HISTORIC PRESERVATION IN CONNECTICUT

VOLUME III

Central Valley: Historical and Architectural Overview and Management Guide

1995

Janice P. Cunningham

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Central Valley: Historical and Architectural Overview and Management Guide

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STATE OF CONNECTICUT

CONNECTICUT HISTORICAL COMMISSION

LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

The Connecticut Historical Commission is pleased to publish the latest in its series of planning documents on the state's six geographic historic contexts (cultural/topographic regions).

Historic Preservation in Connecticut, Volume III, Central Valley: Historical and Architectural Overview and Management Guide follows already-published similar volumes on the Western Coastal Slope and the Eastern Uplands. Reports on the Eastern Coastal Slope and the Western Uplands are in progress, and the final historical/architectural volume (Northwest Highlands) will be underway by 1997. Counterpart archaeological studies for each of the six geographic contexts are proposed, with the first (Western Coastal Slope) to be published in 1996.

Janice P. Cunningham, author of the document hereby transmitted, produced in 1992 the first historical/architectural study, that for the Western Coastal Slope. She was a trailblazer in demonstrating the effectiveness of the now standard two-part format for the series: (1) analysis of settlement patterns and resulting cultural resources and (2) management guide based on legal tools for resource protection. With the present volume, Ms. Cunningham has soundly repeated her earlier success, skillfully synthesizing the vast documentary record and the complex built environment of a region pivotal to Connecticut's identity.

The mission of the Connecticut Historical Commission is to protect our historic, architectural, and archaeological heritage through preservation partnerships at the local, state, and federal levels. The agency's series of reports on geographic historic contexts promotes that goal, enabling citizens and their government representatives to incorporate historic preservation planning into our daily lives.

John W. Shannahan
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PRESERVING OUR HERITAGE

An Introduction by the Connecticut Historical Commission

In Connecticut, the complex interaction between man and the environment has created a rich and diverse cultural landscape, the physical record of man's hand on the land. Whether it be schools or factories, churches or synagogues, residential or commercial buildings, parks or archaeological sites, the manmade environment of Connecticut is a window to the past. Such properties are a tangible link to and embodiment of the historical development of the state.

The Connecticut Historical Commission was established in 1955 to undertake a range of activities to encourage the recognition and preservation of the state's cultural (i.e., historical, architectural, and archaeological) heritage. The scope of its responsibilities was broadened when, pursuant to the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 which authorized a State Historic Preservation Office in each state and territory, the Connecticut State Historic Preservation Office was organized in the Connecticut Historical Commission. The goals of the Connecticut State Historic Preservation Office have always been the identification, registration, and protection of the state's cultural resources, including buildings, districts, structures, sites, and objects. These goals are achieved through survey, listing on the State and National Registers of Historic Places, environmental review, grants-in-aid, and technical assistance. A staff of archaeology, history, and architecture professionals at the State Historic Preservation Office works with other state agencies, nonprofit organizations, local officials, and private citizens in administering these state and federal historic preservation programs.

Approximately 110 towns in Connecticut have been partially or fully surveyed, resulting in over 70,000 historic buildings and archaeological sites being included in the Statewide Historic Resource Inventory. In further recognition of their historical, architectural, or archaeological significance, over 30,000 historic properties have been placed, individually or as part of districts, on the State and National Registers of Historic Places.

Planning Partners: Historic Contexts and Property Types

The implementation of a comprehensive preservation planning process makes it possible to carry out the goals of the State Historic Preservation Office with expanded coordination and effectiveness. The conceptual framework for such an approach is set forth in *Historic Preservation: A Cultural Resource Management Plan for Connecticut*, published by the Connecticut Historical Commission. The plan divides the state into six historic contexts that are geographically based and that correspond to Connecticut's major landscape regions. The towns and cities located within each region possess similar cultural histories and patterns of development. These six geographic historic contexts are as follows: Western Coastal Slope, Eastern Uplands, Central Valley, Western Uplands, Eastern Coastal Slope, and Northwest Highlands (see Figure 1).

A second concept fundamental to Connecticut's comprehensive planning process is that of property types. A property type is an expected category of buildings, structures, or sites (taverns, bridges, or cemeteries, for example) which is primarily defined by function and is related to an aspect of the historical development of a region. Taken together, the concepts of historic contexts and property types provide a frame of reference for the systematic collection and evaluation of cultural resources.

Documenting Historic Contexts

The Connecticut Historical Commission plans to issue a series of reports, one for each of the state's six geographic historic contexts, of which this report for the Central Valley is the third. A two part format (historical/architectural overview and management guide) will carry through the entire series. The historical/architectural overview in Part 1 provides an analysis of the major factors which contributed to the development of a geographic historic context and a summary description of the principal architectural styles for each of four chronological periods.

Part 2 serves as a management guide based on the following components:

1. a network, or matrix, of expected property types to be found in a geographic historic context, organized within eleven historical themes and the four chronological periods noted above;

2. narrative descriptions of various federal, state, and local programs and activities, including those established by legislation, which protect cultural resources;

3. a consolidated table of programs/activities currently in place in the towns comprising a historic context;

4. criteria established by the National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, for including properties on the National Register of Historic Places;

5. a town-based listing of properties on the National Register of Historic Places in a geographic historic context.

Separate companion volumes dealing with the archaeological resources of each of the six geographic historic contexts are also planned.

Using the Information

The geographic historic context reports will assist preservation planning efforts at the local level. In towns that have not been surveyed, the historical and architectural overview and list of expected property types are a useful starting point for identifying a community's historic properties. In towns that have been surveyed, this information can form the basis for reevaluation of existing survey data to determine gaps in the inventory of historic properties. By employing the concept of property types, communities can organize survey data by

category to compile information about the number and ages of specific kinds of historic properties (for example, libraries, farmsteads, or lighthouses). For comparative purposes, any one example can then be placed within a larger group of similar properties.

Just as the nature of a community's cultural resources and the circumstances, both local and regional, affecting them will vary, so the tools used to protect these resources will vary from case to case. The management guide alerts towns as to which preservation tools are currently in place within their boundaries and which ones could be implemented to give expanded protection for local resources.

Heritage Preservation: It Matters

The preservation of cultural resources is integral to the maintenance of community character and quality of life. Historic preservation is therefore part of the broader questions of managed growth and overall environmental concerns. The statewide comprehensive preservation plan and the individual geographic historic context reports that implement that plan offer Connecticut residents new opportunities for safeguarding their cultural heritage.

Figure 1. Connecticut's Geographic Historic Contexts

Part 1

Historical and Architectural Overview

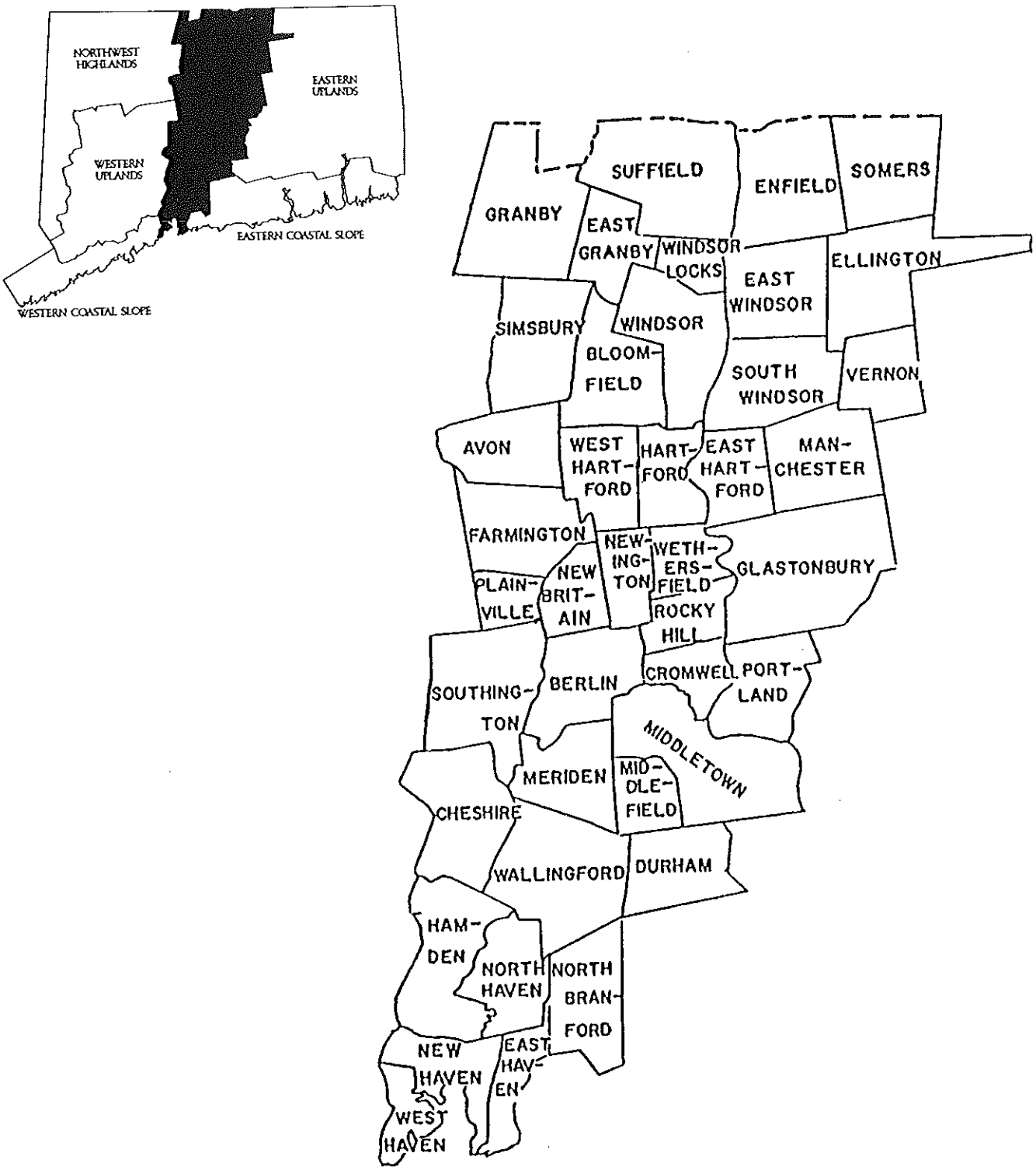


Figure 2. Town-based Map of Central Valley Geographic Historic Context

Table 1: Central Valley Geographic Historic Context:
Chronology of Town Establishment

Town	Date
Avon	1830 (from Farmington)
Berlin	1785 (from Farmington, Middletown, and Wethersfield)
Bloomfield	1835 (from Windsor)
Cheshire	1780 (from Wallingford)
Cromwell	1851 (from Middletown)
East Granby	1858 (from Granby and Windsor Locks)
East Hartford	1783 (from Hartford)
East Haven	1785 (from New Haven)
East Windsor	1768 (from Windsor)
Ellington	1786 (from East Windsor)
Enfield	1683 (from Springfield, Massachusetts; annexed to Connecticut in 1749)
Farmington	1645
Glastonbury	1693 (from Wethersfield)
Granby	1786 (from Simsbury)
Hamden	1786 (from New Haven)
Hartford	1635
Manchester	1823 (from East Hartford)
Meriden	1806 (from Wallingford)
Middlefield	1866 (from Middletown)
Middletown	1651
New Britain	1850 (from Berlin)
New Haven	1638
Newington	1871 (from Wethersfield)
North Branford	1831 (from Branford)
North Haven	1786 (from New Haven)

Plainville	1869 (from Farmington)
Portland	1841 (from Chatham)
Rocky Hill	1843 (from Wethersfield)
Simsbury	1670
Somers	1734 (from Enfield, Massachusetts; annexed to Connecticut in 1749)
Southington	1779 (from Farmington)
South Windsor	1845 (from East Windsor)
Suffield	1674 (from Springfield, Massachusetts; annexed to Connecticut in 1749)
Vernon	1808 (from Bolton)
Wallingford	1670 (from New Haven)
West Hartford	1854 (from Hartford)
West Haven	1921 (from Orange)
Wethersfield	1634
Windsor	1633
Windsor Locks	1854 (from Windsor)

I. CHARACTER OF THE LAND

The Central Valley extends from the Massachusetts border south to Long Island Sound, encompassing all of the central lowland of Connecticut. Occupying slightly less than one-fourth of the area of the state, the region is approximately 55 miles long and 25 miles across through much of its length, narrowing in width to less than ten miles as it angles in a southwesterly direction toward the coast. Generally bordered by the preservation planning regions of the Eastern Uplands and Western Uplands, at the coast the Central Valley separates two planning regions along Long Island Sound, the Western and Eastern Coastal Slopes. Even though there is a gradual drop in elevation to the south, the chief characteristic of the Central Valley is its gentle rolling terrain, which is interrupted only by the Metacomet Ridge, a prominent traprock formation which rises to almost 900 feet along its western third. Most of the land in the region is less than 300 feet above sea level. The foothills of the uplands intrude into the region on its eastern and western borders, but rarely surpass 500 feet in height.

The Metacomet Ridge, the Central Valley's most distinctive topographical feature, separates the region into the broad alluvial floodplain of the Connecticut River on the east and the smaller Farmington River Valley on the west. Extending south along the west side of the Quinnipiac, the river that drains the lower third of the Central Valley, the ridge divides above New Haven, forming the distinctive promontories there known as East Rock and West Rock. The Connecticut, New England's major river, is about 440 miles long and originates far to the north near the Canadian border. As it flows through the state on the way to its outlet in Long Island Sound at Saybrook, about two-thirds of its length within the state's borders is located in this region. The Farmington River flows generally northward on the western side of the region before turning to the east to enter the Connecticut River at Windsor.

Today the Central Valley is densely settled with a concentration of population surpassed only by the communities that comprise the Western Coastal Slope. Together, all the 41 towns of the region occupy only 21 percent of the state's land mass (4800 square miles) but contain more than half of its 3.3 million population. In the last decade the population density of the Central Valley has increased to 1296 persons per square mile against a state average of 683. For comparison, in the vastly more densely populated Western Coastal Slope the density now exceeds 5000, while in the less populated Eastern Uplands the density is only about 200.

Throughout most of their history, Hartford, the state capital, and New Haven have been the largest cities in the Central Valley and two of the largest in the state. Although both cities have experienced a relatively steady decrease in population since World War II, in 1990 Hartford, with 139,739 people, was still the second largest city in Connecticut, followed by New Haven, with 130,474. (Only Bridgeport, with about 142,000 people, is larger.) The combined population of these two cities, however, accounts for only 14 percent of the region's total of 1.9 million, according to the 1990 federal census. Most of the rest of the population is concentrated in the larger urban and rural suburban communities, with seven communities having in excess of 40,000 people. They include not only the suburbs within the metropolitan orbits of Hartford and New Haven, such as West Hartford, East Hartford, Hamden, and West Haven, but also Middletown, Meriden, Wallingford, and New Britain, the latter the third

largest city in the region, with 75,491 people. Some exurban communities such as Enfield also have populations larger than 40,000 and Southington almost reaches that number. Smaller towns add to the aggregate, with five having less than 10,000 residents; Middlefield and East Granby, each with about 4000 people, are the smallest. (A complete list of the 41 cities and towns in the Central Valley can be found on pages 5-6.)

A number of the Central Valley's geo-physical characteristics shaped the course of its history in the last 350 years. Without these features, settlement of the region would have been delayed, its historic commercial potential limited, and even the quality of life of its residents diminished. The first European settlers came to the Connecticut River Valley because of the rich soil of its floodplain and they valued the river as a vital transportation artery that provided access both to the New England hinterland and to the coast and the wider world. The river, which continued to serve this critical role through the nineteenth century, today is a major recreational area. Because of the region's relatively flat terrain, however, there were limited waterpower sources for early industrial development, mainly the smaller tributaries of the Connecticut and the streams in the region's foothills, so Central Valley industry turned to coal-fired steam power at an early date. However, the terrain has facilitated the building of a major transportation corridor through the region, with the interstate highway systems of today following much the same paths as the earlier historic turnpikes, canals, and railroads. Because the geological forces that created the valley left few lakes, modern water supply systems were needed to sustain population growth, and even here nature has cooperated; the major traprock formations proved to be ideal locations for dams and reservoirs.

The Central Valley has an ancient prehistory extending back more than 500 million years, one that includes collisions of continents, prolonged volcanic activity, and millions of years of alternating erosion and continental uplift. Southern New England was originally largely flat and composed of thousands of feet of marine sedimentary deposits. When a continental collision occurred between the North American and European continental plates about 360,000 million years ago, these sediments were folded, faulted, and metamorphosed, creating the ancestral mountains of eastern and western Connecticut. Sedimentation and erosion lowered the mountains over a period of more than a million years, reducing the eastern part of the American continent to low-lying plain, what geologists call a peneplain. Mountain building and continental uplift continued with a later collision with the African continental plate. Together the three continents formed a supercontinent known to geologists as Panagea. The last collision formed the Appalachian range and added to the upthrust of Connecticut's ranges, which at one time exceeded 30,000 feet in elevation. As Panagea began to break apart about 190 million years ago, a great trench, known as a rift valley, formed in what is now central Connecticut. (Another major rift valley to the east continued to widen as the continents drifted farther apart and became the Atlantic Ocean.) As the mountains continued to erode, the rift valley filled with eroded sediment to a depth of as much as three miles, which was then compressed into layers of sandstone and shales.

The climate of the region became tropical, with heavy seasonal rainfall and abundant vegetation. Shallow rivers and streams meandered through the valley and dinosaurs roamed freely during this era, known as the Triassic Period. The characteristic red color of the soil of the Connecticut floodplain, normally found only in the tropics, occurred because of decaying plant life. Evidence of the dinosaur presence, along with other prehistoric creatures, is found in fossils in stratified rock, especially in brownstone, and is preserved today at Dinosaur Park in Rocky Hill, one of the largest concentrations of fossilized prints in the country.

Near the end of the Triassic Period, a volcanic eruption spilled a thick lava flow into the valley, killing all plant and animal life. Over a period of about 40 million years, lava periodically filled the valley floor and hardened into basalt, interlayered by sediment from the continued erosion of the bordering mountains. When vulcanism ceased, the stratified sandstone, shales, and igneous rock were buried under several thousand feet of sedimentation and the valley floor began to subside. When slippage occurred along the major fault line on its eastern border, the entire valley floor tilted down to the east and rose on the west, pushing up the series of uplifted fault block ridges that form the Metacomet Ridge. Because of the tilt, the ridges generally have a characteristically steep face on the west and a more gradual slope on the east.

Glaciation in the Northern Hemisphere, the last geological process to shape the Central Valley, began about three to five million years ago near the end of the Ice Age. Huge glaciers advanced southward and covered Connecticut several times, retreating during periodic warming cycles. The most recent and last glacial period started about 85,000 years ago, a mere wink of an eye in geological terms. The glacier had covered most of Labrador by 50,000 years ago and about 32,000 years ago, had flowed as far south as the latitude of Meriden. Glaciation in the Northern Hemisphere reached its peak about 25,000 years ago when an ice mantle several miles in thickness covered all of Connecticut. Even Mount Washington in New Hampshire, the highest point in New England, was submerged under the glacier. Sea levels had dropped about 250 feet because of water lost to the flowing glacier, which by then extended across the continental shelf, then exposed as part of the continental land mass. When a warming trend began about 18,000 years ago, the process was reversed: the glacier retreated and sea levels rose. The advance and retreat of this last great glacier, a process not completed until about 10,000 years ago, substantially rearranged the surface of the Central Valley and put the finishing touches on its physical landscape.

Several geological forces were at work during glaciation: cracking, erosion, and sedimentation. The incredible force of a moving glacier is seen in the Hanging Hills at Meriden and East Rock at New Haven, both created by the movement of huge sections away from the original ridge formations. Because of its enormous weight, the moving glacier also caused abrasive action from rock suspended within it, eroding softer sedimentary rocks and shales in the valley, but only polishing the harder bedrock of the uplands. The eroded rocks, known as glacial till, were carried forward by the glacier and left behind in its retreat. All the gravel, sand, silt, and clay soils of the Central Valley were formed by erosion and deposited by glacial melting. Kettle holes left from melting ice blocks and drumlins, massed deposits of glacial till and clay, some 250 feet in height, are glacial deposit features found in what is now Hartford County. Stratified drift terraces deposited along river tributaries left fine deposits of clay, a natural resource used for brickmaking in towns of the Farmington River Valley and along smaller streams that empty into New Haven Harbor. Deposits of sand and gravel, called kame terraces, were formed where water ran along the edges of the valley ice. They were extensively quarried in Portland and South Glastonbury in the Connecticut River Valley and in Avon and Simsbury in the Farmington River Valley.

For centuries glacial meltwater in the Connecticut Valley created an extended 140-mile lake, dammed at its lower end by a great glacial deposit at Rocky Hill and extending north to Northfield, Massachusetts. Over time the lake slowly drained, cutting into the sediment deposits of the lake bed and forming a series of lateral river terraces up to four miles wide. Older theories that the lower Connecticut River once passed directly south to Long Island

Sound have been discarded by modern geologists. It is now known that at Middletown, where the river makes a large bend, it cut a gorge through harder crystalline rock to wend its way down to what is now Old Saybrook. Glacial drift south of Plainville also blocked the path of the Farmington River to the sea. The lower portion of this river remained as the Quinnipiac but the Farmington Valley too became a glacial lake, which eventually broke out at the north end of the valley through a gorge in the traprock ridge of Talcott Mountain, known today as the Tariffville Gap, and continued east to the Connecticut River.

The geology of the New Haven area at the south end of the region reflects the same forces that formed all of the drowned coastline of Connecticut: essentially glacial action and continental uplift, which occurred as the great weight of the glacier was removed. As streams and rivers cut through the sediments, forming gorges in their path to the sea, they were soon partially filled by the rise in the level of the ocean from glacial melt-water. Like all the other estuaries along Long Island Sound, New Haven Harbor was formed in this manner. Since the New Haven area was near the edge of the southern boundary of the glacier, the soil contains more sand and gravel, part of the terminal moraine that also formed Long Island, and partly glacial drift carried downstream by river action. The sandy delta in the Sound off New Haven, as well the sand beaches of the area, were also left behind when the glacier retreated.

II. COLONIAL PERIOD 1614-1780

The colonial period of the Central Valley has two intertwined and dominant themes. It encompasses not only the history of the first English plantations on the Connecticut frontier and their colonization of the region, but, even more fundamentally, it also concerns the establishment of the seat of a colonial government that evolved into a modern state. Like the earlier settlers of Massachusetts Bay, the first settlers of Connecticut came here seeking land and trading opportunities. Their plantations became the nucleus of two independent colonies in the region: the River Towns on the west bank of the Connecticut formed the Connecticut Colony, with Hartford as the seat of government; New Haven, on Long Island Sound, became the leader of a far-flung colony which once included much of the coast and even towns on Long Island.

Although rooted in economic ambition, these colonies were conceived for a higher purpose and led by some of the most notable dissident Puritans of England. Because their ultimate goal was no less than the reformation of all of English society, they structured their colonies to serve as models of the perfected religious state, essentially utopian communities defined and institutionalized by Puritan ideology, with Congregationalism as the established religion. Ever conscious that the Puritans of Massachusetts Bay had not succeeded, thus making Connecticut's "errand into the wilderness" the last chance to fulfill the Puritan mission in the New World, each colony closely regulated and governed the lives of its settlers. Although the inherent tensions between the theological and economic bases of this society could not be resolved and ultimately widespread religious dissent in the late colonial period undermined Congregational polity, the forms of government and the institutions established at this time laid the foundation for the State of Connecticut.

The New Haven Jurisdiction (as that colony was called) and the Connecticut Colony maneuvered for political control and dominance in southern New England throughout the early colonial period. Not all of their political and diplomatic history was confined to the region, but it provides a framework for understanding the colonial period and the development of the Central Valley. Operating more like sovereign republics than colonial outposts, the two colonies negotiated with foreign and domestic neighbors, and independently, or in concert with the New England Confederation, founded in 1643, waged war against Native American tribes. Exacerbated by intertribal hostilities, tensions between the two essentially alien cultures escalated into war in Connecticut in 1637 and throughout New England in 1675.

The colonies quickly defended their prior claims when territorial rights or boundaries were challenged by Massachusetts Bay, New York, and Rhode Island, or even by the King of England. Diplomacy solved most disputes with fellow Europeans. One intercolonial problem was easily resolved with little or no active intervention: the end of the Anglo-Dutch War in 1645 mooted all Dutch claims in Connecticut. By the 1660s, however, a number of ill-advised economic ventures had weakened the position of the New Haven Colony and it was forced to make common cause with the Connecticut Colony in its most important territorial claim, the quest for a royal charter. With the restoration of Charles II to the throne, Puritans were again in disfavor in England, threatening the jurisdiction and independence of the colonies. Since

Connecticut took control of the negotiations, John Winthrop, Jr., its governor, secured a royal charter in 1662 that not only recognized his colony's form of self government but also defined boundaries under the Warwick Patent that made the New Haven Colony part of Connecticut Although the competition between Hartford and New Haven as co-capitals of the colony and the state was a dynamic energizing force well into the modern period, the political hegemony of the Connecticut Colony was assured. The last political crisis of this period was the abortive attempt by the English Crown to reassert control over its colonies. Even though Connecticut submitted briefly to the authority of Governor Sir Edmund Andros and the Dominion of New England in the late 1680s, it retained its 1662 charter, which legend maintains was hidden in the famed "Charter Oak."

With the Connecticut Colony firmly in command in the late colonial period, the Central Valley enjoyed an unparalleled level of prosperity and population growth. Its emerging identity was manifested in farming practices, education, and a regionally specific architecture. Much of the arable land in the Central Valley was producing marketable crops, with 12 established towns and their satellite parishes encompassing almost 1000 square miles of territory.[1] Although some of its resources were diverted for the prosecution of a series of British imperial wars with the French for control of the North American continent, the region played a vital role in the colonial coasting trade and was a full participant in the lucrative Atlantic sea trade by 1750. The largest towns, Hartford and Middletown, entrepôts for well-defined hinterlands, and New Haven, were cities in all but name. All port towns, these central places had the highest concentration of merchants, mariners, and artisans, and many customary urban cultural institutions. During the American Revolution, the region could draw upon not only its own agricultural wealth but also that of the vast hinterland of the upper Connecticut River Valley to supply the Continental Army.

Exploration and Settlement 1614-1700

Native Americans

Long before English settlement, southern New England was the home of at least 12 Native American tribes, all members of the Algonquian group. It is believed that their ancestors migrated into southern New England sometime after 1000 A.D.; tribal legends recall a distant heritage in what is now the American Southwest. These Native Americans shared a common way of life but each tribe inhabited and controlled a relatively discrete geographic area. Seven of these were the domain of the River Tribes, all located in the northern half of the Central Valley region. The Quinnipiacs, one of several coastal tribes in Connecticut, lived in the southern half of the region. All of these tribes paid annual tribute to the powerful Mohawks of the Iroquois Confederacy of New York; most in the Connecticut River Valley had become client tribes of the Pequots, based in the Thames River Valley of southeastern Connecticut.

The Pequots dominated the Connecticut Valley and controlled the fur trade with the Dutch. Only one tribe, the Narragansetts of Rhode Island, was strong enough to oppose them. The Pequots had originally included the Mohegans of eastern Connecticut, who had broken away

from Pequot dominance in the early 1630s. Although not a Central Valley tribe, the Mohegans exerted considerable power and influence under the leadership of Uncas, one of the strongest Native American sachems, and played an important role in the development of this region and the Connecticut Colony.

Some or all of the River Tribes may have been part of a larger matrilineal kinship group, which later divided into smaller bands. This seems to have been the case with the Saukiogs, who lived in the Hartford area. They were led by Sequassen, the son of Sequin, sachem of the Wangunks of Wethersfield, who later moved south to the area around Middletown. Such a direct relationship between the others is not known but in the Windsor area the Poquonocks held sway, along with their neighbors to the west, the Massacos. Farther north the Agawams, whose central village was located at what became Springfield, were the dominant group on both sides of the river. East of the river were the Podunks. To the west in the Farmington area was the Tunxis tribe.

The lifeways of the Native Americans of southern New England revolved around an organized use of seasonally available natural resources. Like their ancestors, they still were hunter-gatherers, but they also were semi-sedentary horticulturists and lived in their villages for most of the year. Village fields, once cleared by burning, were prepared for planting in spring. Because the tribes were multiculturists, growing several different crops together, such as corn, beans, and squash, one field could remain productive for as many as eight to ten years before the soil was depleted and the field abandoned. In summer fields were cultivated and wild plants and berries were gathered. In fall the nearby forest was also burned to clear out the understory to facilitate the tracking of game.

Until European trade and settlement in the region disrupted the traditional cycle of seasonal mobility, whole villages would customarily disband for the winter and set up several temporary hunting camps. When hunting was no longer limited to subsistence but had become an integral part of the fur trade, it is probable that hunting and trapping fur-bearing animals became a year-round activity, making beaver virtually extinct in the Connecticut River Valley by 1650. Fishing was another seasonal activity. During the spawning season, shad, herring, and salmon were seined on the major rivers. The River Tribes even travelled to the coast to harvest oysters and other shellfish and to collect shells for making wampum. Although wampum originally played a largely ceremonial role in intertribal trade and negotiation, immense quantities of these shell beads were manufactured to use as currency in post-contact trade with Europeans.

In the 1600s villages became more permanent, more densely settled, and often palisaded for protection, a cultural change often attributed to the European presence. While there is no question that English land policies and practices restricted the geographic mobility of Native Americans, this type of village was found all along the Connecticut River by the first explorers and traders, suggesting that such a settlement pattern began long before contact because of intertribal hostilities. Several River Tribes even maintained fortified lookouts on high ground above the Connecticut because the river provided enemies easy access to their villages.

The first recorded European presence in the region occurred in 1614 when Adriaen Block explored Long Island Sound and sailed up the Connecticut River as far as the falls at Enfield.

His voyage was sponsored by the Dutch West India Company, which was headquartered at New Amsterdam (New York) and already had control of the Hudson River fur trade. By 1633 the Dutch had purchased a small tract of land from the Pequots, not from the local resident Saukiag tribe, and set up a trading post at Hartford called the House of Good Hope. Until the English arrived, they enjoyed a brief monopoly on the profitable fur trade, but the Dutch were not colonists and apparently had no intention of settling in the region, a policy also pursued at New Amsterdam in the early trade period.

