 Rike-Kumler Building, Dayton, Ohio
 Rothschild Building, Chicago, Illinois
 S. Phillipson Building, Chicago, Illinois
 Turk's Head Building, Providence, Rhode Island
 Burlington Station, Galesburg, Illinois
 Union Station, Memphis, Tennessee
 Union Station, Washington, D.C.
 Western Union Building, New York City
 East High School, Des Moines, Iowa
 High School, Grand Rapids, Michigan
 High School, Omaha, Nebraska
 City Hall Square Building, Chicago, Illinois
 Flower Memorial, Watertown, New York
 Governor Page Monument, Hyde Park, Vermont
 Lowry Memorial, Minneapolis, Minnesota
 Memorial Archway, Port Huron, New York
 Memorial Building, Hardwick, Vermont
 Museum of Fine Arts, Minneapolis, Minnesota
 National Museum, Washington, D.C.
 Navy Memorial, Vicksburg, Mississippi
 Pendergast Memorial, Kansas City, Missouri
 Soldiers and Sailors Memorial, Princeton, Illinois
 Soldiers and Sailors Memorial, Wichita, Kansas

Soldiers and Sailors Monument, Bloomington, Illinois
 Soldiers and Sailors Monument, Scranton, Pennsylvania
 Soldiers Monument, Ashtabula, Ohio
 Soldiers Monument, Manchester, Vermont
 State Memorial Building, Topeka, Kansas (base)
 Church of the Immaculate Conception, Minneapolis, Minnesota
 Pro-Cathedral, Minneapolis, Minnesota
 Carnegie Library, Syracuse, New York
 Connecticut State Library, Hartford, Connecticut
 Homeopathic Hospital, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania
 Hotel Pontchartrain, Detroit, Michigan
 Harry Payne Whitney Residence, New York City
 Mandell Residence, Boston, Massachusetts
 Bureau of Engraving and Printing, Washington, D.C.

NOTES

¹ "Hardwick-on-the-Map," *Hardwick Gazette*, 19 September 1912, 1, attributed to *Granite Cutters' Journal*. The author lived in Hardwick.

² Personal interview with Charlotte Stone Hince, July 1981.

³ Village of Hardwick, *Annual Report*, 1915, front cover.

⁴ Herbert G. Gutman, "Class, Status, and Community Power in Nineteenth-Century American Industrial Cities; Patterson, New Jersey: a Case Study," in his *Work, Culture, and Society in Industrializing America* (New York: Vintage Books, 1977), 234-292.

⁵ James Hillman, "The Open City." *The Soul of Pittsburgh: a Public Lecture Series* (Pittsburgh, Pa.: WDUO, Duquesne University, 1987), sound cassette; Gutman, 236.

⁶ Walter Hill Crockett, *Vermont, the Green Mountain State* (New York: Century History, 1923), vol. V, 90; Town of Hardwick, "Proceedings," 1868, Hardwick Town Clerk's Office, 99-101; Town of Hardwick, Grand List, 1868, Lower Vault, Memorial Building, Hardwick, Vt., inside cover. The exact valuation was \$496,476. The Grand List is one percent of the total valuation and is commonly used as a measure of a town's affluence.

⁷ The railroad also operated under the names: Lamoille Valley, Portland and Ogdensburg, St. Johnsbury and Lake Champlain, St. Johnsbury and Lamoille County, and, in 1990, Lamoille Valley. For more on the problems of the railroad, see John S. Kendall, "The Hardwick and Woodbury Railroad," *Bulletin No. 68, Railroad and Locomotive Historical Society*, 1946, 50-56 and Marvin R. Kendall and Donald B. Valentine, Jr., "Rough Granite, Tough Shays; A History of the Hardwick and Woodbury R.R. and the Woodbury Granite Company," *New England Limited*, 1 (1978), 13-27.

⁸ Hamilton Child, *Gazetteer and Business Directory of Caledonia County for 1885* (Syracuse: Hamilton Child, 1885), pt. II, 204; Harold Fisher Wilson, *The Hill Country of Northern New England* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1936), 40-235; *Tenth Census of the United States: 1880*, 354.

⁹ Arthur W. Brayley, *The History of the Granite Industry in New England* (Boston: National Association of Granite Industries of the United States, 1913), I, 5-157.

¹⁰ "Granite: Its Growth for Building and Ornamental Purposes," *Granite Cutters' Journal*, October 1891, 1.

¹¹ Theodore Dreiser, *Book About Myself* (Greenwich, Conn.: Fawcett Publications, n.d.) vol. II, 207-209, quoted in J. C. Furnas, *The Americans: A Social History of the United States, 1587-1914* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1969), 763.

¹² Furnas, 766; Bureau of the Census, *Special Report: Mines and Quarries, 1902* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1905), 65-66; *Industrial Vermont*, (Essex Jct.: Vermont Bureau of Publicity, 1914), 6. The figures are not corrected for monetary fluctuation.

¹³ Hamilton Child, *Gazetteer and Business Directory of Caledonia County for 1885* (Syracuse: Hamilton Child, 1885), pt. II, 252-290.

¹⁴ The 1890 census was taken before the Village was incorporated, so the figures do not distinguish between the Town and Village. If, however, we assume that the 1900 population in the Town outside the Village (1130 people) approximates the population of that area in 1890, we find the Village popula-

tion to be about 420 people; Vermont Legislature, *Acts and Resolves Passed by the General Assembly of the State of Vermont at the Eleventh Biennial Session, 1890*, no. 84, 92-97; *Act of Incorporation and By-laws of Hardwick Village* (1891), in Village of Hardwick, *Annual Reports, 1892-1910*, Lower Vault, Memorial Building, Hardwick, Vt.; Village of Hardwick, "Record," 1900, Hardwick Village Office Vault, 24. Hereafter the Town of Hardwick will be referred to as the Town and the official minutes of its meetings will be called "Proceedings"; the Village of Hardwick will be referred to as the Village, and its official minutes will be referred to as "Record."

¹⁵"Record," 1891-1920; "Proceedings," 1890-1920; Grand Lists, 1895-1915, Lower Vault, Memorial Building, Hardwick, Vt. In 1892 the Town and Village authorized tax exemptions for businesses. Hardwick Grand List books from 1892 to 1910 evidence an average of two exempt companies each year. The highest number in any year was four (1896); there were four years when none was exempt. No statement of policy or procedure governing the granting of exemptions has come to light, but control seems to have been in the listers' hands. There is no information about the exemptions except their notation in the Grand List, so there is no way to determine how many businesses asked for exemption and were denied. In 1905 the listers denied exemption to the Crystal Brook Granite Company and T. T. Daniell's electric plant. Both decisions were appealed to the Board of Civil Authority, a quasi-judicial local board of appeals, which supported the listers. In 1906 both the Union Granite Company and Ross & Imlah (granite company), in an apparent attempt to override a refusal by the listers, petitioned the Town at Town Meeting, but were denied exemption; "Proceedings," 206, 222.

¹⁶"50 Years in the Quarries," *Granite: A Heritage in Stone; A Community Discussion Program*, (Barre, Vt.: Aldrich Library, 1982), sound cassette.

¹⁷George F. Bickford, "Remembering the Granite Quarries in Woodbury," *Hardwick Gazette*, 30 September 1980, 6.

¹⁸Ed Lewis, *Vermont's Covered Bridge Road* (Strasburg, Pa: Baggage Car Press, 1974), 61; Hardwick Grand List 1890, Lower Vault, Memorial Building, Hardwick, Vt.; *Walton's Vermont Register* (Rutland: Tuttle Company, 1895), 115.

¹⁹John S. Kendall, "The Hardwick and Woodbury Railroad," *Bulletin No. 68*, Railroad and Locomotive Historical Society, 1946, 50-56; Lewis, 61.

²⁰State of Vermont, *Acts and Resolves, 1894*, No. 235, 316. The board of directors comprised George M. Powers, railroad enthusiast from Morrisville, Edward H. Blossom, assistant superintendent of the StJ&LC, Charles A. Watson, quarry owner in Woodbury, J. V. Dutton, an attorney in Hardwick, W. H. Fullerton, an attorney from Manchester, Vt., A. A. Bullard, attorney and box factory owner in Hardwick, and E. R. Fletcher, granite shed owner from St. Albans, Vt. Blossom, Powers, Fullerton, and Watson all owned quarry land in Woodbury. E. R. Fletcher owned and operated a quarry and shed into the 1920s. Dutton and Sanford were railroad men, along with Powers and Blossom; Town of Hardwick, Land Records, vol. 31: 599-574; Town of Woodbury, Land Records, Woodbury Town Clerk's Office, South Woodbury, Vt., vol. 11: 420, 425, 426; vol. 14: 48, 51, 298, 310.