The arrival of English traders in the Connecticut Valley in the early 1630s set the stage for colonization of the region. Some were independents, often marginal members of society such as John Oldham of Watertown, who preceded the settlement at Wethersfield, or John Stone, who was banished from the Plymouth Colony. Others were official colony representatives sent to explore the possibilities for trade or settlement, such as Edward Winslow, who selected the site of Windsor on behalf of the Plymouth Colony in 1632. Even such notables as John Winthrop, Sr., governor of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, sent a vessel to explore on behalf of his trading company.

Viewed by Native Americans initially as a protective presence in the region, the first English settlers were welcomed as friends and allies of the smaller tribes. But radically different subsistence practices and opposing views on land ownership soon brought the two cultures into conflict. As more and more of the Central Valley was settled, competition for the same resources became acute; tribal hegemony was undermined and peaceful coexistence became impossible. The tribes had few advocates among the English. Although Roger Williams, the founder of Rhode Island, was one of these, he was banished from Massachusetts Bay for his dissident religious views and had no influence in the councils of power. This situation was unfortunate because Williams was one of the few who questioned European rights to land in the New World or understood the ecologically sound basis of the Native American culture.

The introduction of a foreign culture had more immediate and tragic consequences for the regional tribes. Many Native Americans here succumbed to European disease in the last phase of a regional pandemic in New England. Before it ended, it took the lives of more than half of the native population. Although there had been many prior contacts with European traders and fishermen, the pandemic apparently began in 1614 when a smallpox epidemic began to decimate the tribes around Massachusetts Bay, the area later settled by the Pilgrims and the Puritan trading company. Eye-witness reports spoke of the complete abandonment of many native villages in that region after the major epidemic of 1617-1618. Until 1633, when Europeans came to the Central Valley, the southern tribes were protected by their relative isolation. But that year, and again in 1634, new smallpox epidemics occurred, spreading up and down the Connecticut River Valley and into Maine. With no immunity from previous exposure, many Native Americans died in the Central Valley, further weakening the already divided River Tribes.

Recognizing that reduced numbers made their position *vis a vis* traditional enemies even more precarious, most River Tribes welcomed the English. They anticipated that the more powerful English would bring to an end the Pequot dominance of the fur trade that had been the case with the Dutch. Of equal importance was the hope that a strong English presence would keep the Mohawks at bay. In fact, the Mohegans and the Podunks had sent emissaries to both the Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay Colonies as early as 1631, hoping to forge such an alliance and to invite settlers to their respective regions.

Each tribe negotiated with the separate groups of settlers, deeding over large tracts of land for token gifts of European trade goods. The deeds usually contained the proviso that the Indians would continue to hunt and fish where they pleased, and often small tracts were identified and "reserved forever" for their fields and villages. These reserved areas were eventually swallowed up by colonial expansion but the first limited English presence in the area did not restrict the mobility so essential to the tribes' lifeways.

The English involvement in the fur trade, however, was an interference that could not be tolerated by the Pequots. Responding to a punitive expedition by the Dutch in 1633, the Pequots struck out against the nearest Europeans, and some English traders were killed near Saybrook (including John Stone). By 1634, however, they too tried diplomacy, sending emissaries to Massachusetts Bay, "bearing generous presents and large promises," who signed an agreement with that colony.[2] In return for the English promise of future trade, they agreed to allow English settlement in Connecticut and to turn over tribal members responsible for the killing. The truce was short-lived. Within a year the Pequots were accused of the murder of the peripatetic John Oldham on Block Island (later found to be the act of another tribe) and had repeatedly attacked the fortified English settlement at Saybrook. These overt hostile acts, along with rumors of a potential alliance between the Pequots and the Narragansetts (prevented only by the diplomacy of Roger Williams), failed to galvanize the Connecticut Colony into action.

But when the Pequots raided Wethersfield in the spring of 1637, killing several settlers and taking two captive, within a week soldiers from all the River Towns, led by Captain John Mason of Windsor, were sent by the Connecticut Colony to retaliate. At this juncture, Uncas, the Mohegan chief, saw an opportunity to regain control of the Pequot tribe and he offered 80 of his warriors. Narragansetts also offered their services, although it is not clear whether any actually fought when Mason attacked the fortified Pequot village at Mystic. Mason, along with soldiers sent from Massachusetts, pursued the remaining Pequots to Fairfield, the site of the Great Swamp Fight, the final and decisive battle of the war. Many warriors were taken prisoner or escaped but the rest were killed, including their chief, Sassacus. Only the intervention of Thomas Stanton of Hartford prevented another massacre there; he is credited with leading 200 noncombatants out of the swamp before the attack.[3] Uncas, along with Miantonomo, chief of the Narragansetts, figured prominently in the final negotiations at Hartford; both were awarded surviving Pequots as slaves.

Settlement of the valley and along the coast proceeded rapidly after the war. Most of the tribal land in the region was brought under English control within 30 years, an aggressive expansionist policy that the English felt compelled to justify by Eurocentric theories, claiming ownership of the land by the "right of discovery" that had been motivating European explorers for centuries. When faced with the obvious fact that Native Americans had been the first claimants, they fell back on the notion that native subsistence practices did not fully develop the land; therefore tribal land had no value. Local regional tribes were so reduced in numbers they could do little to prevent this loss of tribal hegemony. In fact, by the 1660s most of the region's towns required sachems to sign new deeds that confirmed the *de facto* English ownership of tribal land.

Such rapid colonization was not confined to the Central Valley; it was occurring all over southern New England. The message was not lost on the larger, more powerful tribes. In a last-ditch effort to drive out the English that almost succeeded, many tribes under the

leadership of Metacomet (Philip) of the Wampanoags of southeastern Massachusetts went to war in 1675. It became known as King Philip's War since it began with a local skirmish between his tribe and the Massachusetts Bay Colony. Metacomet, the son of Chief Massasoit, who had been a friend to the Plymouth Colony, felt betrayed by colony leaders and was seeking revenge. The Mohegans once again allied themselves with the English but a former ally, the Narragansetts, fought against them. This shift of allegiance was due to the new balance of power between the southern New England tribes after the Pequot War and English complicity in the 1643 Mohegan-Narragansett war, which resulted in the death of Miantonomo, the Narragansett sachem.

As more tribes rallied to the Indian cause, it soon became an all-out war for survival, with heavy loss of life on both sides. Fifty-two of the 90 Puritan towns in New England were raided and 12 destroyed. By 1676, however, the conflict had become a war of attrition. Weakened by food shortages, many Native Americans surrendered that summer. But it was the death of Metacomet, followed by ruthless English attacks on the Narragansetts, that brought the war to an end that fall.

Although the Central Valley region was vulnerable to attack from the north because of the Connecticut River, it escaped with minimal damage. Town militias were called upon repeatedly to defend the settlements of the upper Connecticut Valley, where most of the raids occurred. Several towns near the Massachusetts border were evacuated, including Suffield and Simsbury. The latter was the only regional town actually attacked but it was burned after the residents had left. Some local Native Americans served as scouts with the militia but in general the River Tribes elected to remain neutral, despite an official policy to encourage their participation. A reward was promised for killing or capturing an Indian enemy, although the Hartford County war council conceded that it would be difficult to tell friend from foe.

In the aftermath of the war, as English policies imposed more restrictions on their lives, Native Americans became even more alienated and dependent. Unable to continue to live as they had in the past, the tribes diminished in size and strength. The decline in the fur trade had brought to an end their important role in the English economy. Living on the margins of society but subject to English rule and economic standards, many were imprisoned for crimes, or fined and indentured for debt. Some still holding land were forced to sell to pay fines or costs of prosecution.

The experience of the Tunxis tribe in Farmington was perhaps typical. In 1685 a count by Farmington officials revealed that this once-numerous tribe (400 with at least 100 warriors) was considerably reduced in size. They had only 16 males of fighting age by that time and had been joined by 13 from other tribes. Unable to elect a hereditary sachem in 1688, they asked the town to appoint one for them. The Englishman put in charge was a local clergyman who may already have been serving as the colony's tribal overseer, or guardian. The movements of the Tunxis were restricted by the colony from 1704 through the 1720s during the French and English imperial wars; by 1725 they were inspected every day by suspicious village officials. Later in the century, Farmington had an Indian school and could claim that "the greater part of the Indians...are duly taught in the use of letters and are well instructed in economy [and] bargain and contract for themselves."[4] Apparently most had been converted to Christianity since the remaining Tunxis left Farmington in 1774 to join the Christian Indian community of Oneida in New York. In a remarkable petition to the General Assembly, they asked for and received a Connecticut Colony law book to take with them.

Settlement

Between 1629 and 1642, a period known as the Great Migration, at least 120,000 English people left their native country and came to the New World. Of these it is estimated that 20,000 settled in Connecticut. Many left England because of religious persecution during the reign of Charles I, especially after Archbishop William Laud came to power in 1628, but deteriorating economic conditions in England also were an important factor. At a time when as much as half the population did not own land in England, the seemingly unlimited supply of land in the New World was a strong motivation. People from East Anglia and Essex, as well as other parts of England, emigrated as individuals or in small organized groups; the larger groups were formed by merchant trading companies and brought here to capitalize on the region's natural resources.

By the 1630s the settled towns around Massachusetts Bay could no longer contain the burgeoning population and plans were laid to push on to the Connecticut River Valley, then the frontier. Although the General Court of that colony was reluctant to let them go, settlers from Dorchester, Watertown, Newtown (Cambridge), and the Plymouth Colony came to the valley between 1633 and 1636 and established plantations, which collectively came to be known as the River Towns. They included not only Windsor, Wethersfield, and Hartford, but Springfield, the only settlement of the four located on the east bank of the river.

Within two years, the Town of New Haven was founded on the coast by a group of wealthy London merchants who formed a trading company similar to that of Massachusetts Bay. They arrived in Boston in 1638 with two shiploads of settlers recruited in England. The company had no intention of remaining there, however, since they would have been in direct competition with the Bay traders, as well as the Plymouth Colony. After a brief stay, the main body sailed for Connecticut and settled at New Haven in 1639.

Although loosely allied under the aegis of Massachusetts Bay, the Connecticut River Towns were not part of that colony and their permission to leave Massachusetts conveyed no title to their land on the river. Even though each town negotiated to purchase tracts of land from the local Native American tribes, under English law all of the land that became Connecticut was part of the 1631 patent granted to the Earl of Warwick. New Haven's legal position was even more tenuous since it did not have even a *pro forma* arrangement with an established colony. Because many of the Warwick patentees were personal friends of the New Haven merchants, formal permission to settle on the coast seemed to be unnecessary.

With its famous "sea to sea" clause, the Warwick Patent encompassed a strip of land about 125 miles wide that extended from the coast of Rhode Island all the way to the Pacific Ocean. The Earl of Warwick, the holder of the patent, assigned this extensive territory to a number of English "lords and gentlemen." The patentees, all Puritans, aware that the English revolution to overthrow the monarchy was imminent, wanted a refuge in the New World in case it failed. Through some deft political maneuvering, settlement of the River Towns was legally sanctioned in 1635, after some of the settlers had already arrived. Permission was given by the Warwick patentees, who also sent settlers to Saybrook that year, and the River Towns accepted John Winthrop, Jr., as their provisional governor for one year. The son of John Winthrop, Sr., governor of Massachusetts Bay, he founded New London and later, as governor of Connecticut, was the same man who obtained the royal charter.

Each of the River Towns negotiated independently with the local Native Americans tribes for extensive tracts of land, which proved to be some of the best farmland in Connecticut. Advance parties came first to hold the land for later settlers who usually followed within a year. The largest and most cohesive group was the congregation that settled Hartford in 1636. Led by the Reverend Thomas Hooker, approximately 100 people made the overland trek to Hartford. Windsor was founded by several groups. When settlers from Dorchester came there with their minister, they found the plantation already occupied by traders and settlers from the Plymouth Colony who came in 1633. In 1635 they were joined by another group organized by Sir Richard Saltonstall, one of the Warwick patentees, and sent directly from England. Wethersfield's settlement was even less orderly. John Oldham, the trader later killed on Block Island, travelled widely throughout the colonies and visited the Wangunk village at Pyquag (Wethersfield) in 1633. The following year he brought ten "adventurers" from Watertown to this area, apparently without official sanction. Although permission was given in 1635 by the Massachusetts General Court to "form a new Church Government on the River Connecticut," the Wethersfield settlers were not a single congregation of like-minded souls, but a religiously diverse group of individuals with several ministers, a decided factor in the subsequent emigration of disaffected townspeople who left Wethersfield to settle four new towns on the Connecticut coast by 1641. At first the names of the plantations were associated with local tribes, and then renamed for the Massachusetts towns of origin. Within a few years, however, the colonists underscored their independence from Massachusetts Bay by taking the names of Old World English places, which in some cases represented the native towns of the settlers. For example, Suckiag, briefly called Newtown, was renamed Hertford, or Hartford by 1637, for Hertfordshire, a county in Essex.

It soon became apparent that Springfield, then known as Agawam for the tribal village there, would pursue an independent course. William Pynchon, its founder, also was a wealthy member of the 1630 Massachusetts Bay Company. From his advantageous location at Agawam, he already controlled all the trade from upriver and found Connecticut's offer of a trade monopoly in corn and fur little inducement to continue to make common cause. After 1643, when the New England Confederation was formed, Springfield officially became part of Massachusetts. Some of Pynchon's vast territory, however, which was operated as an independent fiefdom for more than 100 years by him and his descendants, eventually became part of Connecticut. It included the towns of Suffield and Enfield, the latter town the site of Pynchon's first warehouse. Later known as Warehouse Point, it was where his goods were stored for transshipment downriver from Hartford.

Building on the Land

The colonists came to the region and tamed the "wilderness," a metaphor for their mission that became tangible in the settlement of their towns. Each town's plan imposed an order on the natural landscape to a greater or lesser degree, one that was dictated by economic goals, but equally constrained by religious values and the need to preserve the social order. Although most of the first buildings are gone in the Central Valley's major cities, the original pattern of land development there is still visible, a faint watermark under the text of modern development. In more rural communities, however, the settlement plan still exists today as the modern street system, still lined by many colonial houses.

All the River Towns resembled one another because of their common terrain and their mutual dependence on the Connecticut River as an economic lifeline. By the time these towns were fully developed, their principal streets were part of thoroughfares that ran up and down the river bank on both sides. In 1771 John Adams was among the many travellers through the region who remarked on this settlement pattern. Fulsome in his praise for the prosperity of the countryside, he was one of several visitors who commented that the River Towns were joined by one continuous street.

The first town sites were chosen for their potential for trade. Hartford and Windsor were situated at the mouth of Connecticut River tributaries; Wethersfield was sited at a meander of the river, which later became Wethersfield Cove when the river changed course after a major flood. All these locations provided safe anchorage and eventually became sites of small river ports. The streams provided waterpower for the gristmills and sawmills that were essential to the life of a farming community. All the River Towns built rudimentary bridges across these streams, but the bridging of the Connecticut, the "Great River," was beyond the capability of colonial technology. Instead, privately run ferries were established within a few years of settlement. By the mid-seventeenth century town ferries were licensed by the colony and in 1755 there were more than a dozen of this type in operation, including the one still running today between Rocky Hill and Glastonbury.

Although adjustments were made for changes in elevation and the course of the "Little Rivers," which sometimes divided settlements, town plans generally consisted of a linear pattern laid out upon the second river terrace, with the principal streets running more or less parallel to the river. Some of the centers were palisaded for protection during the early colonial period, including the well-known "Palisado" settlement of Windsor. But mention was still made in colonial records as late as the early 1700s of palisades in other towns such as Berlin and East Hartford. The mirror image of the original settlements was soon found on the opposite shore, most noticeable today in the towns of Glastonbury and East and South Windsor. Land was set aside for commons, sometimes in the center of town, or at the end of the principal street, as was done in Middletown. These public spaces, later to become town greens, were sometimes named to indicate their purpose. For example, the common was called the "Market Square" in New Haven and the "Meeting House Yard" in Hartford, identifying the usual functions of these sites, but the town gaol and the animal pound were often located there as well. Land was also reserved for the town burial ground, sometimes part of the common, the case in New Haven. Most of those in urban centers were moved to make room for later expansion but much of the Ancient Burying Ground in Hartford still remains and contains almost 400 gravestones. The "Great Meadows" along the first river terrace were reserved for communal farming and grazing and the broad plain of the river valley beyond the town center, the site of old Indian fields, was divided for farmland. The areas farthest from the center were held in reserve for future generations.

Meanwhile, the New Haven trading company had made arrangements for settlement on the coast. Led by Theophilus Eaton, a merchant and lifetime governor of the New Haven Colony, and the Reverend John Davenport, the New Haven merchants negotiated with the Quinnipiac tribe for more than 100 square miles of territory, much of it in the Quinnipiac River Valley to the north. A large reserve of 1200 acres was set aside for the tribe at Morris Cove. Because trade was the primary goal, attention was focused on developing a port town, and the development or colonization of the interior was neglected. The town center was located

directly on the water at the head of a good harbor formed by the estuary of several rivers. The Quinnipiac and Mill Rivers flowed into the harbor on the east; the outlet of the West River was located in that direction from the original settlement. Because of the expansion of the town on landfill since that time, today the harbor is much farther away from the center of town.

Perhaps symbolic of the stricter orthodoxy of the town, the New Haven town plan was a more rigid construct, one that imposed an order on the landscape. Laid out by John Brockett, apparently a classically trained surveyor, it had the plan and orientation of a type of military town commonly built on the frontier by imperial Rome.[5] Consisting of a large square subdivided into nine equal squares, the town was set diagonally between two small creeks that came together at the harbor. To complete the impression, the town was palisaded, although there were apparently never problems with the peaceful Quinnipiacs. The central square was the marketplace, part of which has endured as the New Haven Green. After each of the surrounding residential squares was assigned to one of the leading men, people who also came from his town tended to cluster there. This tidy arrangement had to be disturbed when it was discovered that there were not enough home lots for all the settlers. Another section was attached near the south corner and generally inhabited by the "lesser sort," those who did not own shares in the company. The principal streets radiated outward from the town center; land divisions beyond the center cut across this fanlike pattern. Some land surrounding the town was held in common, as was the case in the area of North Haven, but the better nearby farmland was divided among the proprietors. Although some outlying land was farmed by tenants of wealthy proprietor owners who lived in the town center, the permanent population remained relatively small beyond the borders of the town until the late seventeenth century.

Colonial Expansion

Colonial expansion in Connecticut took place in three distinct stages. The coast and the Connecticut River Valley were completely settled by the Connecticut and New Haven Colonies before King Philip's War in 1675. There was a brief lull in expansion until 1686, which was followed by rapid growth. Between 1686 and 1734 settlers pushed inland from the coast to settle most of the Eastern Uplands and there were some major settlements in the Western Uplands, such as Waterbury and Woodbury. A few existing towns in eastern Connecticut were divided in this period, but most were original settlements founded by groups of individuals with the sponsorship or permission of the Connecticut Colony. By the end of the colonial period, the borders of Connecticut were essentially complete. The northern border towns of Enfield, Suffield, Somers, and Woodstock, settled earlier as part of Massachusetts, became part of Connecticut, and the last remaining unsettled area, the Northwest Highlands, was occupied.

By this last period most of the older first-stage communities were divided. Because of the unprecedented level of colonial population growth, many towns began to disperse into smaller settlements as early as 1680, which resulted in the decentralization of religious authority and, by the late 1700s, new town formation. Often the parent-child metaphor is used to describe

this process. The first settlements, the parent towns, many of which are in the Central Valley region, spawned numerous offspring and they in turn were producing a third generation well into the nineteenth century.

The first new towns in the northern half of the Central Valley region were founded under the aegis of the General Court of the Connecticut Colony in the 1640s. By 1700 there were settlements throughout the area as the Connecticut Colony expanded to the outermost limits of the Central Valley on the east and west, north to the Massachusetts Colony border, and as far south as Middletown. To the original three River Towns were added the new towns of Farmington, Simsbury, Wallingford, and Middletown. Since the number of new people coming to the Connecticut Colony from Massachusetts or England had slowed to a trickle even before the English Puritan revolution virtually ended emigration, all of these new towns were settled by people from existing communities.

In 1640 the Connecticut Colony negotiated with the Tunxis tribe for land and sent settlers from Hartford to the Farmington Valley. There, a huge tract of more than 200 square miles provided a buffer zone between the River Towns and the hostile Mohawks to the west. Farmington, or Tunxis as it was first known, was the first of the speculator towns in the colony and half of its land was held as an investment by non-resident proprietors. Many were leading Hartford men and colony officials. A second community where many of the proprietors were non-resident was founded at Simsbury. Set beyond Talcott Mountain, the valley there was claimed by Windsor and the first permanent settlement was started in 1664. Although not incorporated until 1670, it too was a frontier buffer town.

The Connecticut Colony was reluctant to expand to the south because this area was controlled by the Wangunks, a tribe whose allegiances were in question. Even though the tribe had not been overtly hostile, it was suspected of sheltering the Pequots after the Wethersfield raid that had precipitated the Pequot War. The colony waited until 1650 to approach the Wangunks to purchase another large tract on both sides of the river at Middletown. This area, encompassing 180 square miles of fertile valley land, was relinquished to Governor John Haynes by the Wangunks that year. So anxious was the colony to stake a claim there, perhaps to forestall any settlement plans of New Haven, that it waived its own policy of requiring a minimum of 30 families for a new town. Instead, the General Court appointed a constable and sent 15 families to settle there, mostly from Hartford and Wethersfield. Three hundred acres was "reserved forever" for the Wangunks on the east side of the river. By 1699 only a small 23-square-mile area was still open and unsettled in the region. Previously avoided because of its swampy terrain, Durham, the last colony-sponsored town in the Central Valley, was completely owned by non-resident speculators. Although some were awarded land for colony service, most bought their land from the colony government (required after 1675). The actual settlers of Durham came from all parts of the colony.

The original nucleated towns in the Central Valley founded church governments within a few years of settlement. These original ecclesiastical societies, or parishes, were coterminous with the town bounds. The center of their existence was the meetinghouse, the seat of both church and town government. Its location was of prime importance and a source of contention even in the most cohesive communities. Although some original ecclesiastical societies remained intact for 100 years, the record held by the New Haven parish, several others divided and became two or more parishes within a few years, still under the original town government.

Such was the case in Hartford, where settlement had taken place on both sides of the Little River, which led to an early division of the first parish into two societies. A similar situation occurred in Middletown where the riverlet was a natural barrier and produced the Upper and Lower Houses, two parishes from the very beginning. In Simsbury, an even more fragmented town, the placing of the meetinghouse was a problem for ten years and initially split that town into four parishes. In most cases, however, new parish formation occurred only after the older centers became too crowded and the population had dispersed into outlying areas. Settlers of these new villages within each town bounds covenanted together in new ecclesiastical societies. Many but not all of these parishes eventually became incorporated as autonomous towns.

Some of the first new villages in the northern half of the Central Valley were located on the east side of the Connecticut River. Land there was initially used for farming or grazing but by the 1660s people from the River Towns, which now included Middletown, began to live there year-round and petitioned the General Court for their own church societies. Their petitions always cited the burden of travelling to the meetinghouse in the old town centers. Although people living on the east side of the Connecticut had access to ferries and could cross on the ice during a hard winter, the trip was actually hazardous. East Windsor and East Hartford became parishes of their parent towns by the 1690s but had to wait until the end of the colonial period to become fully autonomous. Hartford and Windsor were officially divided "as the river runs," creating the separate towns of East Windsor in 1768 and East Hartford in 1783. Without the intermediate step of becoming a parish, Glastonbury was set off from Wethersfield with full town privileges in 1693. At Middletown, the East Middletown Society became the Town of Chatham in 1767, which then included the area that became Portland. In 1841 Portland broke away from Chatham and became a separate town. (Chatham was renamed East Hampton in 1915.) The outlying farming village of Middlefield became a Middletown parish by 1744 and a new town by 1866. Middletown's Upper Houses remained the second society of Middletown until 1851, when it became the Town of Cromwell. New parishes were formed in the western land divisions of the River Towns but most did not become incorporated as towns until the nineteenth century. Farmington spawned seven new parishes in the eighteenth century, which later became four new towns in the region: Berlin (1785), Avon (1785), New Britain (1850), and Plainville (1869).

Perhaps hoping to emulate the success of the Massachusetts Bay Company, the New Haven merchants put their considerable resources and energy into creating a new colony on the coast. They envisioned their fine port as the entrepôt for a trading network that would encompass most of Long Island Sound. Unlike the towns of the Connecticut River Valley, New Haven did not develop its own agricultural surplus for trade, but expected to rely on the marketable surplus produced by new settlements sponsored by the colony. Between 1638 and 1656 New Haven's leaders purchased land for settlement on behalf of the colony for the towns of Branford, Guilford, Stamford, Milford, and Southhold (Long Island), and also absorbed the existing settlement at Greenwich. Most of these new communities were settled either by new groups directly from England and Massachusetts Bay, or by settlers from Wethersfield; the latter came at the invitation of New Haven to settle in Stamford and Branford. All of these towns were brought under the rule of the New Haven Jurisdiction, which was formed in 1643.

Effectively cut out of the lucrative fur trade on the Connecticut River by the English and on the Hudson River by the Dutch, New Haven overreached itself with a bold attempt to participate in the trade on the Delaware River. Despite the fact that an earlier similar attempt by Boston merchants had failed and both the Dutch and the Swedes were already well-entrenched as trading competitors there, New Haven formed the Delaware Company for this purpose. The personal fortunes of Governor Eaton, the Reverend Davenport, and George Lamberton, the leading merchant, were invested in this ill-conceived scheme. After the company purchased land from some Delaware tribes, Lamberton led a group of 50 settlers to colonize the area. They established a settlement at what is now Salem, New Jersey, and built a fortified trading post on the present site of Philadelphia. Rebuffed and harassed and eventually driven out, New Haven appealed to the New England Confederation for assistance with its claims to the region. The Confederation, however, was not ready to antagonize the Dutch or go to war on behalf of the upstart colony on the Sound. Some of the original settlers stayed and placed themselves under Dutch or Swedish rule; New Haven pursued its Delaware claims virtually until the end of its time as an independent colony.

By mid-century New Haven's dreams of empire were dying. As a gentleman of New Haven wrote to Oliver Cromwell in England in 1653:

> ...we and our posterity...are confined and straitened,
> the sea lying before us and a rocky rude desert unfit
> for culture and destitute of commodity behind our backs.[6]

New Haven's affairs were in disarray; the leadership was weakened by death and considerable defection in the following decade. Some of the founders of the trading company, including Governor Eaton, had already died. Two leading merchants had been lost at sea and others had returned to England. The threatened union with Connecticut under the terms of the 1662 Charter was followed by an almost total defection of the former New Haven Colony towns to Connecticut. By 1665, when the union was official, only Branford remained in the fold and a large number had already emigrated from that town. Refusing to accept Connecticut's form of government or religious policies, the Reverend Abraham Pierson, Jr., later to become the first rector at Yale, had left with most of his Branford congregation to found Newark, New Jersey. With them was Robert Treat of Milford, who later returned to Connecticut and served as commander of its troops during King Philip's War and governor of Connecticut in 1683. The last of the old guard to leave was the embittered Reverend Davenport, who accepted a call to First Church in Boston in 1667, where he died the following year.

Settlement did begin in the "desert" in the 1650s and continued until 1700. Settlers moved into the areas that became the towns of West Haven, East Haven, and North Haven. Until well into the eighteenth century, these were dispersed communities without the central focus of a town center and meetinghouse and were technically still part of the New Haven town parish. Initial attempts to organize new ecclesiastical societies met with rebuffs from the New Haven church but starting in 1715 the Connecticut Colony granted these privileges. There were farms farther north on the Quinnipiac River, at Mount Carmel, later Hamden, which became a separate parish in 1757. Under the aegis of the Connecticut Colony, settlers from New Haven went on to found Wallingford in 1670, the only organized group settlement in this part of the Central Valley. At the head of the Quinnipiac River, they found excellent land, almost equal in quality to the best in the Connecticut River Valley.

Government and Society

The preservation of a stable society was a fundamental goal of colonial culture in Connecticut. It was accomplished through an authoritarian religious and civil government and reinforced by an Old World patriarchal class structure. In the usual manner legal codes established norms for accepted behavior by punishing the deviant, but both colonies placed great emphasis on the codification of what to the modern mind seem to be personal moral or religious values, the basis of Connecticut's so-called "blue laws." Old English habits of deference created another level of social control. In every town in the Central Valley and throughout colonial society as a whole, everyone knew where they stood in social order and deferred to their betters. It was made explicit in the annual seating of the meetinghouse and in the ranking of each man's estate on tax lists and in land divisions, and even extended to unwritten but accepted codes for dress and funerary display for each class.

Colony Government

Both Connecticut and New Haven quickly established a governmental structure that was codified in Hartford by the "Fundamental Orders" and in New Haven by the so-called "Cotton Code." Although these codes both had some basis in English common law, New Haven's was less liberal and based more directly on the Old Testament. In both colonies church and state worked in tandem to regulate and control society and everyone was required to pay taxes to support the Congregational Church and its ministry. The legal codes owed much to their leading ministers, the Reverends Hooker and Davenport, and their respective colonies followed divergent paths because of their considerable political power. Although not officially part of the government, these clerics often directly affected legislation and colony policy through their preaching and published sermons. The basic laws of the colonies were amplified within a few years: in Connecticut by the Code of 1650, authored by Roger Ludlow, and in New Haven in 1655, the work of Governor Eaton.

Laws were written in both colonies to prevent not only crimes against persons or property but also such offenses as drunkenness, swearing, and idleness. Parents were enjoined to teach their children to read and towns were required to have schools as soon as they had 50 households. Children could be removed from their homes and placed with a proper master if the family failed to train them properly in husbandry or other "honest calling." The Puritan work ethic was manifest in the Code of 1650 in which the "Game called Shuffle Board, in howses of Common Interteinement" was prohibited because "much precious time is spent unfruitfully." Church attendance was required and absences were fined. Repeated offenses of this nature could result in excommunication, the fate of no less a figure than Governor Eaton's wife. The former wife of Thomas Yale, Anne Eaton was the grandmother of Elihu Yale, for whom the university was named.