²¹*Granite Cutters' Journal*, February 1895, 3.

²²John S. Kendall, *Bulletin No. 68*, 53; Kendall and Valentine, 15; The chief engineer of the B&M helped set the location of the roadbed, the StJ&LC furnished rails, spikes, and ties, and the B&M rented a locomotive and some flat cars to the H&W; John S. Kendall, *Bulletin No. 68*, 52.

²³"Proceedings," 1895, 79.

²⁴*Ibid.*; the 359 votes cast on the amendment to the motion to buy railroad stock slightly exceeded the 350 votes cast for the Town legislator in the September election of 1894; "Proceedings," 1895, 80; 1894, 70.

²⁵The State of Vermont was asserting its right and power to demand that towns conform to uniform standards in areas such as schools and highway maintenance that had an impact on the future of the state as a whole. Consequently, townspeople all over the state faced taxes to upgrade those services to state standards. For further examination of this movement in the growth of state government, see John Perry Wheeler, "State Administrative Supervision of Town Government in Vermont," vol. II (Ph.D. diss., Syracuse Univ. 1957); *Town Annual Report 1896*, 6. The Town paid off its railroad bonds in 1906; *Town Annual Report 1906*, 43.

²⁶"... work on the Woodbury branch railroad will be suspended soon on account of lack of funds and no desire on the part of the people of Hardwick to build it for the Fletcher Granite Company and the Boston and Maine Railroad. . . ." *Granite Cutters' Journal*, August 1895, 6.

²⁷Nelson T. Dale, *Granites of Vermont*, bulletin no. 404, U.S. Geological Survey (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1909), 96-98.

²⁸"Proceedings," 1895, 80.

²⁹"Proceedings," 1895, 81, 82.

³⁰"Proceedings," 1895, 83-84. "Pass over" is a term for "postpone indefinitely." It is unrecognized in any formal parliamentary procedures, but is a traditionally accepted action at Vermont town meetings. Typically a counted vote indicated a question so controversial that a clear decision could not be reached with a voice vote or a decision so weighty that the voters wanted the count to be recorded for posterity. A vote for which the "Proceedings" show no count is assumed to be a voice vote.

³¹ It was the corruptibility of representative government that inspired the "initiative, referendum, and recall" movement of the era. William L. O'Neill, *The Progressive Years: America Comes of Age* (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1975), 12.

³² *Compendium of the Eleventh Census of the United States, 1890*, 407; R. L. Duffus, *Williamstown Branch* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1958). Given an estimated 1890 population of 420 people, the Village of Hardwick, too, had tripled its numbers by 1900.

³³ For more about the thinking and perspectives of residents in small nineteenth century towns, see: Robert H. Wiebe, *The Search for Order: 1877-1920* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1967), 7; Oscar Handlin, *The American People: a New History* (London: Hutchinson, n.d., first published 1963), 286; *Town Annual Report*, 1896, 6.

³⁴ Hiram Carleton, *Genealogical and Family History of the State of Vermont* (New York: Lewis Publishing Co., 1903), vol. I, 342; personal interview with George F. Bickford, son of George H. Bickford, July 6, 1980; Albert Nelson Marquis, *Who's Who in New England* (Chicago: A. N. Marquis & Co., 1915) 664; John M. Comstock, ed., *Principal Civil Officers of Vermont, 1777 to 1918* (St. Albans: St. Albans Messenger, 1918), 40.

³⁵ Rush Welter, *Bennington, Vermont, an Industrial History*, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1959), 38, 24.

³⁶ One of the H&W board members, William H. Fullerton of Manchester, Vermont, may have made the connection. Personal interview with George F. Bickford, July 1981.

³⁷ Fletcher kept his original quarry on top of Robinson Mountain, which produced better stone. Dale, 27; Woodbury Land Records, vol. 11: 420, 425, 426. Throughout the 1890s and into the early 1900s, speculation in quarry land in Woodbury was a popular sport. Most of the prominent men in Hardwick at the time seem to have participated, evidenced by volumes 14, 15, 17, and 19, Woodbury Land Records; State of Vermont Public Records, file no. 283 (Office of the Secretary of State, Montpelier, Vt.).