Profaning the Sabbath by "contemptuous carriage" or "unlawful sport" was considered particularly odious; fines, whippings, or the stocks were typical punishments meted out in the Connecticut Colony; in New Haven such crimes could be punishable by death. Capital punishment was not unknown in Connecticut, however, and was used for extreme cases of social deviation. It was the fate of at least 12 people accused of witchcraft in the mid-

seventeenth century; they were hanged in Hartford in Meetinghouse Yard or on Gallows Hill, which today is the site of Trinity College, 30 years before the more famous witchcraft trials of Salem, Massachusetts.

Town Government

Differences in how colony law translated at the local level for the good order of society also varied between the two colonies. In New Haven, although there were numerous bylaws enacted to regulate the town, there was virtually no intermediate mechanism for the dissemination of colonial authority. The Town of New Haven was directly run by its colonial government. Following the biblical injunction, the "seven pillars" of the church, in the person of the magistrates, controlled the disposition of homelots, approved new inhabitants, and also acted as a civil court. They attempted the same level of control in any new towns they established along the coast outside the region. Travelling magistrates from New Haven directly participated in each town's local affairs.

In the Connecticut Colony, although the towns and the people were more closely supervised by colonial government than was customary in Massachusetts, the towns had a degree of autonomy and were represented by deputies in the colony government. Constables, the first town officials to be appointed, were the local arm of the General Court and ensured conformance to colony law. On behalf of the colony, they supervised colony-level elections, collected its taxes, and appointed juries. The colony, of course, concerned itself with intertown problems such as boundary disputes, an ongoing problem for much of the colonial period, and the colonial infrastructure, but towns were free to elect their own officials and establish their own church societies, subject to the approval of the colony. Citizens could go over the head of the town meeting to appeal to the General Court, then the governing body.

Over time there was a gradual decentralization of political power and a concomitant rise in local control and in the number of local officials. Although in the early years town functions were so closely supervised by the General Court that it often stepped in to solve factional disputes, such as the location of the meetinghouse, and, more rarely, to void the election of a local official, studies have shown a decline in this level of involvement over time, especially in the number of directives to specific towns. There were just too many towns and too large a population to continue this practice, especially after the towns of the former New Haven Colony became part of Connecticut. Another factor was the creation of the county system in 1666, partially as an inducement to New Haven to join the Connecticut Colony. Hartford and New Haven (along with Fairfield and New London), as county seats or shire towns of their respective counties, added a third layer to the structure of government, assumed some of the functions of the General Court, and constructed county courthouses and jails. Direct intervention in town affairs had virtually ended by 1698 when the General Court became the General Assembly, but that body still delegated authority to the towns and its appeals function was retained.

Society Structure

The settlers of the region were a representative cross section of most of English society. Although there were no members of the nobility among them, they included people of every other social and economic class. There was, however, a greater proportion of wealthy landed gentry and merchants in the Central Valley, perhaps more than in any other section of Connecticut, a major factor in the region's development. Yeoman farmers, a respected class of landed farmers just below the gentry, and artisans and craftsmen, the "middling men," were also well represented. At the bottom of the ladder were mostly landless young men and servants. Some servants came with their masters but many had indentured themselves to pay their passage.

In this agrarian society where land was the basis of wealth, land policies were designed to reinforce and maintain the *status quo*. Land was distributed in each town with a careful eye to social status, thus perpetuating the old English social order. Lists were drawn up determining each person's rank before distribution began. Although virtually everyone received enough land for subsistence, the gentry received the largest grants, often a disproportionate share. They generally comprised only ten percent of the population in the towns along the Connecticut River but they eventually owned as much as 40 percent of the land there. By contrast, the poorer half of the population in those communities owned less than 20 percent. Given the exceptional amount of land granted to the merchants in New Haven, in some cases as much as 1000 acres, the ratio there was even more extreme.

These grants to the upper class were not simply a recognition of their superior status. From the very beginning, the gentry and the merchants expected to be compensated and indeed rewarded for their key roles in each town: they provided the political leadership and, through their social and kinship ties to Boston, New York, and England, promoted trade. Their capital founded the towns, built the mills and ships, and was the major financial support of the church and educational institutions. They lived in a manner befitting their station, one that is at odds with the conventional wisdom regarding the plain style of the Puritans. Although little is known about the early houses of this class in New Haven, except that they were thought to be "extravagant," the homes built for two of Hartford's leading men, both governors of the colony, have been described. Squire George Wyllys, a former manor lord in Warwickshire, was considered one of the wealthiest men in the New England colonies. He had a replica of his English manor house built for him in Hartford. It was erected in 1636 by his estate steward and 20 servants sent by Wyllys from England. Supposedly John Haynes, a man of equal English rank, not to be outdone, built a house of similar size and pretension across the Little River a few years later. A further indicator of upper-class life style is suggested by the experience of John Winthrop, Jr., who, when he came to call on Connecticut Colony leaders in 1645, found that they were all in residence at their country places in Farmington.

The status of ministers was also assured in the land divisions. Even though they were rarely wealthy in their own right and had notoriously low salaries, especially in poorer towns, ministers were usually ranked just below the gentry when shares were assigned in land divisions, especially in the larger towns. They often intermarried with the gentry, further cementing their status and influence. Although most ministers who were "settled" for life in one community put together a large estate for their posterity and owned considerable personal property, the Reverend Davenport of New Haven was exceptional. His heavy investments in

that colony's affairs suggest he may have started with considerable means. It is clear, however, that he amassed and lost a fortune during his tenure.

The leading families of the River Towns in the region often intermarried, developing extensive kinship ties that transcended town boundaries and even extended into the towns of the upper Connecticut Valley in Massachusetts. By the eighteenth century this coalition of magistrates, merchants, and ministers, known as the "River Gods" in Massachusetts, became known as the "Standing Order" in Connecticut. Members of several generations of these families were repeatedly and routinely elected to positions in their towns; in colony-wide elections they provided most of the governors, lieutenant governors, governor's assistants (the upper house), and other key officials.

Religious Dissent

Religious dissension and schism were rampant in Connecticut in the eighteenth century, especially along the coast and in the Eastern Uplands. In the more conservative and stable Central Valley, there was less internal dissent, at least until the 1740s when a wave of religious revivals, known as the "Great Awakening," swept through the Connecticut Valley. Its older parishes had long ago settled the issues of doctrine that were fragmenting societies elsewhere in the colony, particularly the thorny question of church membership. They no longer had to deal with the often divisive issues that accompanied new parish formation: the hiring of a minister or the location of the meetinghouse. Established parishes were comfortable with their long-time ministers and many had resolved the often contentious issue of "seating the house" by selling the pews. One of the few remaining problems for these conservative congregations was often the vital matter of singing style. Even here most were in agreement by mid-century and had adopted the modern style of singing together in harmony, over the old-fashioned way of chanting the lines, one at a time.

The question of centralized church government became a colony-wide issue in 1708. In order to assert stronger ecclesiastical control, a ministers' association was formed at the behest of the colonial government and developed the Saybrook Platform, an ecclesiastical constitution. Although this Presbyterian concept was resented by many Congregationalists who were accustomed to internal local authority in their churches, the ministers of the Central Valley generally were supportive. However, since the Saybrook Platform was ambiguous on the subject of religious toleration, it actually helped pave the way for the establishment of new Protestant sects. Although a series of Toleration Acts gradually reduced the tax burden on Anglicans and Baptists, leading to the formation of a number of new churches elsewhere in the colony, by 1740 only two new dissenting churches, both Anglican, had been founded in the Central Valley, one at East Haven, the other at Simsbury.

The "Great Awakening," however, was a catalyst for widespread dissent. The Congregational Church divided into two factions: the "Old Lights" who wanted to preserve the *status quo* and the "New Lights" who found great appeal in the individual expression and evangelistic fervor of the awakening. The tension created in some congregations could not be resolved. Ministers were discharged by disgruntled congregations and there were large losses in Congregational membership. Some Congregationalists who left their churches at this time to found illegal parishes, known as "Separates," were imprisoned for failing to pay their taxes to the

established Congregational society. In New Haven, where there had been only one ecclesiastical society since its founding, the congregation of First Church was so divided that half of its members broke away and founded a second Congregational church. By 1753 Trinity, the first Anglican church there, was established.

Education

There was universal agreement, however, on another aspect of church government, education of the young. As mandated by both colonies, within a few years of settlement every town had a school operating for at least part of the year. After 1711 these schools were placed under the control and direction of local ecclesiastical societies, an arrangement that continued until after the Revolution. No formal secondary education was provided until the late seventeenth century when classical grammar schools were founded. Young men received a classical education or were prepared for a profession by private tutors, often ministers, or by one of the few lawyers in the colony.

The first grammar schools in Connecticut were located in the Central Valley. Called the Hopkins Grammar Schools in honor of their major benefactor, Edward Hopkins, they were in place in Hartford by about 1665 and in New Haven by 1668. A third school of this name was located in Hadley, Massachusetts. Hopkins, originally a merchant in the Eaton-Davenport company, decided instead to settle in Hartford. After serving as governor and deputy governor of the Connecticut Colony between 1640 and 1654, he returned to England. At his death, his estate named trustees in each of the three towns and provided a small endowment for a school. Bequests for this purpose were not uncommon. As early as 1659, John Talcott willed £5 to maintaining a "latin skool" at Hartford. John Fitch of Windsor, who died in 1675 in the Narragansett War, left money to his town for a public school fund.

The Collegiate School, later Yale College, founded in Saybrook in 1701, was the third college in the British colonies (after Harvard in Massachusetts and William and Mary in Virginia). Despite support from the legislature, the school did not prosper in Saybrook and soon the question of relocating it somewhere else in the region was raised. The only logical places were Hartford or New Haven, the co-capitals of the colony since 1701. Both towns began to contend for the prestige of having the college. New Haven outbid Hartford by offering more money and the trustees began construction of the first college building there in 1717 (no longer extant) but the matter was far from settled. In the controversy that ensued, Saybrook refused to give up the school records; the student body split up in small groups and were tutored in Saybrook, New Haven, and Wethersfield, each place holding graduation ceremonies. Hartford continued to press its case, citing its central location in the colony, and at one point Middletown was considered as a compromise. In 1718 the beleaguered legislature finally ordered all students to New Haven, sent the sheriff to collect the records in Saybrook, and compensated Hartford for its loss with a £500 contribution to the building of a new statehouse. The college was then officially named for Elihu Yale. Yale was a wealthy man who did make some modest contributions of books and money to the institution but his connection with New Haven was somewhat remote by that time. Although his father, David Yale, the stepson of Governor Eaton, came with the settlers in 1638, he left New Haven in 1641 for Boston, where Elihu was born. The family returned to England when Elihu was three. In later life he served as royal governor in India and died in 1721.

After several Congregational ministers had served as rectors, the Reverend Thomas Clapp was appointed its first president when the college was officially incorporated by the legislature. Clapp figured prominently in the religious upheaval in New Haven that followed the "Great Awakening" and withdrew his students from First Church. Although appeals were made to the General Assembly to overturn his decision, it wisely refused to intervene, holding to the line that it had no legal authority over internal affairs of a private corporation. From that point onward the students worshipped at the college and were seated for worship according to their social rank. That custom, as well as the listing of classes in status order, was discarded by 1762. Believing that "...promoting and encouraging literature and the useful arts in the collegiate school in the Colony is of greatest publick importance...," the assembly continued to support the college financially and provided exemptions from taxation and colony service for the students.[7] Essentially a Congregational seminary, with approximately half of the students studying for the ministry, Yale provided most of the ministers in the colony. By 1776 it had an enrollment of 200, making it the largest college in the colonies. The first Yale chapel, which was built in 1765, is no longer extant but Connecticut Hall, a 1750 gambrel-roofed brick structure modeled after Massachusetts Hall at Harvard and built during Clapp's tenure, still stands on the old campus (Photograph 2).

Agriculture and Industry

Blessed with "great meadows" and broad areas of relatively level land that was suitable for grain crops and pasturage, the Central Valley was a mixed agricultural region. In a period when most in the colony were still subsistence farmers, the northern part of the Central Valley began producing a considerable surplus for trade. It contained most of the best arable land in the colony, especially in the great alluvial flood plains and river terraces of the Connecticut and Farmington Rivers. Fertile, rich, and deep, the soil was almost free of stone and the lowlands were renewed annually in seasonal floods. It was known as America's first wheat belt, but all types of grain were raised, along with cattle and horses. Travellers of the period often commented on the vast fields of grain in the Connecticut River Valley; one described the pattern of the cultivated landscape as "Hundreds of Acres of Wheat, Rye, Peas, Flax, Oats, Corn, &c...a beautiful Garden, variously yet elegantly laid out."[8]

To some extent the agrarian prosperity of the Connecticut River Valley may be attributed to the perpetuation of traditional English land-use patterns. Probably influenced by the manorial squires among them, some settlers practiced the custom of open-field farming, an agricultural policy that was essentially medieval. Many, perhaps a majority, of the original settlers in the River Towns came from Essex, where open-field farming was still common practice. At the time of their emigration, enclosure had not yet reached this part of England. Although individuals still had their own lots for home consumption and there were some separate farms, with this method farmers cultivated large acreages in concert. Some of this land was "commons," that is, still held by the town, but more often it consisted of individually owned, long narrow individual parcels, the traditional field pattern of the English manorial village. This practice made efficient use of a limited labor force and the relatively crude farm implements of the period, and required fewer draft animals. Where it occurred, agricultural bylaws were needed to regulate the custom; some of the town meeting was devoted to setting the time of planting and harvest and agreeing on what crops to plant.

Other characteristics of the region were the use of intensive farming methods and crop specialization at an early date. Contrary to what is usually understood about the colonial period, instead of wasteful land practices, the region's farmers in the wheat belt limed and manured their fields by the mid-eighteenth century. With the greater emphasis on grazing at that time, they planted timothy and clover to fatten cattle, which were shipped primarily from Middletown. They also did extensive draining and ditching to bring low-lying fields into production and were among the first to use grain cradles to reduce spoilage. By the late eighteenth century they were even experimenting with disease-resistant crops. Some towns began to be known for certain kinds of livestock or crops by 1750: East Windsor was already specializing in horses; Wethersfield was noted for its onions; tobacco became a marketable speciality in several places; and the first apple orchards were planted on higher ground at the borders of the region.

Early industry was agrarian-based and primarily concerned with the processing of agricultural products. Most towns had the necessary gristmills within a few years of settlement. Mill sites were plentiful on the smaller tributaries and streams of the region. Some millers were original settlers; others were encouraged to come to town and set up a mill by promises of land and compensation for grinding the "townes corne." Tanneries were also needed to process hides and eventually fulling mills were in place to finish hand-woven wool. The first man-powered pit saws were replaced as soon as possible by sawmills since there was a great demand for processed lumber for domestic building and later for export. Brandy distilleries became common, especially in the apple-growing part of the region.

Within a few years of settlement other resources were exploited. The primitive businesses that developed in this early period required little technology but they often endured as the basis for full-fledged industries in the nineteenth century. Bog iron, which had been discovered in North Haven, was processed at the first ironworks in the colony. Located at East Haven by the 1640s, it operated for most of the colonial period, producing iron bars which could be turned into farming and household tools and nails by local blacksmiths. Clay banks along rivers and marshes in such places as Wethersfield, Hamden, Windsor, and North Haven soon provided the raw material for making water-struck brick. The latter two towns became colonial centers for this industry. Windsor brick was transported to Hartford by oxcart for export. Some brickyards there, located on the banks of the Farmington River, often made use of sailing vessels to get their product to the Hartford market. North Haven had 12 family-run yards by the end of the colonial period, the basis of a major industry there after 1850. Brick was commonly used for chimneys, but all-brick houses were rare in the Central Valley until the 1760s and not common until the early nineteenth century. Potash, tar, pitch, and turpentine were among other items produced in smaller quantities in the region and some were used in shipbuilding.

In the early colonial period ships were built on an *ad hoc* basis in many towns. Since trained shipwrights were rare, enterprising carpenters constructed ships on primitive ways on any convenient riverbank as they were needed. Among these was the *Tryal*, probably the first such vessel in the colony, which was launched at Wethersfield in 1649. It was built by order of the General Court to promote trade. Starting in the 1670s, shipbuilding was carried on more extensively, first at Middletown, later at Windsor and Glastonbury. Full-scale commercial shipyards, however, with a specialized work force and organized sources of supply, had to wait until after the Revolution.

The cliffs overhanging the east side of the Connecticut River at Middletown (later Portland) yielded brownstone from an early date. It was not actually quarried in the first decades after settlement, but townspeople were free to take loose stones for their own use for a small fee, payable in pease or wheat. Middletown's proprietors, however, came to realize that they owned a valuable commodity in a region that had very little native stone. A town-owned quarry was established as a commercial enterprise and quarry rights were leased in other sections to several individuals, including James Stancliff and Thomas Johnson. These two early quarrymen were also masons and gravestone carvers. The distinctive designs and styles of three generations of these carvers became known throughout the region and as far away as Boston and Newport. The full potential of the quarries, however, was not realized until the nineteenth century, when there was a large enough labor force available to make brownstone quarrying a major industry.

Although it never was commercially viable, mining began on a limited basis. Copper was mined in several locations, including the Cheshire section of Wallingford, an area which later was also a source of barite. The most famous of the colonial copper mines, operating in what is now East Granby, is better known as the site of New Gate Prison during the Revolution. Another mining site was located in Middletown on a hill overlooking the Connecticut River. Lead was mined there by Welshmen starting in the early 1700s and during the Revolution the mine became an important source of bullets.

Commerce and Trade

After a modest start in the seventeenth century, commerce and trade in the region blossomed in the late colonial period. Increased agricultural production that followed the expansion of settlement produced a regular surplus for export and there was a greater demand for material goods. Protected by English navigation laws, which restricted colonial trade to English ships, most ports participated in the intercolony trade and many merchants traded in the West Indies. By the end of the colonial period harbor and river improvements were contemplated to facilitate trade and a number of towns had small shipyards.

As successful as maritime trade was in this period, it should not be overstated. Colonywide, before 1750 there were only 44 vessels (Hartford had six of these and Middletown two), and by 1773 the total merchant fleet had increased to only 180. There is no question that the Central Valley played a major role in these gains. The river trade grew tenfold between 1730 and 1770 and New Haven, much farther behind by mid-century, nevertheless had an astounding 40-fold increase in tonnage by 1774. Controlled primarily by a merchant-gentry, the colony remained part of the "secondary orbit" of trade and the combined tonnage of its ports never approached that of the major colonial ports of Boston and New York, even in the Golden Age of maritime trade after the Revolution. [9]

The entrepreneurial gentry of the seventeenth century only began to tap the trading potential of the Central Valley. Even though a few had been experienced merchants in England, in the New World they had to create new trading networks under unfamiliar circumstances and were hampered by the lack of specie (hard currency). In addition, there was a limited regional

surplus available for export in this period, a problem River Town merchants relieved by drawing on the hinterland in Massachusetts. In spite of these difficulties, the very real demand for foreign products, especially manufactured goods that could not be made in the colonies, provided the impetus for trade. Further incentive was supplied by the Connecticut Colony in the early 1600s in the form of trade monopolies. At least one merchant was shipping mixed cargoes of agricultural products, lumber, and furs from every riverport by mid-century to Boston to exchange for English goods, and at least one voyage went directly to England. The shortage of money was partially alleviated by selling shares in trading vessels. Some capital was supplied by individuals who were not merchants, often wealthier farmers, but even the Reverend Hooker owned a partial interest in the pinnance *Entrance* out of Hartford. The farmers of the River Towns and Farmington also held interests in riverport ships and often had shares of ships sailing from coastal ports such as New London.

Soon after settlement, monopolies in the beaver and corn trades were given to individuals by the Connecticut Colony with the avowed purpose of controlling prices, a government policy that persisted into the nineteenth century as a means of promoting early industry. Governor Edward Hopkins and William Whiting, another member of Hartford's gentry, secured the monopoly on the corn trade and shipped the grain to Boston. Whiting already had the Hartford monopoly on the beaver trade with Thomas Stanton. When Whiting died in 1647, he left the largest probated estate recorded in Hartford up to that time (L2854), which included commercial interests in England and Virginia and "howsing" (presumably warehouses) in Hartford and Windsor.

Starting about 1660 the river ports became a great funnel that gathered up the surplus of the whole Connecticut Valley. At this time Hartford was considered the first among equals. It sat with Windsor at the head of navigation on the Connecticut River and merchants there prospered as middlemen in the colonial trading market. Hartford had the additional advantage of tapping the production of the Farmington Valley to the west, but both ports served as entrepôts for all the towns to the north. Farmers in Hampshire County in Massachusetts shipped so much pork and grain in the 1660s that intercolony roads were laid out in 1664 from Hadley to Windsor on both sides of the river. In return they received foreign imported goods sent upriver by wagon. There was a brief lull in shipping in the years following King Philip's War until the towns in the upper valley recovered from that war's devastation, which was followed by an Atlantic-wide depression that reduced the demand for the region's grain. However, when crops failed in Massachusetts Bay in the 1690s, western Massachusetts grain was shipped through Connecticut riverports and relieved food shortages in Boston, further cementing trade relations with that port.

By the middle of the eighteenth century, outside merchants, especially from Scotland, had flocked to the Connecticut River Valley, bringing the region more firmly into the Atlantic economy. At least one Scot was doing business in each of the River Towns of Hartford County. Starting in 1724, more warehouses were needed and wharves were built along the river to accommodate the increased trade. New Haven extended her "Long Wharf" farther into the harbor to handle deeper-draft ships and the first plans were made to improve navigation on the Connecticut River, especially at Middletown. Vessels could pass over the bar at Saybrook with the tide, butto avoid the shallows above the town, many vessels offloaded at Middletown. Proposals made in the General Assembly between 1764 and 1773 to dredge and mark the channel at Saybrook were defeated, perhaps by Middletown interests. In any event, nothing was actually done about the problem until about 1800.

New Haven traded primarily through New York and one of its merchants even maintained dual citizenship with the Dutch to facilitate the process in the seventeenth century. Most New Haven merchants were still primarily middlemen for an internal colony coasting trade and as a colony only attempted one trans-Atlantic crossing. A large trading vessel, known as the "Great Shippe," was sent to England in 1646 as a last-ditch effort to save the colony's economy. Two leading merchants and colony officials were aboard when the vessel, carrying a £5000 cargo, was lost at sea.

New Haven failed to become a major port because of the multiplicity of smaller ports on the coast and the stiff competition it faced from larger and superior ports at both ends of Long Island Sound at New London and New York. In the final analysis, New Haven never fully realized the commercial aspirations of its seventeenth-century founders because of its proximity to New York. The town's partial economic recovery in the late 1700s was largely due to the influx of progressive newcomers who brought new life to the commerce of the port. The names of some, such as Roger Sherman and Benedict Arnold, resonate in state and national history and several others, like James Hillhouse and David Wooster, became influential leaders and helped shape the course of the city after the Revolution.

A variety of products were shipped from the Central Valley. Grain of all types, especially corn and wheat, lumber, horses, and cattle were shipped to the West Indies and exchanged for molasses, rum, sugar, and fruit. Most of the earlier tobacco was grown for home consumption but some was exported in the eighteenth century from Suffield, Windsor, and Glastonbury. Accounts from Windsor show the brig *Olive* carried 12,000 pounds to Barbados in 1749.[10] Flaxseed was much in demand in Europe and usually transshipped from New York. Imported goods from England were picked up in New York, Boston, or the Southern colonies. Larger ships returning from the Caribbean cleared customs at New London or New Haven, but smaller ships, 80 tons or less, headed upriver, bypassed Saybrook at the mouth of the Connecticut, and were cleared at Middletown. For a brief period in the 1760s, this port also had a slave market.

Even though Middletown's slave market was the only known institution of its type in the region, Africans were brought to the Central Valley throughout the colonial period. The total numbers are not known, but one or two slaves were routinely listed on the manifests of vessels returning from Barbados. Most of the colonial leadership and merchant gentry, along with ministers and wealthier farmers, had slaves as house servants or farm laborers. The record of their ownership is revealed in probate inventories of estates, church rolls, and numerous gravestones in colonial burying yards. The only colony-wide record of their presence was the census of 1774. At that time most of the 5,101 African Americans in the colony were found in the river and coastal ports, generally representing less than five percent of the population of those towns.[11] This census did not distinguish between free and slave but it was not uncommon for slaves to be freed in late colonial-period wills and testaments. Among the 15 towns with the highest proportion of blacks in this census were the Central Valley towns of New Haven (262), Hartford (145), Wethersfield (142), and Wallingford (134), representing an average of 3.3 percent of the total population. In October 1774 the colony outlawed the importation of slaves, not on moral grounds, however, but because of the general economic situation at that time. The General Assembly believed that "an Increase of Slaves in this colony is injurious to the Poor and inconvenient."[12] The colony had not recovered from the depression following the French and Indian War, which, combined with the significant overpopulation,

had produced a real decline in living standards. Laws passed after the Revolution allowed for gradual emancipation, and slavery was completely abolished in Connecticut in 1848.

The expansion of the shipping trade had several important effects in the Central Valley. Chief among these were more densely populated towns and an increased demand for locally produced material goods. In the more urban towns, between 20 and 30 percent of the population lived in the centers. They had well-defined business districts, usually one street up from the waterfront, lined with stores, shops, and taverns. In the larger centers, many of the buildings were several stories in height; Hartford was one of the few inland towns that had a substantial number of three-story buildings. Sidewalks of wood or stone were introduced in Hartford and New Haven in the 1750s, along with rudimentary water and sewage systems. Ship captains now outnumbered farmers in the town centers and the number of artisans rose dramatically. Most artisans were found in the principal towns, where, on the average, one-quarter of the male population was engaged in some trade or craft at least on a part-time basis. Even the larger country towns experienced some concentration of population in their centers; Farmington, with much of its wealth derived from trade, had the highest proportion of artisans in the colony.

Many artisans were descendants of early families with well-established craft traditions but there were many newcomers in the trades drawn from the ranks of farming families. By the late eighteenth century many farmers' sons had little hope of prospering in agriculture. Because of generations of partible inheritance practices and overpopulation, even wealthier farmers could not provide land for all their sons; some had begun to offer a college education as an alternative. For the sons of poorer farmers, apprenticeship in a trade or craft or a life at sea were the only choices and they flocked to the port towns in ever-increasing numbers.

From the very beginning, every town had the usual assortment of blacksmiths, coopers, carpenters, shoemakers, plowrights, and wheelwrights. As early as 1641 the Connecticut Colony had seen fit to regulate wages and hours for these laborers and journeymen, legislation that was repealed in 1649/50. There were many more participants in each of these common trades by the late 1700s in the more cosmopolitan communities and, with a new emphasis on the production of luxury goods, many new trades and crafts were introduced. Although the region's towns were still provincial in outlook when compared to the major port cities, most could supply quite stylish furnishings and household goods, and provided services of professionals such as lawyers and doctors. Fashionable modes of dress included wigs and silk stockings for men and elaborate hairpieces, fans, and silk dresses for women, all items found for sale in the major towns. Newspapers printed in New Haven by 1755 and Hartford by 1765 advertised an assortment of these goods and Hartford even had the services of a milliner from Paris. Since carriages were newly fashionable, all the major towns had carriagemakers, and most had cabinetmakers, clockmakers, and silversmiths.

There was a concentration of metal workers in the towns in the center of the region. They not only developed a significant metal-working tradition organized along family lines, but they were also among the first Yankee peddlers. The pewterers, silversmiths, and Britannia-ware producers of Middletown, Wallingford, and Meriden, and the tinmakers of Berlin later evolved into several major industries. Often their shops were the headquarters of a peddler network that served the surrounding countryside; such was the case at the Danforth Pewter Shop in Middletown. This extended family of craftsmen was also one of the first to export its product.

By far the largest group of artisans were the woodworkers. Carpenters and joiners were often descendants of families that had been practicing in the Central Valley since the seventeenth century. In a period when architects were unknown, these craftsmen were responsible for designing and constructing most of the region's residential and institutional buildings. Most woodworkers in this period were generalists, involved in several branches of the trade. It was not uncommon for a noted furniture maker such as Timothy Loomis III of Windsor to be an accomplished interior finisher as well, crafting not only panelling and doors but also staircases and mantelpieces. Among the leading families in the trade were the Clarks of Hartford, the Eastons of East Hartford, the Barbers in Simsbury, and the Halls in Middletown. Windsor also had woodworking families on both sides of the river: the Loomises in the old town and the Grants in East Windsor. The Beldens prospered in Wethersfield, and also had members of the family working in Hatfield, Massachusetts.

The American Revolution

However glorious it has become in retrospect, the American Revolution was a time of great hardship for the people who lived in Connecticut and it proved to be socially disruptive and divisive as well. While people in general supported the cause and most towns responded to the "Lexington alarm," the call to arms after the first skirmishes of the war, there still were regional differences in the level of commitment and the degree of vulnerability in the state. Even though it was not as radical in its patriotism as the eastern part of the state with its "liberty boys," the Central Valley was almost solidly for independence and its civilian population was relatively safe. The coast and the western part of the state, with their higher proportion of Anglicans, were the focus of most Tory activity, and generally only coastal communities suffered from British attacks or raids from Long Island Loyalists.

Connecticut was known as the "Provisions State," but supplying the Continental Army and the militia was accomplished at great cost to the civilian population. With most of its able-bodied men in active service, especially in the militia companies, the people at home were hard pressed to plant and harvest crops to supply the troops and even found subsistence difficult as the war dragged on. Often a quota system was put in force to make the military supply system as equitable as possible. Such was the case in Windsor, where each family was allowed to keep a fixed amount of food supplies and required to turn over the rest to the militia or the army.

The inland location of most of the region was a mixed blessing. Although it was protected from attack by British forces, it was valued as a site for prisoners and as a safe staging area for the army. In addition to the Tories or military prisoners jailed in Hartford or at New Gate Prison in East Granby, some British officers were kept in homes in Farmington. British civilians taken prisoner were often quartered in Middletown or Hartford at town expense. Continental troops were temporarily garrisoned in the inland Central Valley and often cavalry units had their winter quarters in the region's towns, putting a further strain on their resources. In Durham, after two such winters of supplying food for the troops and fodder for their horses, the town was forced to petition for relief.

There were other economic effects. With the British occupying New York and blockading Long Island Sound in the early years of the war, mercantile trade came to a standstill. When the war moved to the Southern theater, privateers were operating from the lower Connecticut River towns and the eastern coastal ports, and even a few as far upriver as Wethersfield and Hartford participated in the dangerous but lucrative activity. Privateers were private ships licensed by the state to capture British shipping. The captain and the crew shared in the profit when the cargos were sold. Privateering hardly made up for lost trading revenues but it did help to relieve the very real shortages in food and consumer goods.