³⁸ George James, "A Forceful Vermont Industry," *The Vermonter* 16 (January 1911), 8-20; Lewis, 62; Daniel opened a real estate office in Hardwick. "Our Advertisers," *Hardwick Gazette*, 14 January 1898, 1.

³⁹ Personal interviews with George F. Bickford, July 6, 1980, September 3, 1982; Prentiss C. Dodge, *Encyclopedia: Vermont Biography* (Burlington: Ullery Publishing Co., 1912), 119; Walter Hill Crockett, *Vermont, the Green Mountain State* (New York: Century History, 1923), vol. V, 236; Hiram Carleton, *Genealogical and Family History of the State of Vermont* (New York: The Lewis Publishing Co., 1903), vol. I, 92-94.

⁴⁰ The first municipal improvement was a water supply, followed by concrete sidewalks and a tax-supported fire department, all in 1891. In 1892 the Village established a sewer system and authorized a suitable police force "if necessary." "Record," 1891, 65; 1892, 67. In 1892-1893, the Village's newly incorporated school district built a new academy and graded school building. "Proceedings," 1892, 433-434. In 1897 Mrs. Alden Judevine, widow of the leader of the previous era in Hardwick history, donated a library building in memory of her husband and son to house the collection M. V. B. Hathaway had given the town in 1894. The library was a red stone Richardsonian Romanesque structure, on which Mrs. Judevine had the family name spelled the more fashionable French "Jeudevine," although Alden Judevine had spelled it "Judevine" on their 1858 marriage license, and all their children are registered as "Judevine." *Vital Records of Hardwick, Vt.*, Wilbur Collection, University of Vermont Library. Between 1898 and 1903 the Town renovated the old multi-roomed town hall into an auditorium and meeting hall for the community, complete with dressing rooms and hand-painted stage curtain, and renamed it the Opera House. "Proceedings," 1898, 433-434; 1902, 90-91; 1903, 107; Elizabeth Dow, "That Old Curtain in the Town House," *Hazen Road Dispatch* 7 (1982), 12.

⁴¹ Personal interviews with Carl Jennings, electrician, July 1980; "Record," 1894, 84; "Record," 1895, 101. The 1895 defeat was slightly more than two months before the Town defeated the stock purchase of the H&W. Meanwhile, the Hardwick representative to the General Assembly had Hardwick's charter amended to permit the Village to "purchase or construct an electric light plant." Acts and Resolves 1894, No. 180, 227.

⁴² *Village Annual Report*, 1896, 25; "Record," 1896, 119.

⁴³ "Record," 1897, 123; "Hardwick's Electric Lights," *Burlington Free Press & Times*, 12 February 1897, 5; "Correspondence," *Hardwick Gazette*, 29 August 1912; "Record," 1897, 138-160; "Editorial Notes," *Hardwick Gazette*, 30 July 1897, 5; "The Woodbury Granite Company," *Hardwick Gazette*, 6 August 1897, 1.

⁴⁴ Personal interview with Carl Jennings, July 1980. Keeping accounts straight was a problem. "There is an unsettled account between the village and the Woodbury Granite Co., on account of electric power furnished to each by the other, the exact standing of which we are unable to report." *Village Annual Report*, 1909, 20.

⁴⁵ "About the Granite Industry in this Section," *Hardwick Gazette*, 29 July 1898, 1.

⁴⁶ Handlin, 149.

⁴⁷ Edwin Fenton, *Immigrants and Unions, A Case Study: Italians and American Labor, 1870-1920* (New York: Arno Press, 1975), 435-437; Carl Matthews, "The GClA and Seventy-Five Years of Progress in Barre, Vermont," *Granite Cutters' Journal*, September 1961, 8-9.

⁴⁸"Hardwick, Vt." *Granite Cutters' Journal*, November 1890, 5; *Granite Cutters' Journal*, December 1890, 5.

⁴⁹"Some Statistical Facts," *Granite Cutters' Journal*, January 1896, 3. "The Short Work Day," *Granite Cutters' Journal*, January 1896, 3; Elizabeth H. Dow, "Hardwick on the Map: 1895-1915" (MA thesis, University of Vermont, 1985), 19-20.

⁵⁰On at least one occasion Hardwick union members actively opposed radical protesters. "Troubles in the Ranks on Labor Day," *Hardwick Gazette*, 5 September 1912, 5; Paul Buhle, "Italian-American Radicals and Labor in Rhode Island, 1905-30," in *The New England Working Class and the New Labor History*, ed. by Herbert G. Gutman and Donald H. Bell. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1987), 278-80.