The issue of Tories in the colony was a vexing problem. Those suspected of being Tories were, of course, English patriots and as devoted to the Crown as Americans were to their revolutionary cause. Often these opposing loyalties pitched neighbors against one another and even divided families. Many Tories opted to leave Connecticut for New York or Nova Scotia and some had their land confiscated and never returned. Tories who stayed in the state were subject to varying degrees of harassment and a few were incarcerated in inland towns of the region. Members of Anglican churches were particularly suspect and closely watched. Following a period of house arrest for his involvement in a Tory escape from the Hartford jail, Roger Viets of Simsbury was one of six Anglican clergymen who finally elected to leave the state.

Some Tories were recruited for special Loyalist regiments set up by William Howe, the British general, as reserve units. These regiments did participate, however, in the attacks on Danbury in 1777 and New Haven and Fairfield in 1779. Punishment was severe for one known recruiter. Moses Dunbar of Waterbury, a member of a Loyalist regiment and a recruiter for Howe, was apprehended when he returned to Connecticut and hanged for treason in Hartford in 1777 on Gallows Hill. The gallows were rarely used, however, and in each case to make an example of the offender. Three others were hanged: one for desertion, another for spying, and the third for counterfeiting.

An amazing case of Tory recruitment took place right under the noses of the people of Middletown in 1776. There Monfort Brown, the royal governor of the Bahamas, was a prisoner. Captured at Nassau, he and a fellow prisoner, William Franklin, Benjamin's illegitimate son and royal governor of New Jersey, were under house arrest, but as "gentlemen" they were allowed the freedom of the town. In a period of five months, Brown managed to recruit enough men in the area to fill two battalions for the Prince of Wales British American Regiment, which was involved in the Danbury raid.

The most notorious Connecticut Tory was the turncoat Benedict Arnold. He came to New Haven as a young man and soon established himself in the merchant trade before the war. An aggressive patriot in the early years of the war, he distinguished himself through military service. For his efforts at Ticonderoga and Quebec, Congress made him a brigadier general. At Crown Point he played a major role in forestalling the British invasion from Canada, a decisive battle of the war. Arnold's motivations for treason have been the subject of much speculation by historians, but his financial problems seem to have played a large part in his treasonous attempt to surrender the American garrison at West Point to the British. Certainly few in Connecticut questioned that he was a traitor after he helped lead the British attack on New London where so many Americans were slaughtered defending Fort Griswold.

Near the end of the war, the region hosted one of the most important military conferences of the Revolution. It was held in Wethersfield in April 1781 in the Joseph Webb House. George Washington and his generals met with Count de Rochambeau, the French leader, to plan the strategy for New York City and the role of the French fleet. Also in attendance were Governor Jonathan Trumbull and Colonel Jeremiah Wadsworth.

Jeremiah Wadsworth played a key logistical role during the war. Largely through his efforts, Connecticut was a major supplier for the Continental Army. Trained in Middletown by his uncle, the merchant Matthew Talcott, Wadsworth was a well-established merchant in Hartford just before the war. While serving as Commissary General, he displayed exceptional organizational skills, utilizing his contacts with farmers and merchants throughout the Connecticut River Valley to supply the government, not just with grain and beef, but often the teams and wagons for transport. Wadsworth resigned in 1779 to operate as an independent agent, provisioning the French fleet in exchange for gold. Probably the wealthiest man in the state when the war ended, he was elected to Congress in 1787 and later became a heavy investor in the state's infrastructure and banking system.

Other Revolutionary leaders of national importance who made their homes in the Central Valley were Silas Deane and Roger Sherman, both representatives for Connecticut to the Continental Congress. Deane, whose house in Wethersfield still stands, was also instrumental in developing a crucial commercial alliance with France. Through his efforts, the Continental Army received vast quantities of arms and clothing. A controversial figure, Deane was accused of misuse of government funds and was vindicated only when Congress voted restitution to his heirs in 1842. Sherman, who was born in Newton, Massachusetts, and later moved with his family to New Milford, Connecticut, was living in New Haven when the war began. He is credited with being the only man to sign all four major documents of the Revolution, including the Declaration of Independence.

Post-Medieval and Georgian Architecture

A number of assumptions have been made about the colonial domestic architecture of the Central Valley that are based on an analysis and survey of the surviving buildings. One of the most important is that the similarities of scale and form of the surviving examples, which were primarily built for a rural colonial elite, give the false impression that colonial society was relatively free of class distinctions and that there were no extremes of wealth or poverty. Although probate records give ample proof that they existed, very little is known about the houses of the ordinary citizens or the very wealthy merchant class, the former not substantial enough to survive, the latter lost to urban growth. Given these geographic and social biases, however, some general comments can be made about wood building traditions of the region, their generally conservative nature, and the development of regional stylistic influences.

Colonial architecture was based on ancient English building precedents and was constructed from locally available materials. Although they became increasingly elaborated over time, houses, mills, barns, meetinghouses, churches, and public buildings were constructed in the same way throughout the colonial period. Wood building traditions, derived from a common

agrarian past, produced a similarity of form, plan, and proportions and a total reliance on English timber-framing methods. Over time the minor variations that occurred reflected an increasingly sophisticated building technology and the development of a large group of skilled artisans in the region by the mid-eighteenth century.

A post-and-beam framing system was in universal use. Timbers were interlocked by intricate joinery fastened by wooden pegs. Although some buildings may have had cob (clay and straw) walls, clapboarding was in common use from an early date in the region, since many settlers came from Essex, England, where this type of sheathing was used. Thatched roofs persisted for a time in New Haven and the River Towns because of the readily available marsh reed but thatch proved to be a fire hazard when these towns became more densely populated and was replaced by wood shingles.

The evolutionary theory of colonial house development has been revised. It is now known that various house types were constructed in a range of sizes from the very beginning. Most large two-story houses of the period in the Central Valley were rectangular in plan and had a gabled roof. They were all variations of the hall and parlor plan, which was organized around a massive center chimney and could be one or two rooms deep. The porch, or entry hall, was incorporated within the main block and a narrow triple-run staircase was located in front of the chimney stack just inside the center entrance. The manorial version built by the gentry was simply an enlarged version of this basic plan. It had an enclosed gabled two-story pavilion projecting from the center of the facade, which placed the porch, though still enclosed, outside the main body of the house, an arrangement that also allowed for another small room above on the second floor. Smaller end-chimney houses, essentially one room with a loft above, were another common type. Many of these were enlarged later to resemble the standard hall and parlor type, but often an asymmetry in the facade reveals that building history. When the rear slope of the roof was extended to cover additional rooms at the back of the house, the so-called "saltbox" form was created. Since there was English precedent for the integral saltbox, it is probable that houses were built in this manner from an early period, but it also was a common way to enlarge existing houses by the early 1700s, a change which can be identified by a slight break in the pitch of the rear roof.

A few changes occurred in the basic plan and form over time. One of the first in the Central Valley was the addition of a side door on an end elevation, which opened into the room known as the hall. These secondary entrances, often called "coffin" doors, a distinctive regional feature after about 1700, served the family, while the main front door was reserved for guests. The second and more significant change was the introduction of the gambrel roof by about 1740. First favored for public or institutional buildings such as Connecticut Hall at Yale, or early eighteenth-century statehouses or county government buildings that are no longer extant, it quickly became a status symbol for the gentry. Older gabled roofs often were replaced by this more up-to-date version at mid-century. Although more commonly, smaller one-and-one-half-story houses had a gabled roof, including the Cape introduced about 1720, a number had gambrel roofs later in the century. Either shed or gabled dormers were common features displayed on the lower slope of the gambrel roof. About the same time the first real change in floor plans appeared. The center-chimney arrangement was sometimes discarded in favor of a bi-axial center-hall plan with two interior chimney stacks equally spaced on either side, the so-called Georgian plan.

The basic post-medieval construction methods persisted over several centuries, underscoring the essentially conservative nature of the colonial period. Subject to only minor modification, the same fundamental practices were still in use well into the nineteenth century. The greatest changes occurred in roof framing methods. The roofs of early houses utilized a principal rafter and purlin system which eventually became the common rafter system still in use today. Even though its pitch became somewhat shallower over time, the gable roof was the most common form. The introduction of gambrel roofs in the eighteenth century called for more elaborate bracing and support, but their framing was an adaptation of the purlin system.

Until about 1710, and as late as 1750 in rural areas, framing was exposed on the interior and joiners lavished much care and attention on its finishing. Girts and summer beams, the massive timbers that carried the weight of the second floor and sometimes the attic floor as well, were smoothly adzed and decorated with chamfered edges, features also displayed on the heavy corner posts. Casing of these timbers became more common when fielded panelling became popular. Timbers were reduced in size over time, partly due to the increasing shortage of wood. By the late colonial period smaller and roughly finished beams, girts, and joists were concealed within a fully plastered ceiling, although cased corner posts were still visible into the early 1800s.

The overhang, a seventeenth-century framing member derived from the English jetty, was another feature of early New England colonial architecture. In its first manifestation, the overhang was a framed projection that provided more room on the second floor, sometimes extending as much as two feet beyond the facade of the first story and displaying carved wooden drops at the base of the second-story posts. This type of overhang is found in the Stanley-Whitman House in Farmington, an early eighteenth-century dwelling with an added c. 1750 leanto, which now is a historic house museum. A smaller hewn version, which persisted at least through mid-century, was accomplished by reducing the thickness of the vertical posts below the overhang, a feature of the Buttolph-Williams House in Wethersfield which was uncovered during its restoration (Photograph 1). Displaying carved corbels under the facade overhang and overhangs in the gable ends, it was constructed by about 1720 and now serves as a museum. A much reduced version of the hewn overhang still defined gable peaks of Central Valley houses as late as 1800, by then appearing as little more than a shadow line.

The first public buildings were meetinghouses. They did not look at all like the houses of the period because they were square in plan with a hipped roof. Meetinghouses ranged in size from about 20 feet square to the largest in the region in New Haven, which was 50 feet square. The same form was used as late as 1710. When the people of Farmington replaced their first meetinghouse that year, they simply built a larger version of their first building. The second one had a primitive tower centered at the intersection of the hips, which may have been a feature of all early meetinghouses.

Most towns in the Central Valley replaced their first meetinghouses in the 1730s. Their new buildings, with few exceptions, reflected the growing prosperity of the region but more importantly the introduction of new architectural influences. It was in this period that meetinghouses first began to resemble churches, more particularly the Anglican church with a belfry tower and spire that earlier Puritans would have abhorred. This new church type was closely modeled on similar churches already in existence in leading coastal port cities such as Boston and Providence. In addition to a rectangular form, characteristics of the new style were an attached exterior tower at one gable end and a side entrance in the center of one long elevation. It was introduced in the region by master builders and adapted by local carpenters and joiners. The merchant elites who travelled often to the port centers where this fashion

started in 1690 undoubtedly influenced the decision of congregations in the Central Valley to build in this manner, and most towns had adopted this form by the end of the colonial period.

The first church of this style in the colony is generally believed to be the Hartford Meetinghouse of 1735 (no longer extant), designed and built by Cotton Palmer, a masterbuilder from Providence, with the assistance of several local master joiners. The woodworkers of the Central Valley were well able to deal with the complexities of framing such monumental buildings, but only two examples have survived in the region: the brick meetinghouse in Wethersfield and the wood-framed meetinghouse in Farmington, both known today as the First Church of Christ, Congregational, in their respective communities. The Farmington example (Photograph 4) was designed and built in 1771 by Judah Woodruff, a native son, and patterned after the 1729 Old South Church in Boston. The interior of both churches displayed the characteristically elaborate baroque pulpits embellished with the ornamental carvings associated with this type.

The doorways of houses and churches in the region began to display some embellishment by the 1730s, a trend that reached its height between 1750 and 1770, producing the first truly regional component of colonial architecture. Known as the Connecticut River Valley doorway, it first appeared in the Hartford area. Almost an exclusive prerogative of the merchant-gentry who found these doorways to be an appropriate status symbol, it was chiefly disseminated through the networks of regional artisans as far south as Middletown and up into the river towns of Massachusetts. Although it represented the first wide-scale use of classical elements in the region, this feature was not simply copied from architectural pattern books. Rather, it was a highly individualistic regional vernacular interpretation that was baroque in its scale and detailing. Connecticut River Valley doorway surrounds commonly utilized scrolled pediments, but triangular pediments and flared molded lintels were also common. Rustication of the interior of the frame, or between the surround and the clapboarding, was another typical detail. Another feature of these doorways was the almost exclusive use of double-leaf panelled doors which added to their monumental quality. More commonly applied to plain facades, a few of these doorways were adapted to the hewn overhang that was still popular in this period. Typical details, such as the rosetted capitals and foliate-patterned pilasters displayed in the scrolled pediment doorway of the 1758 Ebenezer Grant House in South Windsor, were the work of local wood carvers (Photograph 3). With its bold, highly articulated surround, this doorway epitomizes the regional style and is exceptionally well-preserved. It also contains original double-leaf doors that have an unusual S panel in the lower half. More common in this period was the use of diagonal cross panels in the same location.

By 1760 the first Georgian architecture was introduced into the region. A few houses in merchant centers had the classic center-hall plan and hipped roof of this style. One example is the 1767 Elijah Mather, Sr., House in Windsor's Palisado, which also displays a fine Connecticut River Valley doorway. Quoins at the corners, a common feature of masonry buildings, were often reproduced in wood on these framed structures. Other details included modillions under the eaves of the roof and often pedimented dormers. The Palladian influence, which often characterizes high-style Georgian architecture, was noticeably absent in the Central Valley. It made its appearance and was briefly in fashion after the Revolution. The only known house to display a Palladian window before 1780 is also one of the few surviving brick houses from this period in the Central Valley. Built in 1767 for Captain John Robbins in Rocky Hill, it has a double-leaf doorway which is an interesting amalgam of Connecticut River Valley tradition and earlier colonial features. A flared brownstone lintel is substituted for a projecting molded wooden lintel and set flush with the masonry wall.

III. AGRICULTURAL AND EARLY INDUSTRIAL PERIOD 1780-1850

When the joyous news of the Treaty of Paris in 1783 reached Connecticut, the Revolution was finally over. People throughout the state celebrated with torchlight parades and fireworks displays but soon found that their celebrations were premature. Independence did not spontaneously create a new nation or foster a strong sense of national purpose; more than a generation would pass before the implicit promise of the Revolution for a more republican society with individual liberty and religious toleration was realized at home. The Articles of Confederation, the alliance that the former colonies had forged to prosecute the war successfully, was not adequate for the complex task of nation-building. Commerce and trade were unregulated; the new states continued to operate independently, imposing crippling interstate tariffs. New England was particularly hard hit with an enormous war debt, with almost $4 million as Connecticut's share, and a badly depreciated currency. Until there was a stronger federal government, bolstered by a national constitution and sound public credit, the Revolution would not be secured.

Society itself was in disarray. The full scope of social and economic disruption generated by the Revolution became obvious only in the next decade, when economic conditions generated greater class division. Continued inequities in the tax structure based on the potential productivity of land and farm animals overtaxed the farmer, favored the merchant and stockholder, and fostered widespread resentment of the merchant class and political opposition to the rule of the Standing Order. By any measure, the quality of life steadily deteriorated in late eighteenth-century Connecticut. There were few mechanisms to cope with the increasing scale of crime, poverty, and disease, most prevalent in the cities and larger towns. There was a falling away from religion: some pulpits had been empty since the Revolution, leaving parishes in disarray, and church membership was at an all-time low. Demographic pressures combined with agricultural decline and a lack of economic opportunity increased the scale of emigration. Despite a concerted effort to improve Connecticut's agriculture, thousands continued to abandon their farms and leave the state well into the nineteenth century.

The leading population centers of the Central Valley, Hartford, New Haven, and Middletown, however, continued to play a central role in commerce and became the loci of culture and learning. The merchant trade soon recovered and even surpassed its colonial record. A state and federal banking system was established and the insurance industry was founded in the region's major cities. The second war with England, the War of 1812, was a turning point for the economy. Maritime trade in the Central Valley came to a standstill; the agrarian-based mercantile economy of necessity turned to manufacturing. In the 1820s Connecticut entered the canal and railroad era. Irish laborers were imported to construct the new systems of transportation in the Central Valley, setting the stage for the rapid industrial development of the *ante bellum* period with almost half of the male population of the state engaged in industry by 1850.

The early 1800s ushered in a new era of cultural improvement and social reform nationwide. Much was accomplished in the next 50 years in the Central Valley. New cultural institutions such as museums, libraries, and professional societies were founded; colleges and academies

multiplied. With little help from the state, towns and cities struggled to deal with a multitude of overwhelming social problems, many exacerbated by urbanization and industrial growth. They were aided in their efforts by humanitarians who founded private charitable institutions for many of society's disadvantaged. When the attention of Northern social reformers became focused on the abolition of slavery, several towns and cities in the region played a major role in this growing national debate.

Government and Society

Government

In the spirit of democracy that swept through the country following the Revolution, when many other states moved to liberalize their political structure and broaden the base of suffrage, old habits of deference and political consensus were not easily discarded in conservative Connecticut. The first order of business in most other new states was the writing of a state constitution; some were doing so for the first time. In Connecticut, however, since the state had briefly affirmed its governing principles in its declaration of independence, the leadership felt no further action was necessary; state business continued to be conducted under the authority of the Fundamental Orders and the 1662 Charter. Assisted by a political system that was repressive by modern standards, the Standing Order, known as Federalists by the time of the first national election in 1790, continued to control state government and most aspects of commerce and banking; they were not successfully challenged and forced to relinquish political and religious control until 1818.

Connecticut, however, along with the rest of New England, did support the idea of a strong federal government, hence the term Federalist, and was a major participant in the development of a national constitution. Roger Sherman of New Haven and Oliver Ellsworth of Windsor, along with William S. Johnson of Stratford, were selected as the three representatives to the Constitutional Convention of 1787. They were responsible for the "Connecticut Compromise" that settled the thorny issue of representation deadlocking the convention. Its provisions called for equal representation in the Senate and representation in the House by population, thus satisfying both small and large states. All three men later served as U. S. senators from Connecticut. Ellsworth and Johnson, elected in 1789, were the first, and Sherman, who was elected in 1791, died in office in 1793. Ellsworth, whose home "Elmwood" still stands in his native town, served until 1796, when he was appointed as the second chief justice of the U. S. Supreme Court.

All three men, while maintaining their belief in states' rights, became firmly committed to a strong central government. Sherman, who went to the convention prepared to defend the confederation style of government, became a strong advocate for nationalism and both he and Ellsworth vigorously defended the proposed constitution in the statewide debate that followed. Some in the state were opposed because of the lack of religious test for office, and a few members of the establishment, such as General James Wadsworth of Durham (a second cousin of Jeremiah), then serving as the state's comptroller, were voluble in their opposition. In

fact, Wadsworth was so opposed that he found himself unable to affirm his loyalty to the United States after the constitution was ratified and resigned from public office. But in spite of a general reluctance of the more rural towns on the borders of the Central Valley and in New Haven County, in 1788 Connecticut became the fifth state to vote for ratification. Federalists were less sanguine about individual liberties defined in the amendments to the Constitution, known as the Bill of Rights. The necessary three-quarters of the states had ratified these amendments by 1791 but Connecticut was not among them.

More local affairs occupied the legislature in the last quarter of the century, some of immediate importance to the Central Valley. The first was the incorporation of Hartford, New Haven, and Middletown as cities in 1784, which, along with New London and Norwich, were granted charters by the state at that time. The first mayors in the region were Thomas Seymour in Hartford, Roger Sherman in New Haven, and Jabez Hamlin in Middletown, all members of the Standing Order, who served until their retirement or death. The following year, Middlesex County was formed and Middletown made its county seat. New town formation was the next order of business. Many ecclesiastical societies that had been pressuring the General Assembly for incorporation as separate towns since long before the Revolution finally received their charters at this time. Nine new towns were founded by 1786 in the Central Valley, and by 1850 all but eight of the 41 modern-day towns in the region were incorporated.

Despite these political accommodations, the Federalists had no intention of losing control of their power base. They quickly moved to quash political dissent and effectively prevented the formation of opposing political parties until the late 1790s. Many genuinely believed that the "lesser sort" had no place in government and that widespread democracy would result in chaos. Frightened by the horrors, mob rule, and atheism of the French Revolution and, closer to home, Shays' Rebellion, an armed taxpayers' revolt in Massachusetts, the Federalist leadership in most communities imposed draconian measures. Those who spoke out against the establishment could be denied credit, employment, and patronage; many were silenced or resorted to anonymous diatribes in the region's newspapers.

The Federalists had reason to be concerned. A growing resentment of this privileged class had become obvious in the state as early as 1783. After Congress granted special retirement benefits to the officer corps, several town meetings passed resolutions questioning their legality; representatives of 50 towns in the state met several times in Middletown in protest. They also were disgruntled over the founding of the Order of the Cincinnati after the war, an elitist society for army officers headed by George Washington. Although not yet a political party, those who attended the Middletown conventions were the center of opposition during the ratification debate, believing that federalism would inevitably increase taxes. Historians generally agree that men such as these, along with dissenting Protestants, were the backbone of the Jeffersonian Republican party, which evolved into the Tolerationist party in Connecticut that ultimately overthrew the Standing Order.

The election of Thomas Jefferson in 1800, which brought about the demise of the national Federalist party, ushered in a new era of politics in the state. Essentially conservative and inflexible, the state's Federalist leadership failed to accommodate either to the new style of politics or the two-party system. Challenged from without by Jeffersonian democracy and from within by a post-Revolutionary generation committed to change, they continued to pursue their arrogant, uncompromising style, thoroughly convinced that they were the "last

islands of Godliness and virtue in a sea of infidelity and ignorance."[13] With the opposition in power, they no longer controlled federal patronage and were reduced to harassing and vilifying Jefferson's appointments to federal positions, such as the customs inspectors in New Haven and Middletown. As late as 1801 the beleaguered leadership moved to maintain their weakening hold on the political structure by passing the so-called "stand-up" law whereby voters were required to make oral nominations and publicly cast their ballots for the 12 assistants who comprised the Council, or Upper House, only one of several arcane measures that assured the re-election of Federalist incumbents. Although a few Republicans managed to be elected to the House in the early decades of the nineteenth century, the Council still held the reins of political power. Without its approval, no law was passed or any official appointed.

The Federalists' response to the War of 1812, however, was ultimately their undoing. They were thoroughly disgruntled by the "Dambargo" and what they termed "Mr. Madison's War." It was generally thought to be unconstitutional throughout New England and had caused serious disruption of the merchant and maritime trades. When the war began, Connecticut and Massachusetts refused to release militia companies for national defense and maintained that position throughout the war. Once again the British blockaded Long Island Sound and there were attacks on the coast, but the war itself had little impact on the general citizenry. Ultimately only about 1800 from Connecticut actually fought, including Commodore Thomas McDonough of Middletown, the naval hero of the Battle of Plattsburg. Soon talk of secession was heard in the capital, culminating in the Hartford Convention of 1814, where representatives from all the New England states met in closed-door session in the Statehouse. Although the report of the meeting was careful to avoid any treasonous statements and secession from the Union was probably not a serious consideration, the convention was adamant about limiting the powers of the executive branch of the federal government. Any action on its meeting, however, was precluded by the abrupt end of the war in 1814 after Andrew Jackson won the Battle of New Orleans. The war proved to be a futile exercise and with peace, British and American territorial claims on the North American continent reverted to *status quo ante bellum.*

The fate of the Federalist party was sealed by the Hartford Convention; tainted by accusations of treason, the old order went down to decisive defeat in the election of 1818. A new state constitution was adopted that year which disestablished the Congregational Church, established religious toleration, and liberalized suffrage. An old archenemy of the Federalists, Joshua Stowe of Middlefield, elected as a state senator that year, wrote the section on disestablishment and toleration. Other provisions of the new constitution attempted to provide a clearer separation of powers between the executive and the legislative branches. Representation in the House of Representatives, however, explicitly perpetuated pre-existing policy. Towns and cities, regardless of population, still had an equal voice. As a result, in the ensuing years, rural Connecticut dominated the legislature, regardless of the party in power, thus preserving the conservative *status quo*. By 1850 the state's small towns (under 3000 population) comprised 55 percent of the total population but had 65 percent of the seats in the General Assembly, a situation that became progressively more unbalanced as urban populations increased dramatically by the end of the century. In the 1920s a 20 percent rural minority easily elected a majority in the General Assembly. There was no remedy until reapportionment, on the principle of one-man-one vote, was required by the U.S Supreme Court in 1965.

Society

Post-Revolutionary society in the Central Valley became polarized between a debtor class composed of working urban poor and small farmers who were beholden to a creditor class of merchants and large landowners. The war itself had contributed to class stratification. Many merchants had profited from the war but except for the very wealthy, most farmers were worse off than before. All were left with badly depleted farmland because of wartime over-production; a depreciated postwar currency made their farm products less valuable and inflation absorbed the small surpluses customarily bartered for needed goods, seeds, and tools. As bankruptcies and imprisonment for debt increased, poverty became a permanent condition for large numbers. Although Connecticut's public poverty policy was comparable to that of other states in this period, the poor, the homeless, the insane, and the disabled were no longer the responsibility of the family, as they were in colonial times, and not yet protected by organized charities or government social services.

Poverty was most evident in the cities of the Central Valley where, by the 1800s, the poor were crowded into inferior housing in slum neighborhoods along the waterfront. Many were found in Hartford in the slums surrounding the Little River. So many noxious tanneries and slaughterhouses were clustered there that the area was known as "Hog Valley." This area later became even more congested when railroad spur lines were laid to serve industries there and tenements were built to house workers. Few statistics have been compiled about the extent of the problem, but a study of Middletown may be representative of conditions in most of the cities in the state. It was found that between 1750 and 1800, the number of poor asking for assistance increased 600 percent, while the population had risen by only 27 percent.

Most communities found that the cost of maintaining the poor was the largest item in their budget. To offset the expense, some towns auctioned off the poor to the lowest bidder, a form of indentured servitude also practiced in cities. As late as 1826, notices were posted on the New Haven Green for this purpose. In rural areas, a local farmer's house was designated the town poorhouse or poorfarm; the poor assigned there worked for their keep. When reform of the poor laws by the state mandated that towns and cities assume greater responsibility, city-built and supported almshouses became common, such as one built in the south end of Middletown in 1814, which soon proved inadequate. A mansion along the river outside the city was taken over for the Town Farm in 1835 and like most city-sponsored institutions of this type, it persisted into the twentieth century. New Haven built a second almshouse after the Civil War out in the far northwestern part of the city.

The rapid increase in disease and crime in urban centers confounded the authorities. Recurring epidemics plagued the cities and even the smaller riverport towns throughout the nineteenth century. There was no treatment beyond quarantine or isolation of the sick. Doctors were already organized into a county medical society in New Haven in 1784; by 1792 the Connecticut Medical Society was chartered by the legislature and took the lead in health care. No city had an organized police force in this period to combat crime, and the few constables, the sole law enforcement officials since colonial times, were not up to the task. In large metropolitan centers such as New York, gangs virtually took over the city and roamed at will after dark when there was literally no protection for citizens. Connecticut cities also had their "cutthroats and footpads" and often the "Night Watch," a colonial custom, was reinstituted. In

New Haven this voluntary group was empowered by the Common Council in 1820 to patrol the streets from dusk to dawn. Capital crimes were also on the increase. In Middletown the populace was shaken by the first recorded murders, one in 1797 and another in 1813, and justice was swift in both cases. Public hangings, the first ever carried out there, provided the local clergy with much material for didactic sermonizing, but neither moral suasion nor the severity of the punishment appreciably reduced that city's crime rate. Crime was apparently not confined to cities. Thirty-six townspeople subscribed to "The Enfield Society for the Detection of Thieves and Robbers" founded in 1833. The society charged 14 cents a mile for their services and promised that "pursuers" were on call, equipped with a good horse to track felons and recover stolen goods and property.

By the 1790s some action was taken to prevent the spread of disease. People generally recognized that "fevers" were brought into town by strangers; New Haven passed a law to prevent the unloading of sick passengers at its port in 1794. Thomas Miner and William Tully, two Middletown doctors who published the results of their research on the spread of epidemic disease between 1790 and 1820 in Middlesex County, identified commerce, poverty, and drainage as the primary causes. Official committees of inquiry in Hartford and New Haven, headed by doctors, determined that the "miasma" arising from unsanitary conditions in the slums and polluted water in the rivers and harbors were contributing factors. These groups, which often evolved into committees or boards of health, were given enforcement powers; major offenders such as tannery operators were fined, but little else was done for several decades. Local laws were enacted to prevent people from throwing garbage in streets and backyards in the 1820s, but there was no organized collection until much later in the century. Some cities began to upgrade their water supply and drainage systems but the congested slums did not benefit from these improvements and remained the *loci* of disease.

Institutionalized care of the sick was introduced in the Central Valley in the 1820s. Inoculation for smallpox was already known; city and town poxhouses for inoculation were set up as far from population centers as possible. In 1826 the first state hospital was chartered and built in 1830 in New Haven (later to become Yale-New Haven Hospital). Supported by state funds and popular subscription from all over the state, it was expected to accept as patients all Connecticut residents and passengers entering the port. The first directors included community leaders and Dr. Nathan Smith, the first professor of medicine and surgery at Yale Medical School, founded in 1813. By the 1830s isolation hospitals for diseases such as cholera were founded and later came into common use for the treatment of tuberculosis, the major cause of death by the late nineteenth century. Other public general hospitals in the Central Valley were established after 1850. The second, Hartford Hospital, was founded in 1854 following a steam boiler explosion in the city, a disaster which also led to legislation regulating steam boilers in the state by 1864.

In this period religion became decentralized and a broad range of religious groups became established by 1850. Starting in 1790, there was a revival of Protestant faith, followed by a greater religious and ethnic diversity; new Protestant churches were built at an astounding rate never again equaled. During a series of revivals around the turn of the century in the Congregational Church, often called the Second Great Awakening, most urban parishes made substantial gains in membership and replaced their churches, starting in 1807 with the fourth meetinghouse of First Church in Hartford. During the War of 1812, New Haven's established parishes accomplished the remarkable feat of building the three new churches that stand today

on the Green. Tradition holds that ships bringing in the lumber had to run the British blockade of Long Island Sound. Dissenting Protestant sects, accorded a greater degree of toleration in 1784, were then no longer required to tithe to the Congregational societies if they were members of an officially tolerated sect. After the Congregational Church was disestablished, many new Methodist and Baptist churches were founded. In urban black communities, offshoots of these two denominations were founded, including the first of the African Methodist Episcopal (A.M.E.) Zion churches in the state. Former Anglicans regrouped under an American bishop and officially became Episcopalians. By the 1850s many Roman Catholic churches were established, and after the state granted the right of public worship to Jews in 1843, several synagogues were founded. Splinter groups not previously tolerated, such as the Society of Friends, appeared in the major cities.