⁵¹Dow thesis, 22, 85-88, 50. This and all employment data are taken from an analysis of the data of Manuscript 1 of the Twelfth Census of the United States: Town of Hardwick (Caledonia County, Vt.), 1900, microfilm (Bailey-Howe Library, University of Vermont), and the Manuscript 1 of the Thirteenth Census of the United States: Town of Hardwick (Caledonia County, Vt.), 1910, microfilm (Baker Library, Dartmouth College). The 1900 census was taken in June when the industry was in full operation, and the 1910 census was taken in April. If it had been taken in June, 1910, there might have been more cutters in the Village, but we cannot verify that.

⁵²*Industrial Vermont*, 10. Blocks two hundred feet long, twenty feet high and twenty feet thick "without seam or flaw" were measured.

⁵³*Granite Cutters' Journal*, October 1898, 6.

⁵⁴James, 12, 14.

⁵⁵*Town Annual Reports*, 1890-1920; "Proceedings," 1890-1920.

⁵⁶"Record," 1891-1915.

⁵⁷"Hardwick Hearing," *Hardwick Gazette*, 16 January 1913, 1; "Contract for Woodbury Granite Co.," *Hardwick Gazette*, 15 August 1912, 1; J. Wesley Miller, "Bethel's Finest Product: the Wisconsin State Capitol," *Journal of Historic Madison, Inc., of Wisconsin* 14 (1978), 40-47; "Hardwick on the Move in 1912," *Hardwick Gazette*, 2 January 1913, 5.

⁵⁸Hardwick Grand List, 1903, 1910, Lower Vault of the Memorial Building, Hardwick, Vt. E. R. Fletcher moved to Hardwick in 1902. This comparison includes only those properties that were listed as stone sheds. Though several companies had additional taxable real estate, such as power plants and quarries, each type was listed separately so stone sheds could be isolated for direct comparison.

⁵⁹Nelson T. Dale, *Granites of Vermont*, bulletin 404, United States Geological Survey (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1909), 123-124. The figures were the value of the stone at the quarry, and the Woodbury quarries were located in Washington County. The Wisconsin State Capitol, the biggest project to be cut in Bethel, was cut as the figures were gathered. J. Wesley Miller, "Bethel's Finest Product: the Wisconsin State Capitol," *Journal of Historic Madison, Inc., of Wisconsin*, 14 (1978), 40-47. The white granite of Bethel had a higher price than the blues and grays of Woodbury.

⁶⁰Winston Allen Flint, *The Progressive Movement in Vermont* (Washington, D.C.: American Council on Public Affairs, 1941), 75-76; Fenton, 450-55; "A Report of the Social Service Commission to the Convention of the Diocese of Vermont Assembled in Bennington, September 25, 1912," *Journal of the Annual Convention of the Diocese of Vermont* (Episcopal), 1912, 87; "Trustees Report," *Village Annual Report*, 1907, 1-5.

⁶¹Dow thesis, 80-137.

⁶²*Town Annual Reports*, 1900-1915; *Village Annual Reports*, 1900-1915.

⁶³Personal interviews with Carl Jennings, (b. 1895), July 1980, and Charlotte Stone Hince (b. 1907), July 1982. Both remember George Bickford from their childhoods.

⁶⁴Correspondence from George F. Bickford to the author, September 20, 1980; personal interview with George F. Bickford, July 1981.

⁶⁵Richard Herndon, *Men of Progress; Biographical Sketches and Portraits of Leaders in and of the State of Vermont* (Boston: New England Magazine, 1898) 22-23.

⁶⁶Anna Spaulding, "History of the Fortnightly Club," unpublished manuscript located in a book of Fortnightly Club records in the Lower Vault of the Hardwick Memorial Building; Minute Book of the Village Improvement Society, Lower Vault of the Memorial Building, Hardwick, Vt.

⁶⁷"Board of Trade Meeting," *Hardwick Gazette*, 6 April 1911, 5; unpublished confidential report to George H. Bickford from J. R. Hartwell, dated April 2, 1911. Hardwick Village Office Vault, Hardwick, Vt., 2; Hardwick had two motion picture "theaters" in 1912.