Even groups who chose to isolate themselves from the general population, such as the Shakers of Enfield and the more radical utopian cults, were generally tolerated by mid-century. A small group of Millerites in Berlin who waited for the end of the world on Worthington Ridge in 1843 was generally ignored. "Perfectionists," a group founded by John Noyes that practiced "stirpiculture," the breeding of a perfect race, lived for a time in Wallingford before moving on to Oneida, New York, where the main body of Noyes' followers was located. Although the farmer who sold the land to the Wallingford group was excommunicated from his church, there is no record of any overt action against these advocates of free love.

Within a few years of their arrival, Irish immigrants who came to build the canals and railroads founded churches in Hartford, New Haven, Meriden, and New Britain. The first masses were held in private homes in Hartford in 1823, and in keeping with the still-tolerant spirit of the times, even on one occasion in the Statehouse. Connecticut's Irish Catholics were part of the Boston diocese at that time and the mass was celebrated by its Bishop John Cheverus. Soon the diocese appointed a pastor for all the Roman Catholics in Connecticut and Rhode Island and he travelled about the state holding services. In 1829 a Hartford parish with a resident pastor and the first Irish priest, the Reverend Bernard O'Cavanaugh, founded the first Catholic church in Connecticut. They took over a church that had belonged to the Episcopalians, who then were in the process of building a new sanctuary. The old Episcopalian building was moved and consecrated by the Irish as the Church of the Holy Trinity in 1830.

After refugees from the French Revolution arrived in New Haven, the first private masses were held there in the late 1700s. Irish Catholics had services in the city by 1832 and their church was built in 1834. By 1845 land was donated and a church was built in Middletown for the Irish quarry workers and their families. The brownstone for the Gothic edifice was donated by the quarry owners. The Reverend William Tyler, appointed bishop for Connecticut and Rhode Island the previous year, made Holy Trinity in Hartford his cathedral for a brief period, but soon moved his headquarters to Rhode Island, where there was a larger Irish Catholic population. The see did not return to Hartford until 1872. About a dozen German Jewish families had settled in New Haven by the 1840s, and the first synagogue there was a former Congregational meetinghouse.

Cities became centers of culture in the late eighteenth century. Popular culture found its expression in exhibitions, theatrical performances, and circuses, although these "worldly pleasures" were condemned from the pulpit and were actually against the law. Intellectuals banded together informally in lyceums or library societies, even in the smaller towns, and

museums were founded, all more acceptable pursuits in staid Connecticut. The Connecticut Academy for the Arts and Sciences, the third oldest organization of this kind in the country, was organized at New Haven in 1799. Planned by Ezra Stiles while he was president of Yale, after his death it was officially founded by his successor, Timothy Dwight. Noah Webster, the West Hartford native later known for his dictionary, was the first secretary, and civic leaders in New Haven such as James Hillhouse, still remembered for his beautification of the city, especially the planting of elm trees, and Simeon Baldwin were charter members. Lydia Sigourney, a Hartford poet, also became known in the period for her literary salons.

An informal literary group that emerged during the Revolution became known as the "Hartford Wits," although none were actually Hartford natives. All Yale graduates and often leading men in their professional lives, they became celebrated for their writings, especially satire and epic poetry, much of which promoted the Federalist philosophy of government. The group included Richard Alsop, a Middletown merchant; Lemuel Hopkins, a doctor; and several lawyers, including John Trumbull and Theodore Dwight. The latter's brother, Timothy Dwight, president of Yale, and Colonel David Humphreys, a renowned gentlemen farmer in Derby and promoter of agricultural reform in the state, were also part of this circle. Joel Barlow and Elisha Babcock, other prominent members, were founders and publishers of the *American Mercury* in Hartford. A leading Federalist paper at that time and as conservative as *The Hartford Courant*, it later became a voice for Jeffersonian Republicanism. The patron of the Wits, who provided the refreshments for their meetings in Hartford at the Bunch of Grapes or the Black Horse Tavern, was none other than Jeremiah Wadsworth. The Hartford Wits were the most widely read poets and writers of the day; their works, first serialized in newspapers and often reprinted before publication in book form, reached a wide audience well beyond Connecticut's borders, but their popularity waned with the decline of Federalism. Joel Barlow, best known of this circle, is remembered for his epic poems, "The Vision of Columbus" and "The Columbiad"; the latter work forecast great wonders for the nation such as the construction of a canal on the Isthmus of Panama.

Despite a colonial law on the books for the "Suppression of Mountebanks," enacted in 1773 and aimed at travelling performers, dramatic readings and theatrical performances thrived, especially in Hartford. They first appeared at Bull's Tavern and then at a theater erected for this purpose on what is now Temple Street. Subscribers to build the theater included most leading men of the city. American and English repertory companies appeared there, even though fines were occasionally imposed for their violation of the law. Citizens flocked in from the countryside when the circus came to town, usually just displays of exotic animals but sometimes featuring clowns and trick riders. These performances, held outside in the Statehouse yard or on the South Green, were often billed as "educational" to circumvent the law. So popular were these diversions that the General Assembly cracked down against all "Theatrical Shows and Exhibitions" in 1800, effectively ending legitimate theater in the state until 1852. The risk of a $50 fine was not enough to halt the more popular circuses, however, until a tavern owner added a special circus hall to his establishment in 1813, attracting attention and prompting a more rigid enforcement of the law. Although more than 1000 people, including Bishop Thomas Brownell, head of the Episcopal Church in Connecticut, petitioned the General Assembly for repeal of the so-called "Circus Law," the request was denied. Indeed, with the strong support of other Protestant clergy, the Assembly found more items for the forbidden list, ranging from billiards and ninepins to all musical performances, except for "sacred" music.

Exhibitions of a different type aroused little protest. The first art exhibition in the state was probably a small wax museum displaying the busts of popular figures of the day sculpted by New Haven artist Reuben Moulthrop, a noted portrait painter. He opened his museum in New Haven in 1792 and moved it to Hartford in 1795. The following year there was an exhibition room in the studio Joseph Steward rented on the third floor of Hartford's new Statehouse. His portraits and engravings were displayed there until 1808. In 1842 Hartford became the site of the Wadsworth Atheneum, the first art museum built in New England and the oldest free public museum in the nation (Photograph 10). It was endowed by Daniel Wadsworth, Jeremiah's son. The original granite ashlar building, constructed on the site of the Wadsworth family mansion on Main Street, was designed by the New Haven architectural firm of Town and Davis in a Gothic Revival style with castellated towers. In typical fashion, other cultural institutions had meeting rooms there, including the Connecticut Historical Society, founded in 1825, and the Young Men's Institute, a library society that later evolved into the Hartford Public Library, which was founded in 1893. The Watkinson Library also was located there from 1858 to 1952. There are two major additions on the south end of the Atheneum, dating from the early twentieth century, which were endowed by Elizabeth Colt, Samuel Colt's widow, and J. Pierpont Morgan, the New York financier who was born in Hartford.

Commerce and Trade

Concentration of capital was essential to growth of the shipping trade, improvements in transportation, and development of industry. By 1791 Alexander Hamilton's plan to secure international credit and establish a national banking system was enacted by Congress. State banking, introduced the following year, grew at an astounding rate, with ten banks chartered in Connecticut by 1818, with a total capitalization of $3,500,000. They included at least one state bank in every city in the Central Valley, and the Second Bank of the United States, which was first located in Middletown. Bank failures were not uncommon since these new institutions were largely autonomous. Directors had considerable discretionary leeway in how their institutions operated, setting interest rates and lending policies. In the absence of a federal reserve system, all the state banks were expected to issue their own bank notes, but they were backed by a limited amount of specie, often only long enough to meet the terms of their charters. Furthermore, they were closely controlled by the Standing Order, thus serving a very partisan purpose.

A typical combination of wealth and political interest was found in the directorship of the Hartford Bank. It was headed by Jeremiah Wadsworth, the wealthy merchant, who had amassed a considerable personal fortune during the Revolution and was also a Connecticut congressional representative, member of the Hartford City Council, and civic benefactor. A personal friend of Alexander Hamilton, Wadsworth had invested heavily in Hamilton's new federal banking system. He was a founder and major stockholder of the Bank of North America and the First Bank of the United States as well as a major stockholder and president of the Bank of New York. His directors in the Hartford Bank included Oliver Ellsworth, then judge of the superior court, Oliver Phelps of Suffield, the millionaire land speculator, and three men who were leading merchants and Hartford's representatives to the General Assembly for many years, John Morgan (the grandfather of J. Pierpont Morgan), John Caldwell, and Nathaniel Terry, Wadsworth's son-in-law. Similar connections could be found in the

directorates of banks in New Haven, particularly in the short-lived Eagle Bank founded in 1811, which had among its directors U. S. senator James Hillhouse, Timothy Dwight, president of Yale, and his brother Theodore, and Sylvanus Backus, state speaker of the House.

The insurance industry began in the Central Valley, with Hartford the leader in promoting marine, fire, and life insurance companies that were the foundation of the modern industry located there today. The concept of disaster insurance was not unknown. Marine insurance in the state was almost as old as the carrying trade. Private underwriting of voyages or cargoes by individuals was common but it was not formalized in any way until 1794, when Jeremiah Wadsworth opened a private marine insurance company in Hartford, probably the first one in the state. It was soon followed by the Hartford and New Haven Insurance Company. By 1803 more companies were founded in New Haven and Middletown. Most of the fire insurance companies founded by 1810 in all the cities of the Central Valley were of short duration. Starting in 1816, however, with the company that became Aetna in Hartford, more stable companies emerged and they earned their reputation for fiscal responsibility responding to some of the major nineteenth-century fire disasters in New York and Chicago. They also later included such enduring companies as the Phoenix and Travelers, the first life insurance company, and other names well-known in Hartford, as well as the Middlesex Mutual Assurance Company, a major company still in Middletown.

Commerce and trade continued to be centered in the leading port cities of the Central Valley. As independents no longer protected by British navigation laws, American shippers faced strong foreign competition until 1789 when the West Indies reopened to neutrals. Taking advantage of its neutral status while the leading nations of Europe were at war, America rapidly expanded its West Indies trade, which reached unprecedented highs between 1793 and 1807. Agricultural products were still the export mainstay, but lumber became an important commercial product. No longer restricted by British law, lumbering interests in northern New England supplied the fuel and building needs of not only the cities in southern New England, but also cities all down the Atlantic seaboard. Rafts of logs were floated down the Connecticut River to Hartford, which played a leading role in the export lumber trade. Overseas commerce expanded to include whaling and sealing and even trade with China.

The speed of the postwar maritime recovery was remarkable. By 1784 the port of New Haven had 30 vessels in the West Indies trade and a weekly packet boat service to New York and New London. In the late 1780s the Derby Fishing Company, organized in this city and capitalized for $200,000 by Derby and New Haven interests, was involved in the Newfoundland fisheries and also participated in the European carrying trade. By 1810 the port of Middletown, which had a new U. S. Customs House in 1795, had the largest enrolled foreign tonnage of any port between New York and Boston. Foreign trade from the riverports was generally replaced by the coasting trade after the War of 1812. By mid-century New Haven's coastal trade, by both steam and sail, was primarily devoted to the export of manufactured goods to the Southern states, but the port still maintained its overseas trade with the Caribbean and China.

John Morgan of Hartford had inaugurated trade with the Orient with the voyage of the *Empress of China* in 1785, but trading on any scale there was limited until foreign trading houses were allowed. Samuel Russell of Middletown set up the first trading station in Canton in 1818. After amassing a fortune from the silk and opium trade, like many merchants in this

period he invested heavily in manufacturing. His 1828 Greek Revival mansion in Middletown and the Russell textile mills, the city's major employer until the mid-twentieth century, remain as tangible evidence of his success. Sealskins were a key item in the China trade, where they were traded for silk, tea, and porcelain. New Haven's South Seas fleet, which numbered 20 by 1800, included the *Neptune*, which had a profit of $240,000 from one three-year voyage in which it circumnavigated the globe. So many ships were engaged in sealing out of New Haven that a portion of the western coast of South America where sealskins were dried was dubbed the "New Haven Green." Sealing was an arduous business which required crews to remain on shore in South America for at least a year, killing and processing seals. These crews would not be picked up until the next outbound ship arrived to take the cargo to China, and many were away from home for three or more years. New Haven also participated in the boom in the whaling trade in the *ante bellum* period, but never on the scale of New London or Mystic, Connecticut's leading whaling ports.

Investment in the maritime trade was not confined to the port cities and towns. Merchants in Farmington became quite active in the trade before the War of 1812. By 1803 they had over $125,000 invested in shipping, with four ships in the West Indies trade and several in the seal trade with China. Their ships off-loaded at Middletown and the imported goods were shipped overland by wagon to their nine stores in the town. Outgoing local farm produce was carried in the same manner to Wethersfield or Middletown. The major investors were the merchants of the town, especially the Cowles and the Demings, who made substantial fortunes and built luxurious late Georgian homes and Federal homes in this period. Since the mansions of urban merchants have generally disappeared in the constant historic rebuilding of the cities, homes such as these are among the few that still can convey the level of mercantile wealth in the Central Valley in the Federal period.

The Demings were one of the major suppliers of tinplate from England that was used by the Brittania-ware industry in Berlin, Bristol, Southington, and Farmington. Their account books have survived to reveal much about the intricacies of the merchant trade. Apparently the Demings remained retailers rather than wholesalers, who were more common in the riverport cities at this time. In addition to forming partnerships to buy vessels and import goods in large lots, they also established branch stores for distribution in neighboring towns.

Shipbuilders in the Central Valley also prospered in this period and many remained in business through much of the rest of the nineteenth century. Shipyards supplied not only the vessels for local use but increasingly the hulls for ships that were outfitted by New York shipping firms. Indeed, the longterm survivors in this business had direct connections with the merchant houses of New York, along with many others from Connecticut who were involved in the maritime business there. Some were investors or partners in its leading brokerage and commission houses and Central Valley captains were much in demand. Although many mariners moved to New York to pursue a profitable career, most retired in Connecticut. The largest shipyards were on the lower Connecticut, but the Gildersleeve yard at Portland was one of their chief competitors for the rest of the nineteenth century. Established in 1741, during the Revolution it built the 700-ton *Trumbull* for the Continental Navy and in the Civil War supplied the government with gunboats. The Gildersleeves also had interests in the brownstone quarries and produced specially designed scows for shipment of this material downriver.

The larger river yards in this period were substantial, vertically integrated concerns. In addition to an organized network of suppliers of raw material, each yard internalized the component processes and had the facilities and skilled workers needed to completely build, repair, and outfit sailing vessels. Among the many specialized tasks carried out by trained employees were those of rigger, caulker, chainforger, sailmaker, and blockmaker. Ropewalks and sail lofts were also prominent features of these yards and most had their own forges. Until later in the century when the marine hardware industry expanded in Middletown, some shipyards did their own casting of everything but anchors, which were too large for their small foundries.

By 1850 there were three shipyards in the New Haven area, all located in Fair Haven and related to the oyster industry there. Fair Haven, a village and secondary port at the head of the harbor at the confluence of the Mill and Quinnipiac Rivers, was the center of the industry from just after the Revolution until almost 1930. These yards supplied boats, known as skipjacks, which were used in tending and harvesting the oyster beds, as well as coastal schooners that carried oysters to East Coast ports. In 1836 most of the village's 1000 people were employed in the industry, either manning its fleet of 300 vessels, laying and harvesting the oyster beds, or making lime from the shells. By mid-century oystering began at Oyster Point (now City Point) across the harbor to the southwest and continued there until the 1930s. The surviving waterfront oyster houses in Fair Haven and City Point, often in the Greek Revival style, are unique artifacts from this industry. They were built on high foundations, so that the oyster storage area under the houses was directly accessible at high tide; the oystermen and their families lived upstairs. By 1861 the Gessner Shipyard, one of the original Fair Haven yards, relocated in West Haven and was known as Gessner and Mar. The original founder was a shipwright and probably a German immigrant. Until it closed in 1893, this yard specialized in three- and four-masted schooners and maintained its own lumberyard. Its workers were imported from Nova Scotia and lived in company boardinghouses nearby.

Emigration and Agriculture

Demographic pressures had become acute by the late eighteenth century in Connecticut. All the available land within the state had been taken up; land prices were inflated, soil was depleted, and crop blight and disease were common. The frontier beckoned with its promise of unlimited and cheaper land and emigrants left Connecticut in ever-increasing numbers. The trend had begun as early as 1760, when Connecticut pioneers settled western Massachusetts and Vermont. After the Revolution, many migrated to the Genesee Valley in upstate New York and by 1788 some had settled in the Northwest Territory. At the turn of the century, some hardy Connecticut pioneers were living in the Western Reserve of Ohio. Although the Federalist leadership at first welcomed this trend because it siphoned off many of the poor and disaffected, by 1800 even the most partisan recognized that emigration was creating a labor shortage that was crippling the state's agrarian economy.

Although agricultural reform became a cause espoused by both farmers and merchants all over New England, the tide of emigration reached a flood after the end of the War of 1812 opened up the West. Farm prices, which had consistently risen since 1790, fell in the general depression after the war. The bottom fell out of the wool business when the British dumped

woolens on the American market. In 1816 even nature conspired and contributed to the general gloomy state of agriculture. Known as the year there was no summer, there was a killing frost in every month, a phenomenon which destroyed crops and sheep. Many small farmers were wiped out; thousands abandoned their farms and moved West. Many settled in the Western Reserve of Ohio and in other Midwestern states, and by mid-century, several thousand from Connecticut had reached California.

The Western Reserve of Ohio, known as "New Connecticut," was actually governed by this state until 1800 and almost entirely settled by people from Connecticut. By 1800 there were more than 30 villages in the Reserve bearing names of Connecticut towns, and many communities today still reveal their Connecticut heritage in their architecture and layout. Even Western Reserve College (now University) was founded by Yale men in 1826. Connecticut's claims to this region, which were based on the original sea to sea clause in the Charter of 1662, were settled in 1786 and the state received a 120-mile strip along Lake Erie containing about three million acres. At the west end was the area known as the "Firelands," set aside to compensate Connecticut families who were burned out during the Revolution. Settlement of the Reserve was delayed until the General Assembly set up a mechanism for its distribution in 1795. The Connecticut Land Company, a private syndicate, was formed and bought the land from the state for $1,200,000. The net proceeds were earmarked for a perpetual School Fund to support public education in Connecticut. Organized groups were soon trekking westward after the area was surveyed in 1796. A party of settlers from New Britain, under the leadership of James Kilbourne, was just one of many expeditions to the Reserve from a single town in the Central Valley. The Reserve proved to be a very profitable investment for the original syndicators, which included some of the wealthiest men in the state, Oliver Phelps of Suffield, the largest investor at $168,000, and General Roger Newberry of Windsor.

Meanwhile, in Connecticut every effort was made to stem the tide. Agricultural reformers worked to improve conditions but it took some time before there were widespread results. Through agricultural experimentation with new crops, better systems of cultivation, and model farms, a more scientific approach to breeding stock, soil analysis, and chemical fertilization were all introduced. Agricultural societies and fairs were established to encourage farmers to adopt the new methods. Legislation introduced to aid the farmer included state bounties for the growing of hemp and flax, and Congress imposed import duties on raw wool and other protective tariffs. Wealthier farmers were receptive and many tried new crops and improved their breeding stock. Unfortunately, the small farmer was not the real beneficiary of all this reform. More vulnerable to market variations, he generally remained content to farm on a subsistence level. Although a limited income from cash crops provided some necessities, few had the money to invest in the equipment, seeds, or fertilizers being promoted that would have have made their land productive enough to produce a surplus. By mid-century, however, market gardening for local urban centers was introduced on a limited scale, a trend which proved to be a boon to the small cash-poor farmer.

Men such as David Humphreys, Jeremiah Wadsworth, and John P. Norton were gentlemen farmers with large model experimental farms. Norton, a Farmington native, returned to his hometown after a career in the hardware business in Albany, where he also had been a director of the railroad. His son, John T. Norton, studied at Yale and Edinburgh, Scotland, to become the first professor of agricultural chemistry at Yale. The Sheffield Scientific School, which developed from Norton's laboratory, provided practical instruction in the arts and

sciences. Seeds for improved and disease-resistant crops developed on these farms soon reached the public through seed companies, including a number in Wethersfield, the foundation of a major business there later in the century. The first packaged seeds in the state, however, came from the Shaker community at Enfield. Long recognized for their distinctive architecture and furniture, the Shakers were actually a self-sufficient agricultural community which farmed more than 2000 acres. They were much admired locally for their fine horses and cattle but the sale of herbs and seeds was the community's major source of income until it died out in the early twentieth century. In 1856 alone, the Shakers shipped 14,000 pounds of herbs throughout the United States and to many foreign countries.

The first agricultural societies in Connecticut were founded in the early nineteenth century, starting with one for New Haven County in 1803. A state society was in place by 1817 and the following year the Hartford County Agricultural Society was organized. All of these groups recognized the necessity of disseminating the new ideas to the average farmer. County agricultural fairs were one approach, and they became commonplace by the 1820s. Although often held outdoors, one such fair was held in Hartford's City Hall in 1849. Prizes were awarded for a wide range of farm products and domestic arts and manufactures. The work of women was also recognized. Mrs. Sophia Woodhouse of Wethersfield received a prize for her bonnets made from local marsh grass. Because of their exceptional quality, they also earned a gold medal from the Society of Arts in London.

Local fairs have been an enduring tradition in the Central Valley since the early nineteenth century; some are still held today and often feature such events as oxen draws as a nod to their agricultural heritage. Among these are the annual fairs in Durham and Berlin, which have permanent fairgrounds. Another long-lived annual gathering was a joint fair promoted by the Cultural and Mechanics Arts Society, which was founded in Somers in 1838 and included farmers from Ellington and Enfield. By 1861 East Windsor had joined the group. Its annual Four Town Fair, which began at this time and is still held today in Somers, rotated among the member towns of the renamed Union Agricultural Society. Primarily a cattle show in the early years, by 1880 other classes for animals, horticulture, pet stock, and domestic products were added.

Agricultural specialization was the path to success in some communities. In Wethersfield onions were becoming a staple crop, and tobacco, although not yet the industry it became by the late nineteenth century, was a superior cash crop in most of the Connecticut Valley. Although both were labor-intensive, these crops could be profitably grown on small acreages and tended and harvested by farmers and their families. Tobacco was an important source of income for many after cigar-making was introduced about 1810; cigar-making itself proved to be a profitable cottage industry to occupy the winter months. Horses were raised for export, particularly in Granby and other towns in Hartford County, and were shipped to the West Indies from the port of Middletown on the decks of "horse jockeys," boats specially designed for this purpose.

By the 1840s some traditional crops were no longer economically viable because of Western competition. Wheat, the mainstay of the Connecticut Valley since colonial times, was generally phased out after the Erie Canal opened and especially after the railroads moved West. With access to cheap land and transportation, the farmers of America's new grain belt could sell their crops in Eastern markets at much lower cost. Some Central Valley acreage was turned over to grazing but hay, an important commodity in a horse-drawn society, remained a

major crop both for export and local use. After disease-resistant strains were developed, principally by Jeremiah Wadsworth on his model farm, rye had a resurgence. It remained a major cash crop until after the Civil War because of its local market in the distilling business. Apple brandy was still produced but in Hartford County alone, many of its 500 distilleries were producing gin from rye mash distilled with juniper berries. For a relatively brief time farmers raising cattle also prospered in conjunction with the distillery business. Herds of beef cattle were routinely fattened on "still swill," the grain residue from the distilleries, and driven to the slaughterhouses of Hartford and New Haven. Tanneries there and in local communities served the saddlers and shoemakers of the region, the latter an important rural cottage industry. The more than 40 shoemakers in Durham had their own local tannery and some went to upper New York State to purchase herds of cattle, which were driven home. So close was the connection between the production of gin and beef that there was a noticeable drop in Central Valley cattle production after federal revenue taxes were imposed on alcohol shortly after the Civil War. Although the resultant decline in legal distilling was certainly a factor, the Eastern cattle business was already doomed. It was largely replaced by dairying in the state after Chicago became a major railroad hub and the national center of the meat trade, with major stockyards there by 1865.

Sheep-raising became a major specialty after the introduction of new breeding stock into the state by 1810 through the efforts of David Humphreys. Upon his retirement as ambassador to Spain, Humphreys accepted the delivery of about 100 Spanish merino sheep. This breed, highly prized for its long hair, was officially banned from export by the Spanish government at that time. Since there was a great demand for raw wool to feed a fledgling wool industry in the state, interest grew in Humphreys' breeding experiments at his model farm in Derby. The price of breeding stock rose to astronomical levels within a few years as "merino mania" spread through the state. Since the price of merino was double that of domestic wool, farmers were eager to buy breeding stock and even merino yearlings, especially after it was discovered that cross-breeding with native stock produced two shearings a year. By 1813 it is estimated that there were 400,000 sheep raised in the state. Wool was touted as the "cotton of the North," but intensive sheep grazing caused severe erosion problems.

Another crop was introduced into the state in 1826 because of a growing interest in silk manufacture. *Morus multicaulis*, a species of mulberry tree that could survive in this climate, was grown by farmers all over the state to feed domestic silk worms, which were raised in special sheds called "silk houses." The Cheney brothers of Manchester, who later became major manufacturers of silk textiles, established nurseries for *multicaulis* cultivation even before they built their first silk mill in 1838, leasing land in New Jersey and Ohio for this purpose. The demand inflated wholesale prices for a hundred saplings from $4 to $500; many farmers benefited until the trees were destroyed by blight in the 1840s.

Transportation

By the turn of the century a transportation revolution was launched in the state which effectively shortened distances to markets and improved communications statewide. Land transportation by stagecoach connected all the major towns and cities with the rest of New England. Steamboat

travel on major waterways became routine by the 1820s. Canals and railroads not only facilitated the transportation of farm goods and the development of industry but also played a pivotal role in municipal growth and the location of industry. Cities and towns connected by these new modes of transportation flourished, especially those at the major termini, but many towns were bypassed, some at their own request, and remained primarily agricultural. Entirely new communities were created: rural crossroads villages formed around stagecoach stops; manufacturing villages sprang up at key sites served by both waterpower and transportation networks. Among them were Plainville, Plantsville in Southington, and Windsor Locks, all of which retained their industrial identity well into this century.

Tollroads built and maintained by turnpike companies proliferated starting in 1792 with the one from Norwich to New London. In 1799 a turnpike was completed from Hartford to New Haven, the first in the Central Valley. By 1820 turnpikes ran up and down both sides of the Connecticut River and crisscrossed the state, connecting with major turnpikes to Boston and Albany. Stagecoach offices and hostelries, taverns, blacksmith shops, and tollhouses sprang up along these well-travelled routes. In many communities, that particularly Yankee institution, the "shunpike," was constructed to bypass these roads and avoid the tollgates. Increasingly sophisticated bridges, still constructed of stone and wood, were built by towns and cities as well as the turnpike companies. By mid-century wrought iron was introduced to strengthen timber trusses but all-iron bridges, first used by railroads, were a later development. One city bridge in Hartford built in 1833 was an exceptional demonstration of masonry engineering. It was designed by Horatio Potter, a mathematics professor at Washington College (later Trinity). Its 105-foot arched span over the Little or Park River, connecting north and south Hartford, was one of the longest of its type in the country. The river has long since disappeared into underground culverts but today the arch is still visible where it spans the Whitehead Highway, the Capitol connector from Interstate 91, next to the 1954 Hartford Public Library.

Bridge companies were chartered to build the longer spans needed to cross the Connecticut River at Windsor by 1808 and Hartford by 1810. These low-lying bridges were an impediment to navigation on the river and bitterly opposed by merchants. Although steamboats easily passed under these spans, eventually sailing vessels had to be equipped with hinged masts in order to be towed under the bridges. The first Hartford bridge was swept away in a flood in 1818. Replaced with a covered bridge constructed with 150-foot Burr trusses, arched and made of wood, it stood for another 75 years. Ithiel Town (1784-1844) of New Haven, later known as a residential and ecclesiastical architect in this period, constructed this bridge and remained interested in bridge design. His patented lattice truss provided a less expensive alternative that he popularized throughout the country.

The greatest achievement of the canal era was the successful completion of the Erie Canal in 1825, a project that stimulated a flurry of national interest in this mode of transportation. It ran from Buffalo on Lake Erie to Albany on the Hudson River, connecting the New York port with the vast agricultural hinterland of the Midwest; its economic potential was not lost on commercial interests in Connecticut. The commercial rivalry between Hartford and New Haven had continued unabated; any expansion of their merchant and carrying trade largely depended upon their ability to directly tap the agricultural potential of New England, especially the upper Connecticut River Valley.

Plans were made in New Haven to build an 80-mile canal from the harbor there that would pass through Farmington, continue to Suffield, and enter the Connecticut River at Northampton, Massachusetts. Such a route would bypass not only Hartford but also Springfield, both major trading competitors. Certain that Hartford interests would be opposed, the plan was brought to the attention of the legislature when it was meeting in New Haven in the spring of 1822. Although the Farmington Canal Company, as it was called to encourage that town's participation, did secure a charter, it failed to obtain financial support from the state and had to depend on private backing for most of its capital. The Connecticut section, 58 miles long and running through nine towns, all in the Central Valley, was surveyed in 1822 by Benjamin Wright, engineer for the Erie Canal. It was completed by gangs of Irish immigrant laborers through to Farmington in 1828, and opened there in 1829. The northern section in Massachusetts, chartered by that state's legislature and financed by a number of New Haven investors who also had the controlling interest in the Farmington Canal Company, was completed through to Northampton by 1835. The Farmington River supplied most of the water for the Connecticut section, and feeder dams and canals were needed to maintain the flow. Twenty-eight wooden locks were required to accommodate the 213-foot rise from New Haven to the Massachusetts border, and a number of aqueducts and culverts were constructed across rivers and roads. Towpaths bordered the canal so that canal boats, which carried passengers and freight, could be pulled by horses. Even though the canal was immediately popular for both passenger and freight traffic, revenues consistently were swallowed up by the costs of repair and maintenance. Because the canal was never fully subscribed, construction shortcuts had been necessary; unsupported earth berms often collapsed or were breached during seasonal flooding. Though never an income producer for its subscribers, the canal survived until 1848, generating industrial development and opening up west-central Connecticut to trade. Plainville and Unionville in Farmington were industrial villages created by the canal, and a number of related structures were built along its route. Several enterprising men dug canal basins. One at Plainville was really a miniature port with stores and warehouses and even a drydock to repair canal boats. Among several hostelries from the heyday of the canal era that have survived is a hotel in Farmington (later part of Miss Porter's School) and a tavern/tollkeeper's house at a restored canal lock in Cheshire (Photograph 8). A tollkeeper's house also still stands in Hamden.

The equally persistent Hartford merchants faced a much simpler problem. By building a short canal along the west bank of the Connecticut River, the falls at Enfield could be bypassed. Similar canals had already been built upriver in Massachusetts and Vermont. Chartered in 1824 and supported by state funds as well as private subscription, the Connecticut River Company was formed to build the Enfield Canal from Windsor Locks through Suffield. Before construction began, however, the company sponsored a design competition for steam-powered canal boats and specifically designed the canal to withstand the water turbulence generated by this type of vessel. This bypass canal differed from the Farmington Canal in other respects as well. Not only was it much shorter, only 5 1/2 miles in length, but it was also engineered from the start to be a source of waterpower. Canvass White, who had worked on the Erie Canal, was engaged as the chief construction engineer; work began in June 1827, again with Irish construction crews, and the project was completed in 1829, the same year the Connecticut section of the Farmington Canal opened for business. Constructed with masonry walls utilizing hydraulic cement, it had locks at both ends because of the 30-foot drop in the river over its length. About two miles below its supply dam, the canal and its boat traffic had to pass over Stony Brook. This was accomplished by an engineering feat of some complexity: a 104-foot aqueduct, 102 feet wide, carried on six masonry piers. Industries soon located

between the canal and the river bank and were concentrated at Windsor Locks by mid-century. When the waterpower potential of the canal and dam was further improved in the late nineteenth century, 13 major mills were located there.

Steam-powered travel on the Connecticut River began in 1813 between Hartford and Middletown, but that first company soon went out of business. In 1815 the *Fulton*, which already had a regular schedule between New Haven and New York, came up the river to Hartford on a demonstration run. It was, of course, named for Robert Fulton, who, with Robert Livingston of New York, made commercial steam-powered maritime travel feasible. Fulton is usually credited with the invention of the steamboat in 1807, but experiments by two other men actually preceded him. One was a South Windsor native, John Fitch, who designed the first boat and made a successful trial run on the Delaware River in 1788.

In 1822 the Connecticut Steamboat Company, financed by Hartford interests and incorporated by William Redfield, Jr., of Cromwell, began the first regular service on the river between Hartford and Essex. Later the route was extended to New Haven, but it was not allowed to complete the trip to New York. Steamboat companies there controlled access to the New York port; passengers and freight had to be off-loaded in New Haven, later in Greenwich, and complete the trip by stagecoach. After 1825, when the U.S. Supreme Court declared the New York monopoly illegal, Redfield's company and a competitor, the Hartford Steamboat Company, made regular Connecticut River runs on alternating days directly to New York, a 15-hour trip. Competition became more heated after Cornelius Vanderbilt's boats came to the Connecticut River and fares and freight costs dropped drastically.

By 1850 steam travel was well established, with steamboat docks all along the river. More than 20 boats had been commissioned and placed in service since 1822. The early boats were only about 250 tons and fitted out with sails for emergencies, but by the end of this period, larger boats (up to 1500 tons) carried as many as 900 passengers and were elaborately decorated and outfitted with commodious staterooms. Even though this new mode of transportation was often hazardous, very slow, and soon faced competition from the railroads, steamboats continued to ply the lower Connecticut until 1931. Smaller boats, especially designed for shallow draft and canal travel above Hartford, also operated in this period. They were commonly used to pull barges but also carried a few passengers.

The organization of steamship companies operating out of New Haven followed a similar pattern. But in that city steamboat travel was tied into the development of rail transportation in the Central Valley, which largely originated out of New Haven. In 1825, within a few months of the U. S. Supreme Court's decision, the New Haven Steamboat Company was chartered and made regular runs to New York and also contracted to carry the mail on a daily basis. Soon after the Hartford and New Haven Railroad Company was chartered in 1833, the steamship interests entered into an exclusive contract with the railroad to provide connecting service from New Haven to New York. Tracks had already been laid north to Meriden by this time. But a new "steamboat war" with Vanderbilt, complete with "accidental" collisions, broke out when he began running competing service to New York. Amid cries of collusion, Vanderbilt bought out his competitors in 1839, the same year that the railroad line was completed through to Hartford, and thereby controlled the steamship-rail connection to New York.

The Farmington Canal Company stockholders voted to replace the failed canal with a railroad, and a charter was obtained in 1847. Utilizing much of the old canal towpath, the line was completed to Plainville in 1848 and Collinsville by 1850. A key figure in this enterprise was Joseph Sheffield, who endowed the Sheffield Scientific School at Yale. He was also instrumental in founding the New York and New Haven Railroad Company in 1844. This company was prevented from extending the line all the way into New York City until accommodations were made with the Harlem line after the Civil War. Eventually a merger put most of Connecticut's rail service under the control of a single company, the New York, New Haven, and Hartford Railroad Company. By 1846, recognizing New Haven's position as a major hub in the rail network, stockholders of the New York and New Haven Railroad erected a passenger station on the site of the old city market at Chapel and Union Streets. Hartford, with train service north to Springfield and east to Albany by this time, took similar steps. Another building type that developed in conjunction with rail service was the railroad hotel, often luxurious buildings that were located near these stations and in New Britain and other smaller cities in the region.

Industry

The evolution of Connecticut as an industrial state took almost a century. From about 1800 until the 1840s industrial progress was uneven and uncertain; this entrepreneurial period was characterized by much experimentation and a high failure rate. Despite the extraordinary level of inventive genius in the state, a shortage of capital and a relatively primitive transportation system restricted the growth of early industries and doomed many from the start. With the decline of trade because of the War of 1812, a new infusion of merchant capital spurred considerable industrial expansion, especially after transportation networks improved. With the exception of agrarian-based industry, Connecticut was not a producer of goods from locally available resources. The means of production and the raw material, especially for the metals and cotton textile industries, had to be imported, so efficient transportation was vital. Although smaller manufactured items were often retailed through the Northeast and mid-Atlantic states by Yankee peddlers, most bulk and wholesale goods were marketed through commission merchants in New York. Companies that survived the turbulent economy of the *ante bellum* years, often through restructuring and consolidation with competitors, emerged as the true leaders of the state's Industrial Revolution after the Civil War. Then supplied by an extensive immigrant labor force, they produced an enormous variety of products for domestic and foreign markets.

Hartford and New Haven were destined to become major manufacturing centers, characterized by considerable industrial diversity, but smaller cities and industrial villages in the Central Valley increasingly became identified with particular products in the early industrial period. By 1850 the foundation was laid for a number of major industries; many sustained growth well into the twentieth century. Among them were the carriage and wagon industry of New Haven, which spawned a host of related businesses as far away as Wallingford and Meriden. New Haven also became noted for its breweries founded by German immigrants. In Portland, commercial quarrying of brownstone was a major industry by 1850. Although several smaller firms had quarries in places such as Cromwell and Fairhaven, Portland brownstone was

exported nationwide. The carpet industry had its modest beginnings in Thompsonville (Enfield) and became a giant in the field after a merger with an out-of-state company. Silk was another specialized textile, with several experimental mills in the state, but the silk industry in the Central Valley became identified with Manchester. The paper mills of East Hartford and Windsor Locks supplied the many newspapers in the region and the related publishing industry of Hartford. Complementary industries developed in tandem in New Britain, where production of metal fabrication machinery accompanied the growth of the tinware industry. Meriden and Wallingford also attracted early metal workers, and there small companies specialized in silver-plated hollow ware and flatware.

The first late eighteenth-century Connecticut industries focused on the local production of previously imported goods. Subsidies and monopolies were granted by the General Assembly to encourage manufacture of such items as glass, wool, and cotton. One of the first industries to benefit from these incentives was the Pitkin Glassworks, founded in 1783 in the Manchester section of East Hartford and now an archaeological ruin. Prominent members of the Standing Order for at least four generations, the Pitkins also had an iron forge, a powder mill, and a cotton mill there. Sand was brought from New Jersey to manufacture bottles of all types and sizes, including the large carboys used in the West Indies trade, but experiments in making window glass were not as successful. The glassworks continued to operate until a shortage of wood for fuel about 1830 forced it to close.

Although there was some experimentation with cotton textiles, the Central Valley generally concentrated on the manufacture of woolens in this period. The first woolen mill in the state was founded in Hartford in 1788 by Jeremiah Wadsworth and other merchants in the city. Tradition holds that this small operation, also subsidized by the state, supplied cloth for the suit worn by George Washington at his inauguration in 1790, but its peak annual output was only about 5000 yards and it closed in 1795. It was not until the early 1800s that more successful ventures were launched. With the scarcity of imported British woolens because of the Embargo and Non-Intercourse Acts that preceded the War of 1812, locally manufactured cloth was in demand. The Humphreysville Manufacturing Company was chartered in 1810 with Colonel David Humphreys, the agricultural pioneer, as the principal founder. Believed to be the first industrial village in the state, Humphreysville was set up as a model community. Located in the section of Derby that later became Seymour, the company employed children and to placate those who opposed industry on moral grounds, its charter agreed to provide them with a teacher. Within a few years two mills and a clothier's works were operating in Middletown under similar charters. The first, the Middletown Manufacturing Company, employed up to 80 adults and children and occupied a five-story mill.

By 1815 there were at least 20 woolen mills in the Central Valley and literally hundreds of associated fulling mills and carding factories, the majority located in rural areas. While fulling and carding were mechanized processes, there was only a limited number of powered weaving looms in operation; most cloth was woven at home. Loom technology was much more advanced in England but foreign patents were closely guarded. In most cases American textile machinery was designed by skilled mechanics who had previously worked in the British industry. Although American capital was invested, these Englishmen were often taken in as partners in some of the more successful mills. Many early woolen mills foundered in the face of British competition after the War of 1812 but a few later evolved as the nucleus of an industrial village such as Somersville in Somers. Kelloggsville, later Talcottville, in Vernon was established

in 1835 around the site of two earlier experimental mills which were the first of their kind in the state: the first successful cotton spinning factory, established by John Warburton about 1802, which was followed by the first mill to produce satinet, founded in 1811 by Peter Dobson. Both men were recent English immigrants. Satinet, a hybrid which used cotton warp and woolen weft, became the mainstay of the woolen industry until mid-century, when better mechanized looms were designed for weaving finer fabrics known as cassimeres.

Arms production in the Central Valley played a vital role in Connecticut's development as an industrial state. Although the industry eventually centered in both New Haven and Hartford, it originated concurrently in Berlin, Middletown, and Hamden. Even though a federal armory had been in place since the Revolution in nearby Springfield, Massachusetts, by the late 1790s, with the increasing threat of foreign war, arms contracts were freely dispensed by the federal government to almost anyone who could claim some expertise. The best known was Eli Whitney of New Haven (already the inventor of the cotton gin for his patron Phineas Miller of Middlefield), who established Whitneyville, his factory village in Hamden. Simeon North of Berlin and Nathan Starr of Middletown were also early entrepreneurs in the field; both had some experience in edgetool manufacture. Before he set up an arms factory in Middletown, North was making scythes in Berlin. Starr filled government contracts for both arms and sabers as long as he remained in business.

These men put their considerable genius into a Herculean task: the transformation of a specialized handcraft into an industry. It required new ways of thinking about the division of labor and considerable mechanical ability to replace the skilled gunmaker with a number of semi-skilled workers assigned to discrete tasks. Mass production also required development of special machine tools with high tolerances unheard of at the time. Although the first experiments at his gun factory in Hamden were not completely successful, modern historians generally concede that Whitney at least demonstrated the potential feasibility of interchangeable parts, a concept which became the future standard for the arms industry and revolutionized industry as a whole. The arms industry became fully mechanized only when Samuel Colt, a giant in the field, built an armory at Hartford in the 1850s, but he too made a modest start in this period. After a brief flurry with an arms factory that failed in Patterson, New Jersey, Colt returned to Connecticut in the 1830s and produced the first Colt revolvers, the product that was to bring him international recognition. They were actually subcontracted to Whitney and produced in the Hamden plant.

Education and Social Reform

The progressives of the early nineteenth century had an unswerving faith in the perfectibility of society, the heritage of the Enlightenment. Reform movements and charitable institutions were concentrated in the cities of the Central Valley where citizens organized themselves in support of education, temperance, and abolition. Feminists among them were concerned with the rights and education of women. Charitable causes included all of society's unfortunates who were still largely neglected by the state.

Education

Educational reform was a major concern statewide starting in the 1820s. Despite the benefits of the 1795 School Fund, public education in Connecticut reached only about a third of the eligible school population. The quality of public education was uneven. Although still under local control, it was now the responsibility of school societies instead of Congregational parishes, as it had been in the colonial period. They were hard-pressed to maintain schools with local taxes, especially after the state school tax ended in 1821 and the increasingly budget-minded legislature reduced annual distributions of the School Fund.

Some of the neglect of public education was due to the fact that children of the well-to-do were educated in private academies, which proliferated in this period, with more than 40 such institutions in the Central Valley by 1850. Some were established by organized religions, including the Episcopal Cheshire Academy founded in the 1790s and the Baptist-sponsored academy in Suffield in 1833. The present-day Hartford Seminary evolved from a Congregational seminary located at East Windsor Hill in the 1840s. One of the first private non-sectarian schools in the region also was founded at this time. The Farmington Female Seminary, better known as Miss Porter's School, was established in 1843 and today occupies many of the buildings in the town center. By the end of the century other well-known Central Valley private schools included Loomis Institute (now Loomis-Chaffee) in 1874 in Windsor; Westminster in Simsbury in 1888; and Choate, a boys' school in Wallingford founded in 1896, which later became coeducational and was renamed Choate-Rosemary Hall after merging with the girls' school.

Although Noah Webster and other Connecticut leaders formed committees for improvement of the common schools as early as 1827, education was neither regulated nor promoted by the state until Henry Barnard, a Hartford native and state representative, introduced reform legislation in 1838. Largely due to his efforts, the educational system was restructured and educational standards were introduced. A state board of commissioners, with Barnard as executive secretary, was appointed. Reform measures that he instituted included extending the school year to six months and promoting teacher professionalism through normal schools, teacher institutes, and associations. Barnard, a national consultant on education, published several landmark texts on school legislation and architecture and founded the *Connecticut Common School Journal*. Among the many schools built to his standards, the Pine Grove School in Avon is the only known example in the Central Valley. After he was turned out of office by the Democrats in 1842, Barnard was hired by Rhode Island to establish a new school system for that state. When the Whig party came back to power in 1849, Barnard was able to return to Connecticut as the superintendent of public schools and he founded the first state normal school, which opened in 1852 in New Britain. In addition to heading the normal school (which became Central Connecticut State College and later a state university), Barnard was founder and editor of the *American Journal of Education* in 1855. He culminated his career in 1867 as the first U. S. Commissioner of Education. After his death, interest in teacher education declined in Connecticut. It was not until 1892 that a second normal school was established. It was located in New Haven, where it took over the existing locally supported Welch Training School, founded in 1883 and already noted for some of its advanced methods. They included the first free kindergarten classes for the city's poor to train teachers in this field.

With state guidance and support, the base of public education was broadened. Although the one-room district school prevailed in rural areas well into the twentieth century, graded public schools, a new concept at this time, appeared in Central Valley cities. Earlier citizen-sponsored experiments in this type of education had begun in 1822 in New Haven where a Lancasterian School for boys was founded, first meeting in the Steamboat Hotel near the harbor. By 1828, when it had its own building on Orange Street, a girl's division was added. The next logical step was public high schools and the first one in the state was established in Middletown in 1841, soon followed by a local board of education there. By the 1850s other high schools were located in New Haven and Hartford, also under the control of local boards or committees. All of these high schools served surrounding communities; out-of-town pupils attended on a tuition basis, subsidized by their towns. For example, for the rest of the century students from as far away as Manchester rode the train each day to attend Hartford High School. Centrally located high schools founded later in the century in some of the larger, more prosperous towns, such as Simsbury, also served a regional population.

Despite this progress, rural schools remained internally segregated by race, and in the cities few African-American children were receiving any education unless their numbers warranted the establishment of a separate facility. No black schools, however, would be founded without at least tacit community acceptance, including those sponsored by African-American churches in the 1830s. In Hartford the North African School was located in the Talcott Street Congregational Church and the South African School in the AME Zion Church on Elm Street. Both were supplied to some degree by the Hartford School Committee and were examined by its official school visitor. Among the teachers were Augustus Washington, who had been educated at Dartmouth College, and Ann Plato, a published black poet. After petitioning for a school building, when given a choice, Hartford's African-American community elected to have its own segregated district school, which was built in 1852. In New Haven, where white community leaders were perhaps more concerned with education for African Americans, several so-called "charity schools" were founded but they were not funded out of the regular state School Fund and only one attempted to be integrated. Plans for a white-sponsored black college in New Haven, however, were roundly condemned and the project was defeated.

With disestablishment of the Congregational Church, Episcopalians and Methodists were free to found their own colleges in the state and both were located in the Central Valley. The first was Washington College, an Episcopal institution chartered by the state in 1823 and renamed Trinity College in 1845. Its founding represented the culmination of Episcopalians' 35-year struggle to end Congregational control of higher education in the state. Although Trinity remained affiliated with the Episcopal Church, the founders made a point of stating in their charter that no teacher or student would be excluded because of religious affiliation. The college's original Greek Revival campus was located on the present site of the State Capitol; Trinity moved to its current location in 1878.

By 1831 Methodists had become numerous enough to establish their own seminary and Middletown was selected as the site. It was to be known as Wesleyan College, one of the first of many institutions of higher learning in the United States named for John Wesley, the eighteenth-century English evangelist who founded Methodism. The founders took over an existing campus built to house a military school, "Captain Partridge's Military, Literary, and Scientific Academy." This establishment had fallen into disrepute and Partridge, the former head of West Point, had left Middletown under a cloud. In addition to the abandoned campus

with several large brownstone buildings, the city fathers offered the Methodists a considerable bonus as further encouragement to locate there: the proceeds for ten years from the town-owned brownstone quarry in Portland. Although one building was rebuilt after a fire, the original academy cluster, called North and South Colleges, remains as the administrative core of the university.

Social Reform

Neglected children were a major concern of society. The first of a series of child labor laws was passed by the legislature and private orphanages were founded. An orphanage for boys was established in Hartford in 1833 and supported by local Protestant churches. It later merged with the Female Beneficent Society founded in 1817 (presumably for the care of orphaned girls). The society's Hartford Orphan Asylum, established in the 1860s, became Child and Family Services of Connecticut in the twentieth century, a leading charitable institution. Deaf children received special care and training in a new school in Hartford, founded in 1817 by the Reverend Thomas Gallaudet. He had trained in Paris under Abbé Sicard, a leading proponent of new methods for educating the deaf. Out of this school rose the present-day American School for the Deaf in West Hartford and Gallaudet College in Washington, D.C., the first institution of higher learning for the hearing impaired.

The inferior role of women in society was also addressed. An early feminist was Catherine Beecher, member of a prominent family of humanitarians and sister of Harriet Beecher Stowe. Although she remained opposed to female suffrage, Catherine Beecher was a firm believer in higher education for women and headed the Hartford Female Seminary, which she founded in 1831. Two rather eccentric sisters who later became women's rights activists lived in Glastonbury. Julia and Abby Smith, along with their mother, Hannah, were also ardent abolitionists. A number of organizations and religious groups founded charitable institutions for poor women in New Haven at this time. Some landmark legislation was introduced in 1826 by state senator Samuel A. Dana of Middletown, exempting women from imprisonment for debt. By the 1840s other legislation was enacted to recognize women's property rights, especially in a divorce. Prior to that time, except for her dower, a married women's property was considered to belong to her husband.

The plight of the insane, as they were then called, became the focus of private humanitarian efforts in the 1820s. State laws requiring towns to confine the insane to jails or workhouses were rescinded in the 1790s. As a result many of the indigent and homeless among them were left to wander the roads of the state, a problem that had reached major proportions in the early nineteenth century. It was largely due to the efforts of a Hartford physician, Dr. Eli Todd, that public attention focused on this issue. In 1824, after a two-year campaign, he founded the Hartford Retreat, a private hospital, with the support of the Connecticut Medical Society and generous donations from Daniel Wadsworth. Later to become the Institute for Living, it was the first facility in the country to provide humane care for the mentally ill. Even though the Retreat accepted only private patients, the institution met a great need and its methods did much to revolutionize the treatment of mental patients in the United States.

The state, however, continued to avoid its responsibility to provide institutionalized care for the mentally ill. In 1824 the General Assembly again ordered towns to confine those who

were a danger to the community. In the next few decades, even though state aid was provided for a limited number of charity patients at the Hartford Retreat and some of its patients from New Haven were subsidized by that city, relatively few benefited. No further state action was taken until 1866 when the General Hospital for the Insane was chartered. Located on a hill overlooking the Connecticut River at Middletown and known today as Connecticut Valley Hospital, it was the first publicly supported mental institution in the state.

Prison reform had a greater state priority. Because of the particularly bad conditions at New Gate, legislation was enacted in 1826 and a new state prison was constructed at Wethersfield the following year. It was modeled after a new prison at Auburn, New York, where prisoners were productively employed. The Auburn approach was utilized at Wethersfield, where in most years the sale of what prisoners produced more than offset the cost of upkeep. Among the items made at the prison were shoes for the Union Army during the Civil War.

Abolitionism

Abolition of slavery was the major reform issue of the period, one that ultimately engaged most of the towns and cities of the Central Valley and certainly the one that engendered the most controversy. Anti-slavery societies were founded in Connecticut and Massachusetts by the 1790s which favored the gradual emancipation of slaves. The American Colonization Society, which advocated the return of freed blacks to Africa, was founded in the South in 1816 and by the 1830s the colonization movement was supported by such seemingly unlikely partners as Southern planters, white Northern abolitionists, and even a few leading African Americans. Among the last group was Augustus Washington, the gifted daguerreotypist and teacher in Hartford. Although his economic status was far more secure than most, he recognized that since most blacks were condemned to the laboring class and had little hope of suffrage, colonization might be a better alternative. Washington himself eventually emigrated to Liberia. With the avowed purpose of Christianizing "darkest" Africa, colonization came to be considered by many as the only viable alternative and Episcopalians in Hartford were among those who trained black missionaries for this service.

The more radical abolition movement aimed at immediate emancipation began in the state in the late 1820s. It gained in strength throughout the North in the 1830s when parallel but separate black and white abolitionist societies were organized around this fundamental principle. Although both groups agreed that there should be no compensation for slave owners and African Americans should remain in the United States, each group had quite different objectives. Black abolitionists worked to improve social and economic conditions in their local communities and obtain the basic citizen's right of suffrage for their people. White abolitionists, though quick to condemn the evils of slavery on an abstract national level, had difficulty relating to the problems of free blacks in their own states. Extending economic rights to blacks was never the intent of the white movement and their cause was ambiguous when it came to suffrage. Ultimately, the great strength of white abolitionism was in its political opposition to the spread of slavery in the frontier states. There was active opposition in Connecticut to the Missouri Compromise of 1820 and the annexation of Texas in 1845 as a slave state.

While both black and white abolitionists debated the issues and worked for solutions, the slave economy became even more entrenched, especially in the sugar and cotton plantations of the Deep South, and slavery spread into some of the new states on the frontier. Although the slave trade officially ended nationally in 1808, in 1820 there were 1.5 million slaves and only 250,000 free blacks nationwide. Of this latter group, only about 99,000 were living in the Northern states. On the eve of the Civil War, however, it is estimated that there were four million slaves in the country.

In this period, free blacks, a decided minority throughout Connecticut, occupied the lowest rungs of the economic ladder, and, although it was not official policy, they were subject to *de facto* segregation. Except for a few teachers and ministers, they were generally servants or common laborers. By the 1830s, barred from the trades by mechanics' societies, they were competing with Irish immigrants for the same low-level jobs, leading to the first recorded race riot in Connecticut, which took place in Hartford in 1835. Because they were set apart in white churches and schools, eventually most urban African Americans, like those in Hartford, elected to form their own churches, schools, and social organizations, thus becoming more tightly knit, but more invisible to the white community.

In 1790 the African-American population of Connecticut was still the same size it had been in 1774, the year of the last census, and still comprised only two percent (5560) of the total population of the state of 238,000. By 1850 this group had increased to 7263 but still only accounted for two percent of the state total. In the Central Valley the African-American population remained quite small and grew very slowly, with only 1644 free and slave blacks by 1820, only a slight increase over their postwar population of about 1300. By 1830 their numbers had risen to only about 2400 and remained at about that level through 1850, when they comprised two percent of the region's population. By that time ten percent of the region was foreign born.

Given a standard natural increase, these figures actually reflect a static or declining population and suggest that there was considerable mobility; blacks were leaving either the region or the state. Canada, the refuge of escaped Southern slaves, may have had some appeal because of greater tolerance and voting rights there. In addition, it is evident from Central Valley city censuses that there was some internal geographic mobility in the region. The African-American communities of Hartford and Middletown hardly doubled in 50 years, while New Haven's black population experienced a fourfold increase, with almost 1000 living there in 1850, nearly half the total number in the region. City directories in Middletown confirm that younger blacks began to emigrate in this period, leaving behind their parents and grandparents, a trend that accelerated in the later nineteenth century; possibly the same type of mobility occurred in Hartford.

Such a large increase in New Haven can only be accounted for by in-migration. New families had moved there not only for the better economic opportunities available in a port city—blacks were routinely hired as mariners and roustabouts—but also because the social climate was more favorable due to initiatives taken by white community leaders. For example, Simeon Jocelyn, a leading New Haven abolitionist and a member of Center Church, helped organize the Temple Street Congregational Church in 1820, known today as the Dixwell Avenue Congregational Church. In the 1830s he also helped develop Trowbridge Square as a residential neighborhood for the city's disadvantaged. After the African-American Carlisle Street school was built there, many blacks moved to this area. By 1845 a number owned their own houses and comprised more than half the population.

The national black abolitionist movement had its foundation in the African-American churches formed in this period. Some of the strongest initiatives in Connecticut were the work of the black ministers in Middletown and Hartford who joined with African-American leaders all over the North to end slavery and improve the conditions of freed blacks. Although the national movement eventually split between those who still believed in moral suasion and those who sought radical political action, it continued its efforts on behalf of Northern blacks. The Reverend Jehiel C. Beman and his daughter-in-law, Clarissa, abolitionist leaders in Middletown, sat in the inner councils of the national association and organized conventions in the state in the decade of the 1830s. Beman, a former shoemaker from Colchester, came to Middletown where he became pastor of the African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Zion Church in 1828, which became known as the "Freedom Church" for its abolitionist activities and its role in the Underground Railroad. It was the second church of this denomination in Connecticut and the third in the country. The first in the state was founded in New Haven in 1818 and officially affiliated with the A.M.E. Zion Church Society in 1820. William Lloyd Garrison, founder and editor of the *Liberator*, spoke at Middletown's Freedom Church on several occasions. Although his paper was largely supported by a few wealthy whites, the majority of its subscribers came from the black community and he was generally unwelcome in white churches in the state. Clarissa Beman founded the Colored Female Anti-Slavery Society in 1834, the second in the country. Jehiel's son, Amos Gerry Beman, also studied for the ministry, and after teaching for a time in Hartford, he became pastor of the Temple Street Congregational Church in New Haven. In 1847 the Bemans led a petition drive for black suffrage in the state and succeeded in having it passed by the General Assembly, only to have it defeated soundly in a statewide referendum. That same year Amos Beman attended a national black convention in Troy, New York, with a colleague from Hartford, the Reverend J. W. C. Pennington, as the only delegates from Connecticut. Pennington was minister of the Talcott Street Church, founded as an interdenominational effort with the Baptists in the 1820s. A former slave, he was self-educated and received an honorary doctorate from the University of Heidelberg. The conference that Beman and Pennington attended was one of a series of national annual meetings which endorsed and set up vocational training schools in New York and Pennsylvania and supported experiments in agrarian communal living for African Americans. Enough land had been donated in upper New York state to support 3000 families; as landholders many qualified for suffrage there.

White abolitionists in Connecticut were directly involved in the *Amistad* incident, a national issue played out in the Central Valley between 1839 and 1841 in the towns of New Haven and Farmington. A complicated legal case, it concerned the trial of a group of slaves, members of the West African Mendi tribe, who had mutinied and taken over the *Amistad*, a slave ship owned by Spanish traders. After the ship ran aground, it was taken in tow to New Haven and the slaves jailed to await trial for murder and piracy. During that period the well-known portrait of their leader Cinque was painted by Nathaniel Jocelyn and a national committee was formed for their defense, which included Jocelyn's brother, Simeon. The Mendis were transferred to Hartford and were imprisoned there for 18 months, awaiting trial in U. S. District Court. After the judge found in their favor, they were released and came to Farmington under the protection of Samuel Deming, John T. Norton, and Austin F. Williams. First housed in Deming's store, they were soon transferred to a place that Williams built for them with community assistance. Three girls in the group were housed with local people. During their eight-month stay in Farmington, the Mendis were expected to work, study, and attend services at First Congregational Church, and often appeared at abolitionist meetings in the Northeast to tell their story. Ultimately, after a long legal battle which went all the way to the U. S.

Supreme Court, where the case was argued by John Quincy Adams and Roger Sherman Baldwin of New Haven, the Mendis were free to return to Africa. Many in Farmington wanted them to stay; Williams, in fact, had plans to build a special school there, but accompanied by three missionaries, the Mendis returned to West Africa in January 1842.