⁶⁸"Editorial," *Hardwick Gazette*, 11 May 1911, 2; "Union Granite Company to locate in Morrisville," *Hardwick Gazette*, 4 May 1911, 8.

⁶⁹"Record," 1911, 424-25; *Reports of Village of Hardwick Electric Power Situation*, Hardwick Village Office Vault, Hardwick, Vt., 1-4; *Record*, 1911, 442; *Village Annual Report*, 1912, 51; "Notice," *Hardwick Gazette*, 24 August 1911, 1.

⁷⁰"Report to the Board of Trustees," dated Burlington, Vermont, May 31, 1912, Hardwick Village Office Vault, Hardwick, Vt., 1. Though unsigned, the report may have been written by F. O. Sinclair, a Burlington engineer.

⁷¹ "Hardwick Granite Manufacturers and Employees Settle," *Hardwick Gazette*, 4 May 1911, 1; "Large Contract for Hardwick," *Hardwick Gazette*, 28 March 1912, 1; "Million Dollar Contract in Bethel White," *Hardwick Gazette*, 26 September 1912, 1; "Editorial," *Hardwick Gazette*, 28 March 1912, 2; "Cleveland City Hall out of Woodbury Granite," *Hardwick Gazette*, 2 January 1913, 1.

⁷² "Village Meeting Tuesday Night," *Hardwick Gazette*, 22 August 1912, 1; "Record," 1912, 484; "Committee Report," Hardwick Village Office Vault, Hardwick, Vt., 1-5; "Record," 1912, 485-486; F. O. Sinclair to E. R. Fletcher, 19 August 1912, Hardwick Village Office Vault, Hardwick, Vt., 1; Sinclair to Fletcher, 22 August 1912, Hardwick Village Office Vault, Hardwick, Vt.

⁷³ "Record," 1912, 489; "Correspondence," *Hardwick Gazette*, 29 August 1912, 8; "Record," 1912, 489.

⁷⁴ "Correspondence," *Hardwick Gazette*, 29 August 1912, 8.; "Correspondence," *Hardwick Gazette*, 12 September 1912, 2.

⁷⁵ "Record," 1912, 494.

⁷⁶ "Communication," *Hardwick Gazette*, 16 January 1913, 4, 5, 8; "Agreement between the Village of Hardwick and the Woodbury Granite Company," Hardwick Village Office Vault, Hardwick, Vt.; "Stockholders Meeting of Granite Trust Company," *Hardwick Gazette*, 25 July 1912, 7; "Granite Trust Co. Makes Opening Announcement," *Hardwick Gazette*, 5 December 1912, 1.

⁷⁷ *Walton's Register*, 1895, 284; 1906, 299; personal interviews with Vesta Knapp Magoon, August 1980; *Walton's Register*, 1913, 82; *Walton's Register*, 1915, 107.

⁷⁸ "Agreement between the Village of Hardwick and the Woodbury Granite Company Distributed September 20, 1912," Hardwick Village Office Vault, Hardwick, Vt. Power was charged by use as well as amount used. "Agreement between the Village of Hardwick and the Woodbury Granite Company," final contract, Hardwick Village Office Vault, Hardwick, Vt.

⁷⁹ Petitions for various actions are located in the Village Clerk's vault, Memorial Building, Hardwick, Vt.; "Record," 1912, 494.

⁸⁰ Proceedings of such meetings were not kept until about 1917; "Hardwick Hearing," *Montpelier Evening Argus*, 9 January 1913, 1.

⁸¹ "Record," 1913, 497.

⁸² "Communication from Village Trustees," *Hardwick Gazette*, 16 January 1913, 8; "Record," 1913, 498.

⁸³ *Village Annual Reports*, 1891-1913.

⁸⁴ "Reasons Why," *Hardwick Gazette*, 9 April 1903, 1.

⁸⁵ *Village Annual Reports*, 1920-1930; personal interview with Carmaline Williams, Village Clerk, 12 August 1984.

⁸⁶ *Granite Cutters' Journal*, July 1914, 10.

⁸⁷ Personal interview with J. Wesley Miller, September 1982; *Granite Cutters' Journal*, July 1917, 10; *Granite Cutters' Journal*, June 1918, 10.

⁸⁸ Personal interview with Clayton Clow, October 1982.

⁸⁹ Article 4 of the "Warning," *Village Annual Report*, 1916.

⁹⁰ John S. Kendall, *Bulletin No. 68*, 56.