Farmington continued to be a center for abolitionism, especially in the work of the Underground Railroad, but at this time, even though slavery was universally condemned as an institution, many of Connecticut's citizens were opposed to abolition. Some of their reasons would later resonate in the political debate in the decade preceding the Civil War. For example, Noah Webster, an anti-slavery activist, chaired a meeting in the Statehouse in Hartford that condemned any interference with state's rights on this issue. Others were opposed on religious grounds, believing that slavery was sanctioned by the Bible, or that God would end slavery, a view held by an influential minister in Hartford, the Reverend Horace Bushnell. Many congregations throughout the Central Valley were divided on the question of allowing their churches to be a sounding board for a perceived political issue. In New Britain the Congregational Church actually split into two congregations because its members could not resolve their differences. As the debate heated up by mid-century, abolitionist speakers were driven from pulpits in New Haven and Meriden by mob violence. Economic self-interest intruded as well, especially in eastern Connecticut, since the textile industry depended on Southern cotton, but it also had an impact on attitudes in the Central Valley, where factory owners had a major market in the Southern plantation economy for textiles, shoes, carriages, wagons, and farm implements.

Neo-Classical and Romantic Architecture

The return of prosperity to Connecticut's merchant ports and country towns rekindled an interest in domestic architecture. Increasingly cosmopolitan merchants and farmers demanded homes that reflected their wealth and sophistication and a small but significant group of creative and productive architect/builders was ready to oblige them in the Central Valley. Relying heavily on Roman and Greek classical precedents disseminated from England, they produced exceptional examples of Federal and Georgian architecture in urban centers as well as in some of the more advanced rural towns.

The Federal style, often called Adamesque since it was derived from the work of Robert Adam in Great Britain, coincided with the early years of the Federal Republic, 1790-1820. It relied on Roman classicism but the proportions and detailing were more understated and attenuated. The doorway surrounds of this style combined narrow pilasters and high entablatures; the latter often accommodated a fanlight over the door, the hallmark of the style. Often embellished with lead tracery rather than simple wooden radial muntins, this feature also appeared as a blind fan over the door or in the gable peaks. Although the Federal house was often designed with a center-hall plan and balanced sets of end chimneys, the style also appeared simply as an embellished doorway on the standard central-chimney Colonial, a house type that continued to be built throughout much of Connecticut. Near the end of the Federal period, gable-roofed houses turned their end elevations to the street, which required a side-hall floor plan, the first real change in room arrangement since the colonial period. These

late examples were often distinguished by a pedimented Federal portico, with a cove ceiling, supported by slender columns.

Another display of regionalism is found in a number of brick Federals in the Central Valley. Almost identical, with the same rectangular gabled colonial form and a fanlight over the door set within a rounded brick arch, they were built all along the Connecticut River. Two pristine examples ranged side by side in East Windsor Hill were built from tobacco profits for members of the same family. The Sage-Kirby House is another fine example found downriver at Cromwell, the southern limit for the diffusion of this regional type.

Architect/builders in the Central Valley were loath to discard the more monumental Georgian manner and style; many houses built in the early Federal period were still predominately Georgian in their massing and bold detailing. The deKoven House in Middletown, built for a ship's captain near the waterfront, is but one example of the type: the hipped roof massing, dormers, and quoining of the late Georgian are retained and embellished with Adamesque detail. In more transitional houses, all that remains from the Georgian is heavily denticulated cornices or modillions, and especially the Palladian window, the latter often incorporated as part of a two-story entrance pavilion.

Some of the finest examples of late Georgian houses in the state are found in several Central Valley towns. One of the largest collections is located in Farmington, where at least four houses were built by the Cowles, a wealthy merchant family. The first was built for Zenas Cowles by his father Solomon at the time of his marriage in 1782. Recent investigation suggests that architect William Sprats (1747-1810) designed the building. Sprats, a Scot who was taken prisoner during the Revolution and held in Connecticut, is now recognized as a major architect of the Federal period and the person most responsible for the introduction of Palladian architecture in the state. He is already credited with several other later houses of this type which were built in 1794 in East Haddam and Litchfield. Probably the first of his surviving work in the Central Valley, the boldly detailed gambrel-roofed Zenas Cowles House displays a projecting, pedimented facade pavilion with a second-story Palladian window (Photograph 5). The first level of the pavilion is recessed behind four engaged Ionic columns. Known as "Old Gate" for its entry gate of oriental design, the house was later owned by Anna Roosevelt Cowles, sister of Theodore Roosevelt.

Thomas Hayden (1745-1817), a Windsor architect/builder, also worked in the Palladian manner. One of his best-known houses was built in 1789 for Thomas Watson, a gentleman farmer and merchant in East Windsor Hill. The earliest surviving example of a three-story house in the Central Valley, it rivals the elegant mansions built for merchants in the larger New England ports. Hayden's design is much more sophisticated than earlier examples of this style. The heavy baroque detailing and vertical massing common to vernacular examples are replaced here by refined, classically correct detailing and proportioning. The property also contains rare examples of a stylishly detailed carriage house and privy of the period.

The Hatheway House in Suffield is another celebrated example. Now maintained as a museum by the Antiquarian and Landmarks Society, it became the home of Oliver Phelps, the millionaire associated with the Connecticut Land Company, who enlarged the house about 1790. Its finely detailed interior is considered quite exceptional; the original parlor now resides at Winterthur, a museum in Delaware. Much of the remodeling and design of the addition are

attributed to Asher Benjamin (1771-1845), a self-trained architect in Boston. Soon after completing his work in Suffield, Benjamin was called to Hartford to design and build the circular staircase on the second floor of the Statehouse. He became known for his architectural pattern books, particularly *The American Builder's Companion*, first published in 1806. Through these manuals the principles of classical architecture were transmitted throughout the region and interpreted by local carpenters and joiners. Budding architects, however, often apprenticed themselves to men such as Benjamin, the start of a professional continuum that would endure for at least a century. Among them was Ithiel Town, probably the most influential; in turn, his protégés became distinguished architects in their own right and made many outstanding contributions to the architecture of the Central Valley.

Some of the state's finest public architecture of the Federal period is found in the Central Valley. The most notable example is the Statehouse in Hartford, a *tour de force* created by Charles Bulfinch (1763-1844) of Boston (Photograph 6). America's first native-born professional architect, he studied architecture in Europe under the sponsorship of Thomas Jefferson, and is also renowned for his design of the Massachusetts State Capitol.

The ultimate flowering of the Federal era, however, is exemplified by the three famous churches on the New Haven Green, that unique urban space preserved forever for the city by its early proprietors (Photograph 7). Represented here are the leading professional architect/builders of the day. In this period churches were fully reintegrated into English ecclesiastical tradition, a custom which apparently began in the Central Valley in Hartford when the First Congregational Society built Center Church on Main Street in 1807. Its three-stage spire was based on the work of James Gibbs, popular in England a century earlier. The plan for United Church on the New Haven Green, ordered from John McComb, a New York architect, was derived from All Saints in Southhampton, England; its steeple is considered to be a masterpiece. United Church was the work of carpenter/builder David Hoadley, who specialized in ecclesiastical design and construction in the Federal period. Among his other fine Federal churches in the Central Valley is the one in Avon, but a number of residences also are attributed to him, including the Federal townhouse built for Timothy Bishop in New Haven in 1816. Neighboring First Church is based on an Asher Benjamin design, originally distilled by Benjamin from the plan of St.Martins in the Fields in London, but its blind arcades and other American Federal stylistic features were probably the work of Ithiel Town.

Town was the sole designer/builder of Trinity Church, which was completed on the Green in 1814. One of the earliest examples of Gothic Revival in the country, it introduced this style in the Central Valley. Although ecclesiologists came to consider the Gothic Revival as the most suitable design for churches because of its thrusting verticality, and the style would dominate religious architecture well into the twentieth century, at this time Trinity Church was a radical departure. Because it has been remodeled several times in its history, its original decidedly medieval appearance is less obvious today. One of the major changes was the replacement of its wooden tower and battlements with masonry construction. A near replica of Trinity, St. John's Episcopal, was built in North Haven in 1834. It was designed by Sidney Mason Stone (1803-1888), a pupil of Town's. He worked up from the building trades to become noted as a designer/builder and is credited with at least 100 churches in Connecticut, including six in New Haven.[14]

The 1830s ushered in the Greek Revival, the dominant architectural style of both public and private buildings for the next 20 years. The universal appeal of the Greek Revival, often called

the first American style, and the general enthusiasm for Greek culture at this time were fostered by the classical academies of the day and the work of early classical archaeologists. Jacksonian-era Americans identified with the spirit of the common man found in the ideals of Greek democracy and empathized with the Greeks in their ongoing struggle for independence from Turkey, a revolution that was widely perceived as an affirmation of the American War for Independence.

The Greek Revival derived its form and detail from the temples of Greece, utilizing freely interpreted classical orders in columns and pilasters and often a full gable pediment. Buildings of this style were often painted in shades of white or cream to mimic their marble predecessors. So many public Greek Revival buildings were constructed in urban centers in the Central Valley that the goal of many city fathers to build a new "Athens" came close to realization. Although the Townshend Block, a notable early Greek Revival commercial building, has survived in New Haven, most urban institutional examples of this style have been demolished, including the second Statehouse in New Haven, the first city hall in Hartford, and the original buildings of Trinity College. Rural towns turned to this style when it came time to replace the old meetinghouse after disestablishment. Although town meetings continued to be held in the basement of some new churches, in other cases two buildings were constructed to emphasize the separation of church and state, one exclusively used for religious purposes, the second as a town hall. Since often both were designed in the same Greek Revival temple form, this functional distinction was blurred. Rural town halls and churches were also monumental in scale with imposing porticos, but occasionally a smaller building was constructed in this style. The Old Townhouse in Simsbury, built in 1839, is a splendid example of vernacular architecture, undoubtedly the work of a skilled carpenter/builder. Only one story in height, its portico is supported by massive Doric columns.

A surprising number of architects were lured out of urban offices to design churches of this style for rural parishes in the Central Valley. Among the many fine examples is the 1848 Congregational Church in Enfield, designed by New Haven architect F. M. Stone (apparently no relation to Sidney M. Stone). It displays six Ionic columns, with capitals enriched by anthemion (honeysuckle) carvings, a common Greek motif. Henry Sykes (b. 1810), an architect who trained with Ithiel Town, designed two fine churches in Suffield, one utilizing the Ionic order, the other the Doric. Another protégé of Town, Henry Austin (1804-1891), worked in Town's New York office and practiced on his own in New Haven for 50 years. Later famed for his Italian villas, Austin also worked in the Greek Revival in this period and designed the 1846 church of this style in North Branford.

Many Greek Revival houses were scaled-down versions of the public monuments, and those built for the more affluent often displayed two-story columns across the facade or an end elevation. The Greek Revival farmhouse was much simpler in appearance. Still utilizing the temple form with a gable pediment in the main block, these houses often have a kitchen wing recessed on one side. Residential doorways, occasionally sheltered by a portico, usually have sidelights and a transom, flanked by broad pilasters and surmounted by a high entablature. As in the earlier Federal style, sometimes these doorways are the only stylistic expression superimposed on a typical colonial house form, a popular way to update older farmhouses. The Greek Revival was adapted for multi-family workers' houses, as was done in Thompsonville by the carpet manufacturers there, and it was a style utilized in the oyster houses in the New Haven area, previously mentioned. By the 1840s a boxlike version

appeared, square in plan with low hipped, almost flat roof, anticipating the coming Italianate style. Under the overhanging eaves, small frieze windows, often with anthemion grilles, punctuated the entablature on what was primarily an urban house type.

Many architects designed Greek Revival-style residential architecture. Among them were Ithiel Town and Alexander Jackson Davis (1803-1892). Davis was employed by Town before becoming his partner in 1829, an association that lasted until Town died in 1844. One of their early collaborations is the Samuel Russell House in Middletown (1828-1830; Photograph 9). With its gleaming white stuccoed temple form accentuated by a colossal portico in the Corinthian order, this mansion, one of the earliest examples of the residential Greek Revival in the state, placed Town and Davis in the "front ranks of revivalist architects."[15] It is said that the columns were originally designed and made for a New Haven bank which was never built. Unlike many other masterpieces designed by these men on Hillhouse and Whitney Avenues in New Haven, this house has retained the sense of wooded seclusion so suited to the style. The neighboring Edward T. Russell House, built in 1842, also probably designed by Town, typifies the later cube form and austere handling of the late Greek Revival. Among their New Haven works are the Aaron Skinner House, which resembles the Samuel Russell mansion, and the Mary Prichard House. The latter example displays an unusually tall and narrow two-story portico, supported by two Corinthian columns.

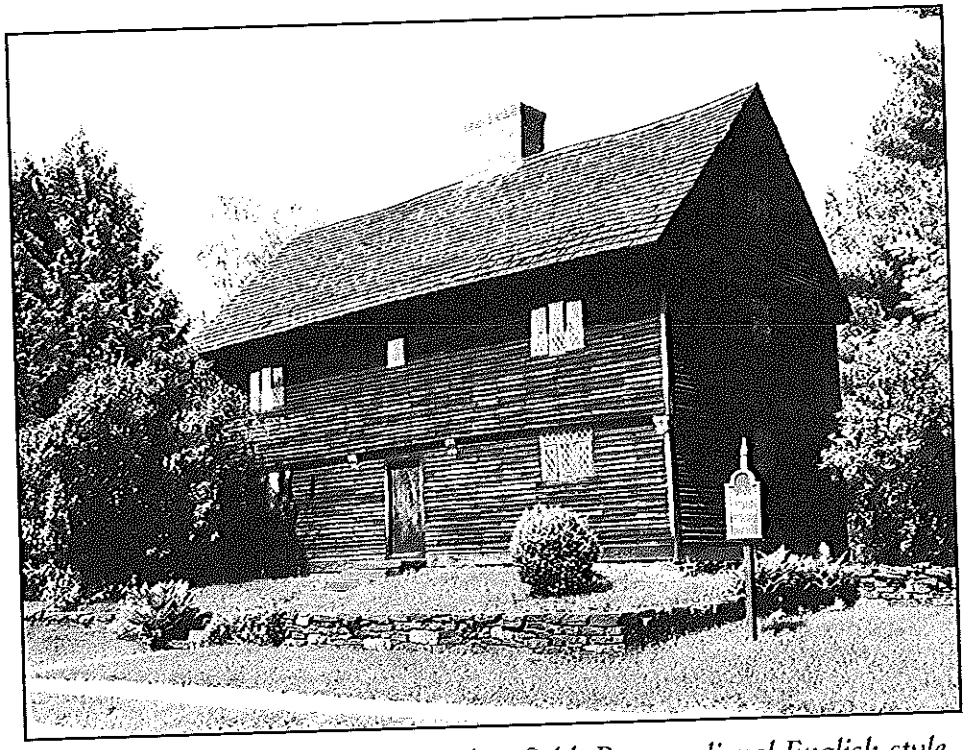
The *segue* into the Romantic styles of the 1840s was easily accomplished. The Italian Villa combined picturesque irregular massing of rectangular forms with a *campanile* tower. It had overhanging eaves, often with exposed rafter ends, and favored the use of round-arched windows. Occasionally the facade was double-bowed, as in the Harrison Curtis House in Meriden, just one of many examples of the Villa style built in most Central Valley cities by mid-century. A regional prototype of exceptional merit, the Richard Alsop IV House, today part of Wesleyan University, was built between 1836 and 1838. Alsop had made a fortune in trading in the Mediterranean and this house, built when he returned to the city, reflects his firsthand knowledge and appreciation of Italian motifs. Its stuccoed exterior walls are elaborated with painted *trompe l'oeil* murals, each giving the appearance of classical statuary set within recessed niches. The Villa style remained popular to the end of the *ante bellum* period and became increasingly more elaborate, as exemplified by "Armsmear," the mansion built for Samuel Colt in 1857 on Wethersfield Avenue in Hartford.

Henry Austin, whose career embraced the full range of nineteenth-century architectural styles, was a leading practitioner of the Italian Villa style in the Central Valley and numerous examples of his work abound in New Haven. The 1849 James Dwight Dana House on Hillhouse Avenue and the 1845 Willis Bristol House in Wooster Square are considered some of the finest of Austin's work in that city. Although retaining the basic villa form, the eclectic use of Eastern and Mid-Eastern motifs places these houses in one of the exotic revival movements of the day, sometimes called the Oriental Revival. The Dana House, located next to the old Farmington Canal, displays detailing influenced by Indian art, including an oriental "fringe" under the eaves instead of an entablature and the plant forms of the columns, the latter a common Austin motif. The Bristol House, a simple stuccoed cube form ornamented with traceried arched windows, iron balconies, and elaborate portico, is influenced by both East Indian and Islamic architecture (Photograph 11). A somewhat simplified version of this portico appears on Austin's Erastus Brainerd House in Portland. Austin also experimented with the Egyptian Revival, another exotic style that appealed to the Romantics, which was briefly

popular for a number of institutional buildings in larger cities outside of Connecticut, but rarely used in the Central Valley. Characteristics of this style are battered walls and stylized heavy columns with foliated capitals that resemble banded and bundled stalks. Although this type of column was used in some regional domestic architecture, both style features are displayed in the Grove Street Cemetery Gate in New Haven that Austin designed in 1845.

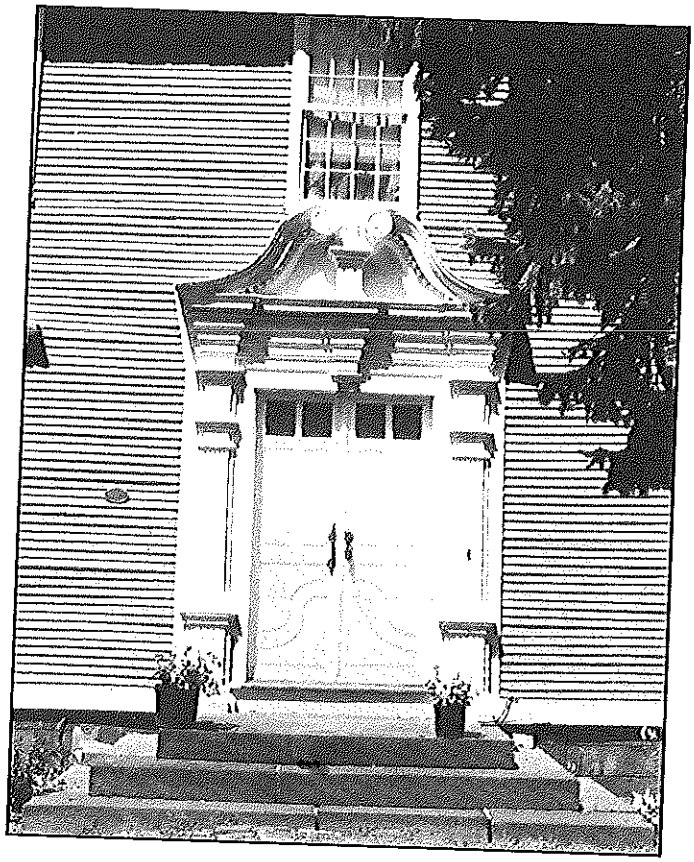
Another house in New Haven, a towered villa by Austin built for John P. Norton, the agricultural chemist, is an adaptation of a plan drawn by Andrew Jackson Downing (1815-1852). The leading proponent of the Romantic styles in the *ante bellum* period, Downing was well-known for his books on architecture, starting with *Country Residences* in 1842, which popularized the Italian Villa and Gothic Revival styles. Primarily a landscape designer, he espoused romantic natural settings for his houses and turned the domestic architectural palette to earth tones in order to blend rather than contrast with nature. The residential Gothic Revival, derived from fifteenth-century English architecture, is characterized by lancet windows and steeply pitched gables. The Duane Barnes House in Middletown, now part of Wesleyan University, was featured in Downing's book as a premier example of this style. A house of unusual construction, ashlar brownstone with fitted dry joints rather than mortar, the Barnes residence displays elaborate hand-carved bargeboards with an acorn and oak leaf motif. The bargeboard was also a feature of the "Carpenter Gothic" produced by country builders. Usually sheathed with board-and-batten siding, cottages of this style always displayed elaborate scroll-sawn bargeboards, each a highly individualistic design created by the builder. Scattered about the Central Valley, they include examples in two National Register historic districts, Curtisville in Glastonbury and Windsor Farms in South Windsor, and a fine collection at the Methodist campgrounds in Plainville. The latter group are late work, dating from after the 1860s, as are the town's Italian Villas; both styles became popular in Plainville after the town came into its own as an industrial center.

The last of the styles of the Romantic period represented in the region was the Octagon. More a type than a style, as its name implies, it had an octagonal floor plan organized around a central staircase and usually a stuccoed concrete exterior. The design is usually attributed to Orson Squires Fowler, a phrenologist who espoused a synthesis of nature and architecture, a philosophy promoted in his book, *A Home for All or the Gravel Wall and Octagon Mode of Building*, published in 1848. Briefly popular about mid-century in the Central Valley, the style is expressed in two octagons in Portland which were built on neighboring lots by members of the same family.

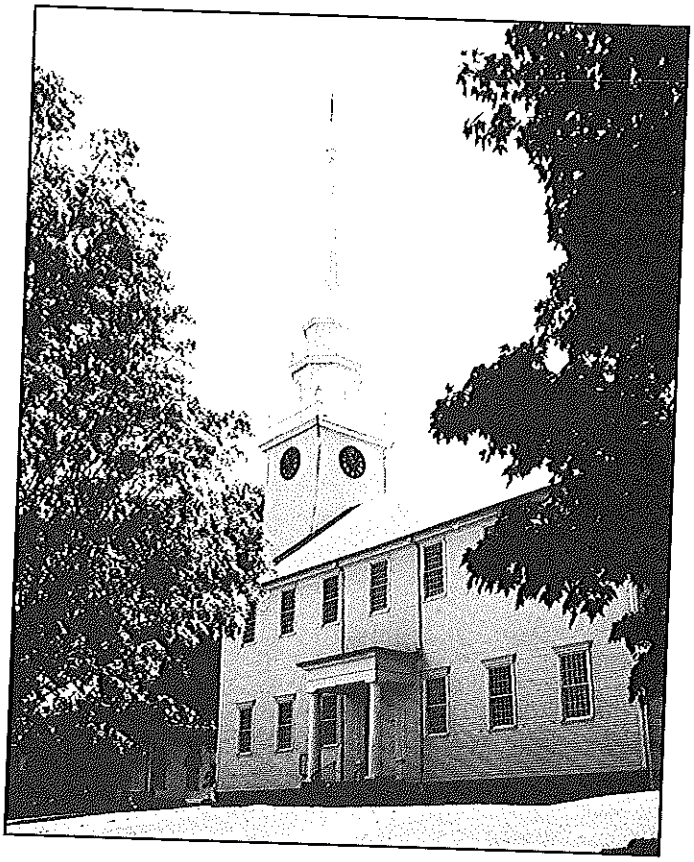


1. Buttolph-Williams House, Wethersfield. Post-medieval English style, c. 1720. View northwest.

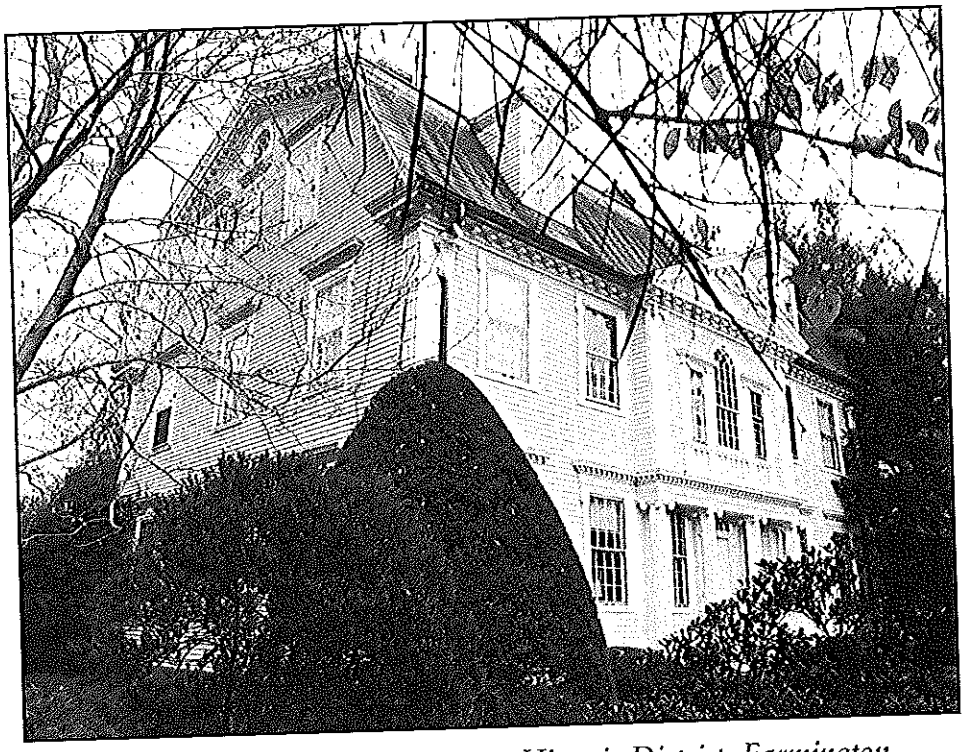
2. Connecticut Hall, Yale University, New Haven. Georgian style, 1750. View north.



3. *Doorway , Ebenezer Grant House, East Windsor Hill Historic District, South Windsor. Post-medieval English style, 1758. View west.*

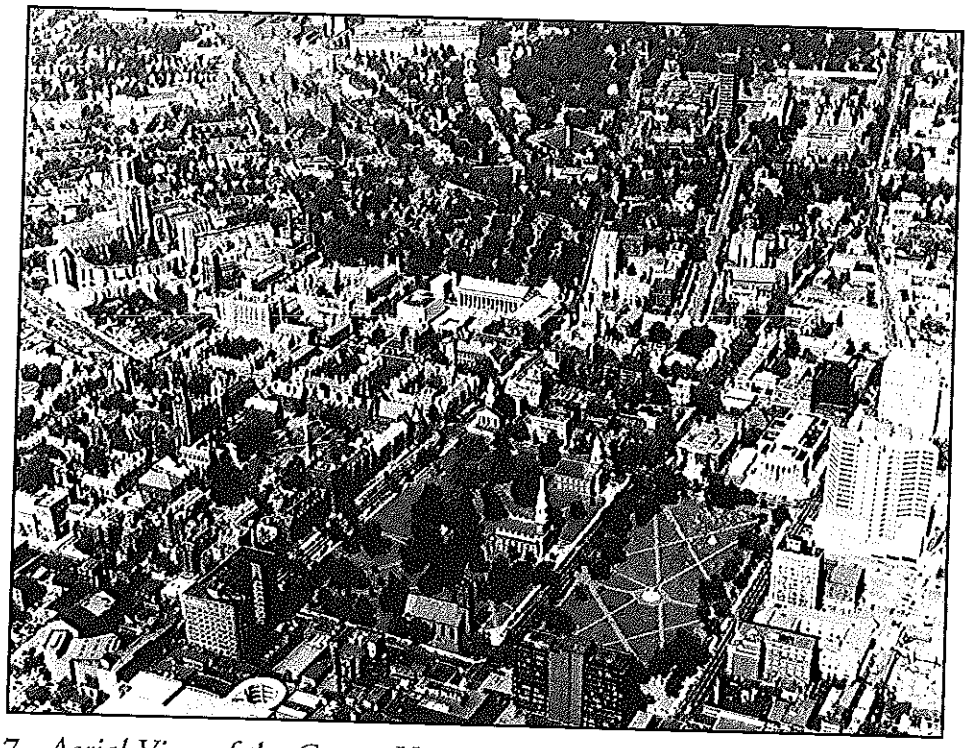


4. *First Church of Christ Congregational, Farmington, 1771. View northeast.*

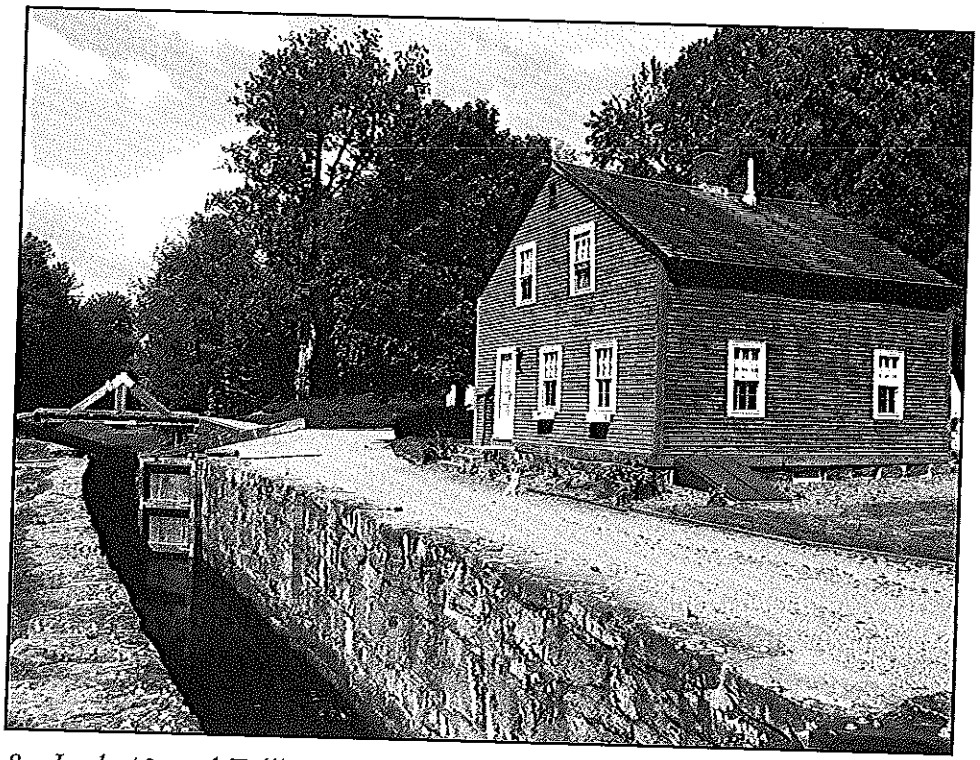


5. Zenas Cowles House, Farmington Historic District, Farmington. Late Georgian style, 1789. View north.

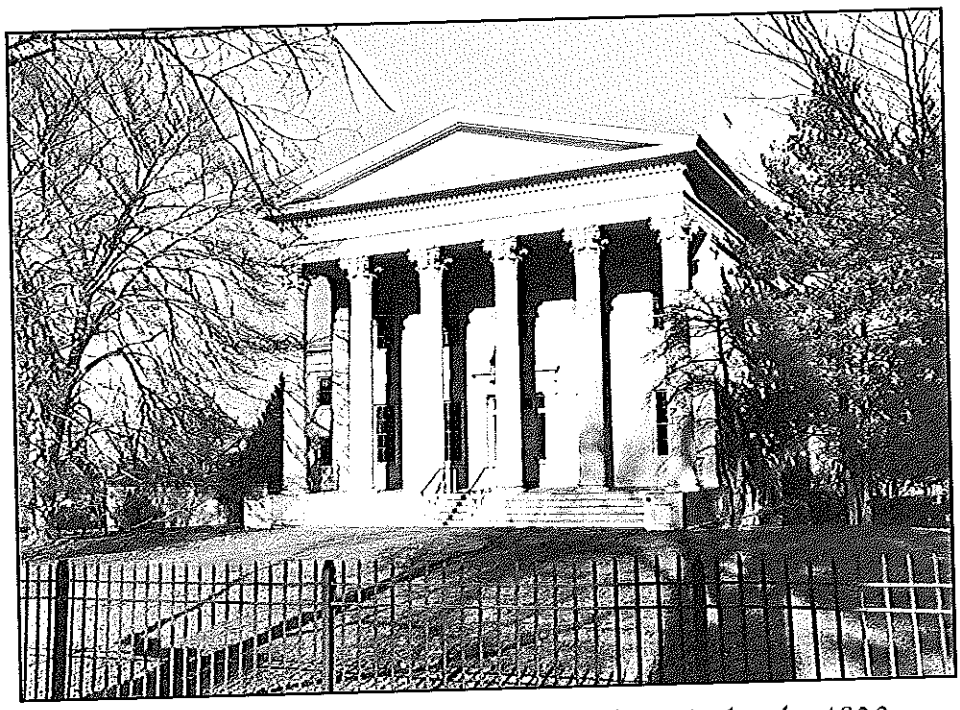
6. Old Statehouse, Hartford. Federal style, 1796. View northeast.



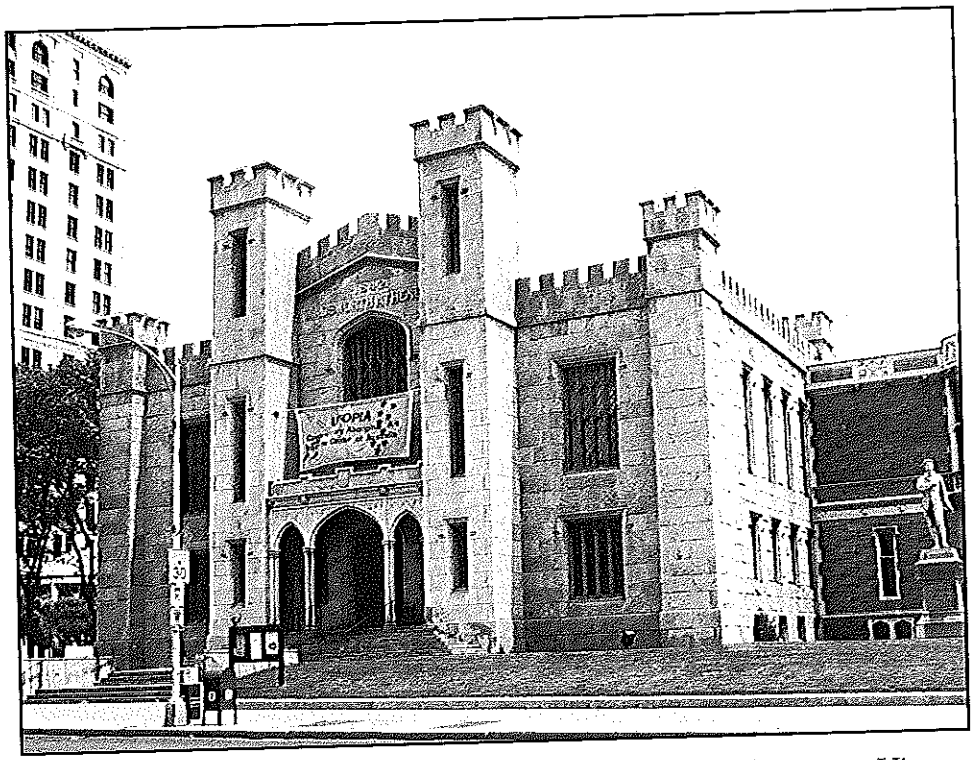
7. Aerial View of the Green, New Haven. View north.



8. Lock 12 and Tollkeeper's House, Farmington Canal, Cheshire, 1827. View north.

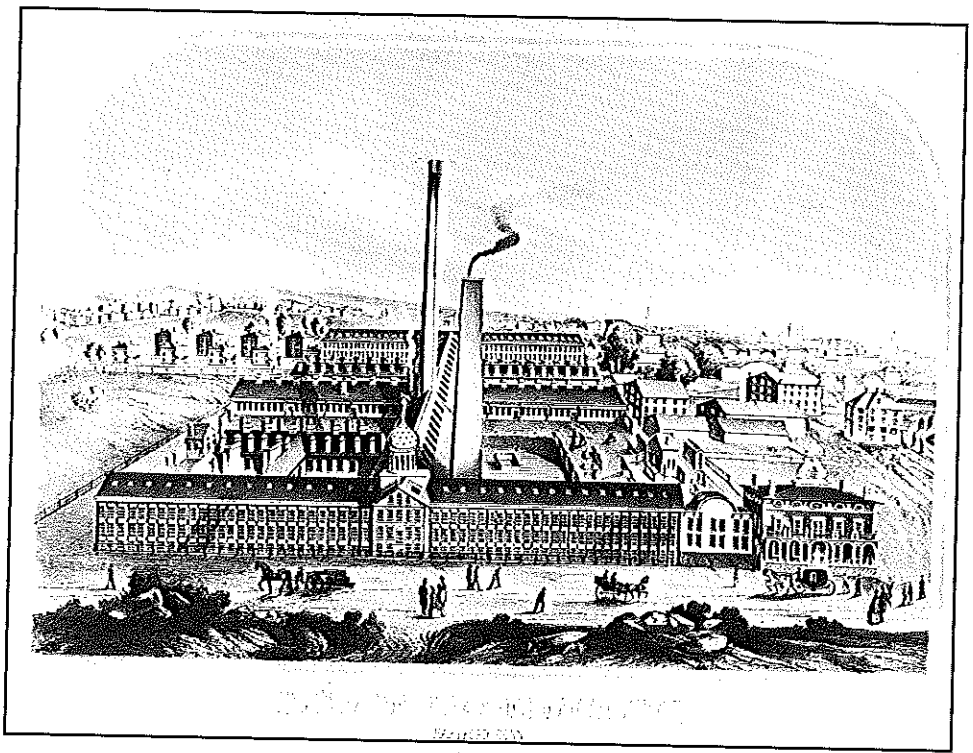


9. Samuel Russell House, Middletown. Greek Revival style, 1830. View northeast.



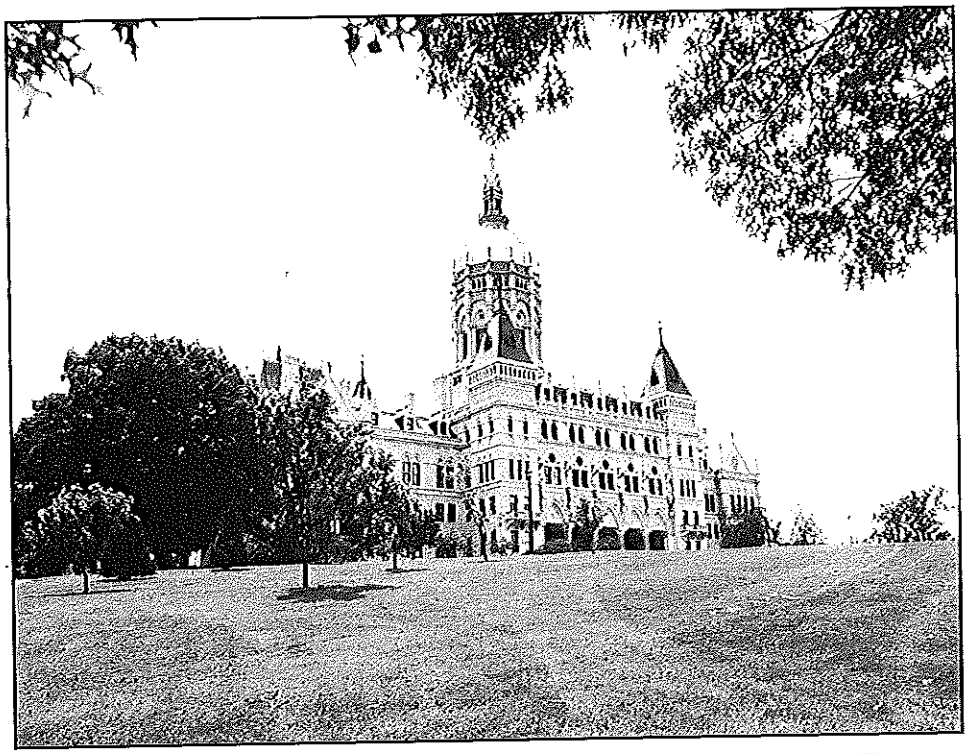
10. Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford. Gothic Revival style, 1842. View northeast.

11. Willis Bristol House, Wooster Square Historic District, New Haven. Italian Villa style, 1845. View south.

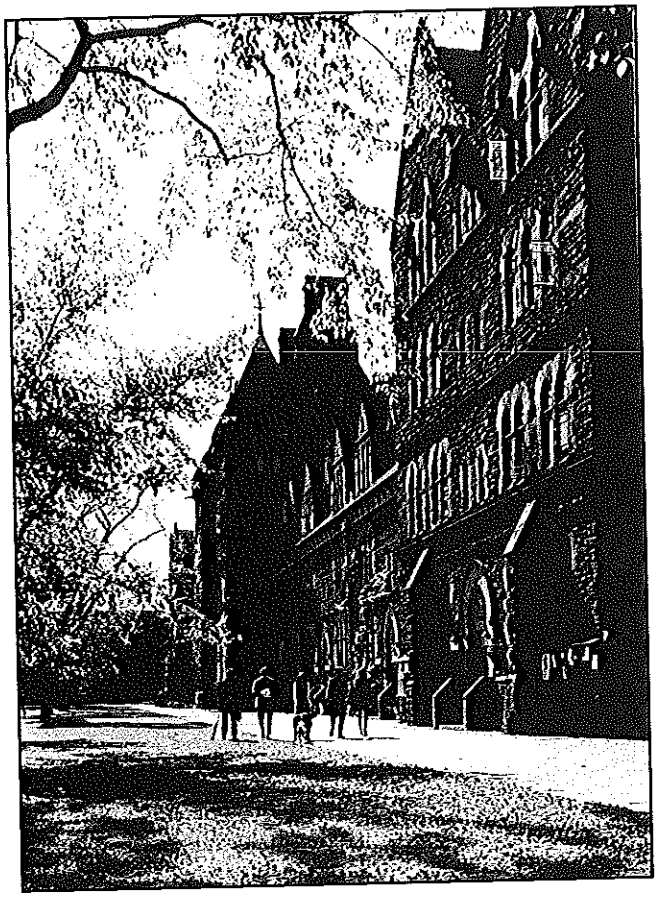


12. Colt Armory, Hartford, c. 1855. Historic lithograph, birdseye view, c. 1860. View west.

13. Goffe Street School, New Haven, 1864. View west.



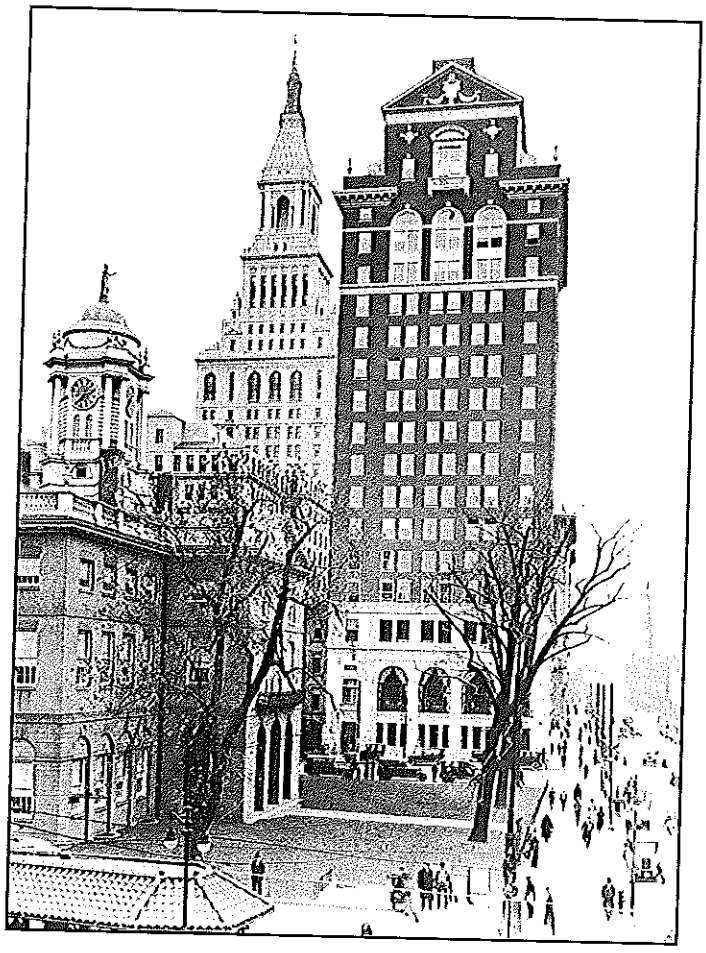
14. State Capitol, Hartford. High Victorian Gothic style, 1878. View northeast.



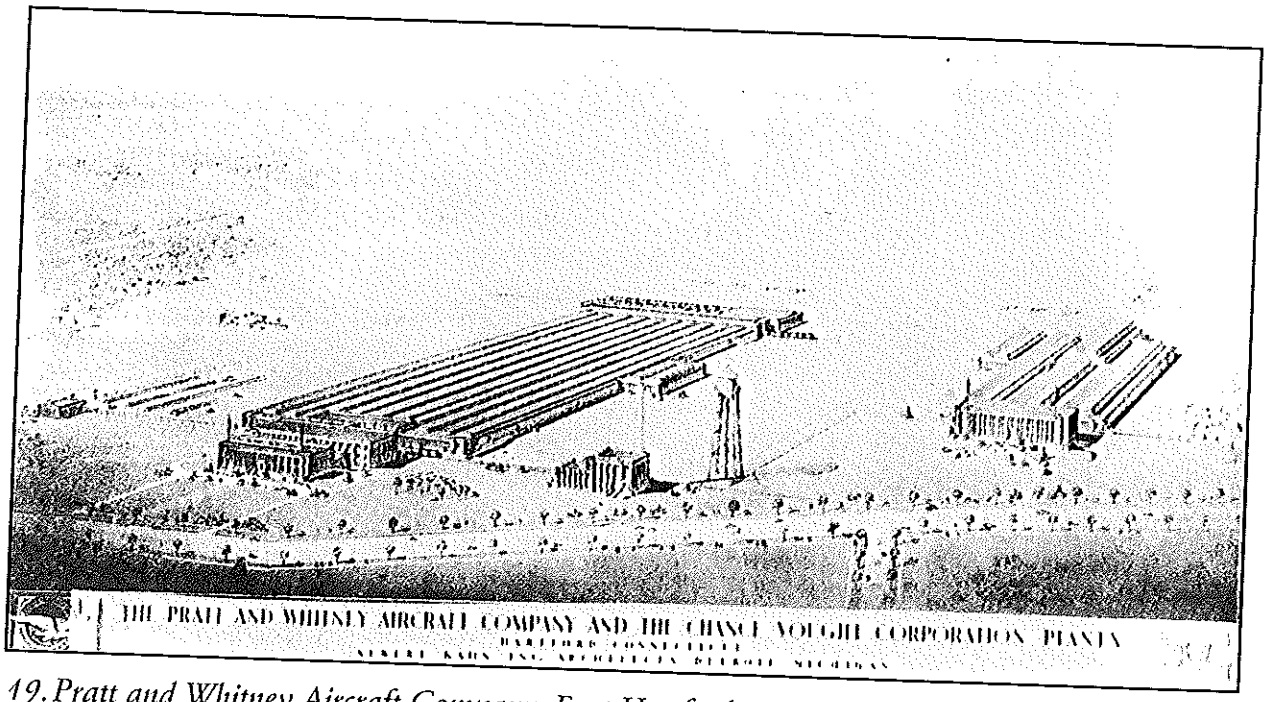
15. Long Walk, Trinity College, Hartford. Gothic Revival style, 1878-1881. View southwest.

16. Clocktower Spinning Mill, Cheney Brothers Historic District, Manchester, 1886. View east.

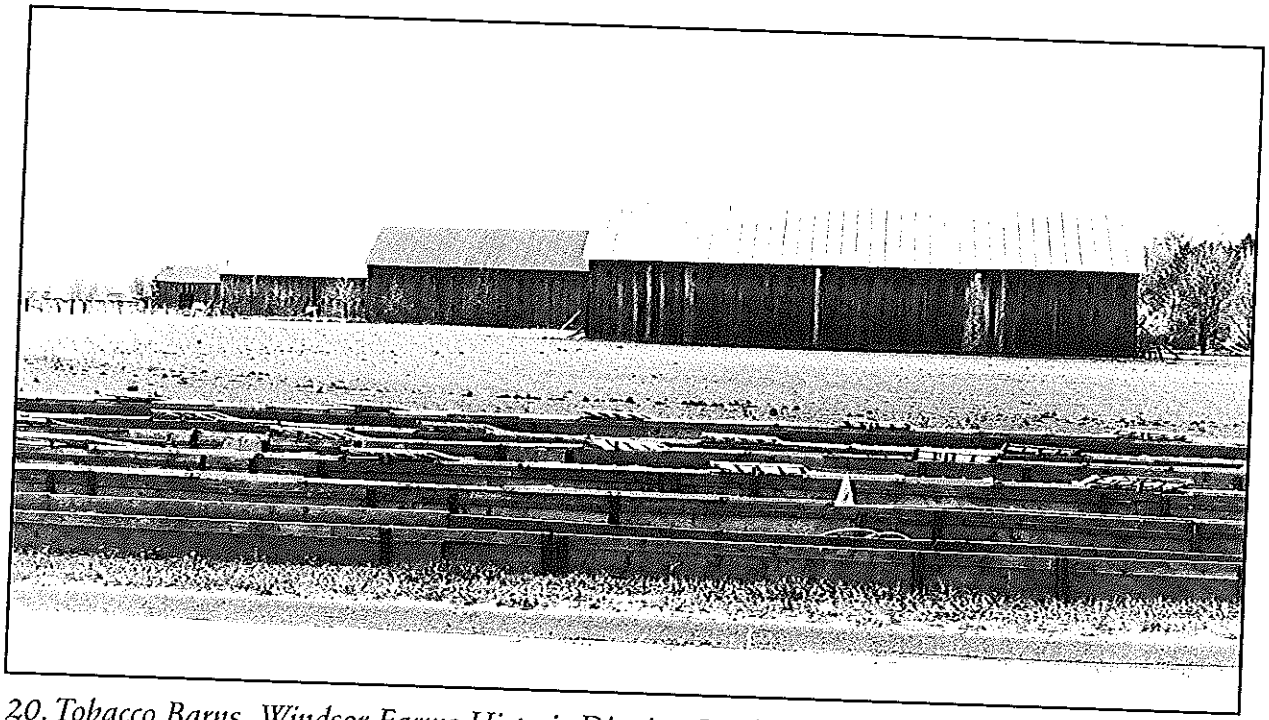
17. Charles W. Lines House, Walnut Hill Historic District, New Britain. Queen Anne style, c. 1900. View northwest.



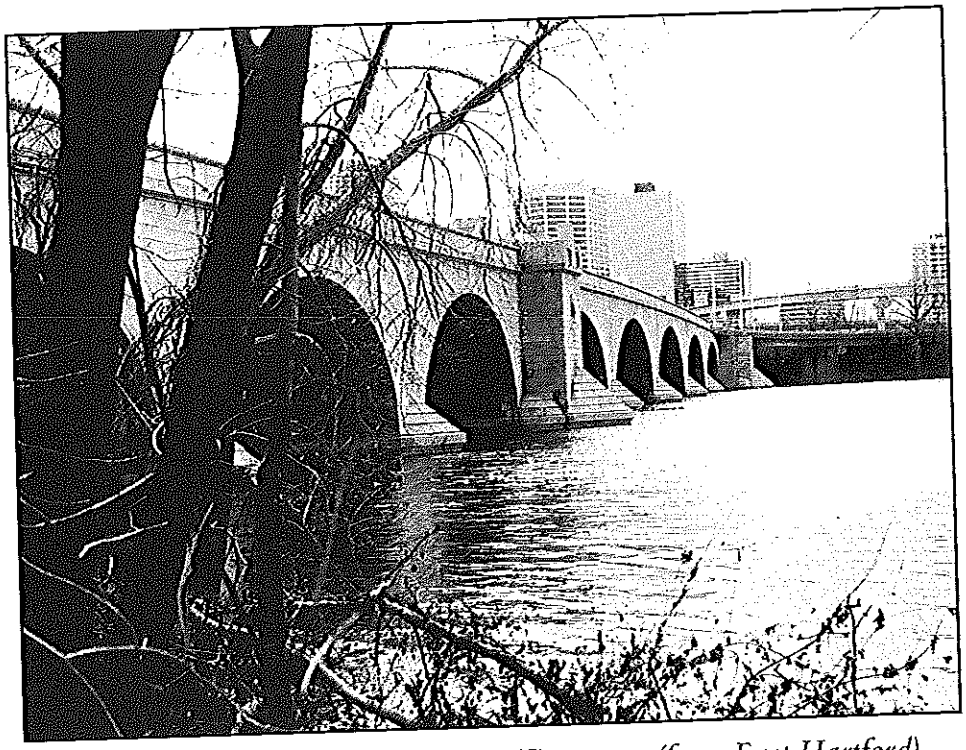
18. Old Statehouse Square, Hartford. Historic view, c. 1920s. Travelers Tower, Classical Revival style, 1919 (left rear). Hartford-Connecticut Trust, Colonial Revival style, 1920. View south.



19. Pratt and Whitney Aircraft Company, East Hartford, 1925. Historic rendering, c. 1924. View southeast.

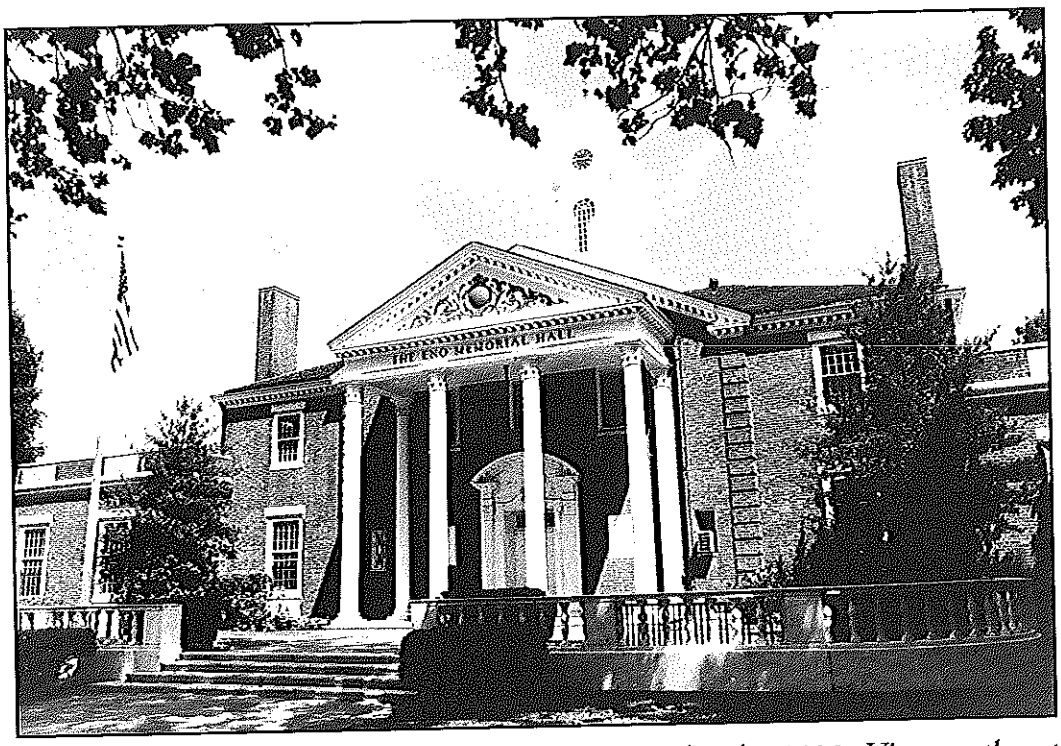


20. Tobacco Barns, Windsor Farms Historic District, South Windsor, c. 1900. View southwest.

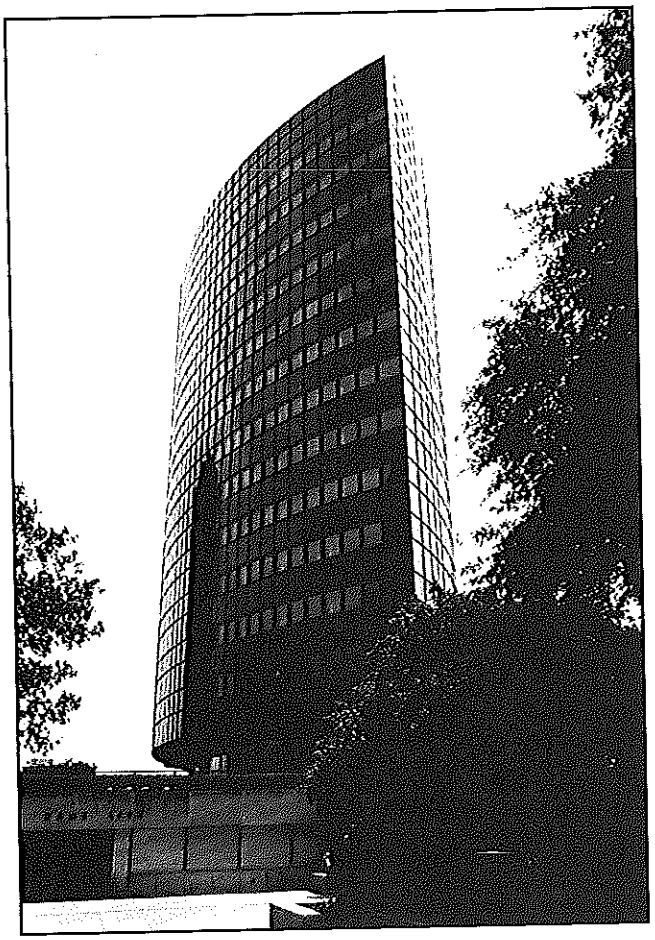


21. Bulkeley Bridge, Hartford, 1908. View west (from East Hartford).

22. Polish National Home, Hartford. Art Deco style, 1930. View northeast.



23. Eno Memorial Hall, Simsbury. Colonial Revival style, 1932. View northeast.



24. Phoenix Home Life Building, Hartford. International style, 1964. View east.

IV. INDUSTRIAL AND URBAN GROWTH PERIOD 1850-1930

In an era essentially shaped by two major armed conflicts, Connecticut and its people embraced the machine age and became a modern industrial state. The Civil War, the great defining moment for the nation, which touched everyone in the Central Valley because of its unparalleled casualty rate, challenged and confirmed the state's evolving industrial capability. Decades of continued unrest in Europe erupted into World War I in 1914. By 1917 American forces were involved, prefiguring the nation's role as a world leader in the twentieth century. Connecticut's industry matured and was thoroughly modernized. The unprecedented level of industrial expansion in the Central Valley to meet wartime production established the region's preeminence in defense-related industry for most of the rest of the century. The final decade of this period, the "Roaring Twenties," which ushered in national prohibition and women's suffrage, culminated in the stockmarket crash of 1929 and the onset of the Great Depression.

Urbanization of the Central Valley, accelerated by a population explosion largely due to immigration and record industrial growth, fundamentally restructured its society. America became a mecca to more than 30 million of the oppressed and disadvantaged people of the world. Until immigration was restricted in 1924, thousands flocked to Connecticut seeking employment opportunities, religious freedom, and land, and many settled in the Central Valley. Although largely an urban phenomenon, no community was unaffected by immigration. By 1930 in the Central Valley, more than 70 percent of the urban population and over half the rural population were first- or second- generation immigrants. The state's population had soared to 1.6 million, four times the number that had lived here in 1850. The Central Valley experienced a six-fold increase and more than half of its 708,000 people were concentrated in the region's cities.

Everyone in the Central Valley experienced the revolution in communications and transportation. The telegraph was in place before the Civil War. The first telephone exchange in the world was located in New Haven by 1878, later to become the nucleus of the Southern New England Telephone Company with branch offices throughout the region by the 1920s. By 1922 people were listening to WIRC in New Haven, the first radio station in Connecticut, and more than half the state's residents owned radios. Most cities had stations by 1928, including WTIC in Hartford. With the growth of business and industry, existing rail transportation systems expanded and improved, shortening distances to national markets and making the outside world even more accessible to the average citizen. New railroad, trolley, and highway bridges spanned the Connecticut River and those at New Haven. Streetcars provided municipal transport and after 1900 an interurban trolley system tied the region closer together, fostering recreational development and the growth of urban markets for area farmers. Farming in the Central Valley became more commercial and increasingly specialized, and with the cooperation of scientists, more intensive and productive. By 1930 the horse and buggy era had come to a close. Automobiles became a common sight on Central Valley roads and highways, and even some of the rural state roads were paved. Within a few years of the experimental flight at Kittyhawk in 1903, pioneers in the Central Valley produced the first practical gasoline-powered aircraft, the start of an industry destined to become a leader in the state and the nation.

Civil War

Increased abolitionist activity and a growing nativism were some of the major issues that engaged the people of Connecticut during the turbulent political decade leading to civil war. Passage of the Fugitive Slave Law by Congress in 1850, which eliminated all legal safeguards and due process for escaped slaves and also put freed blacks at great risk, outraged many in the Central Valley. Some abolitionists, such as William Lyman of Middlefield, protested the law on the grounds of conscience and humanity. Activity on the Underground Railroad stepped up in the region. Many "conductors" operated in secrecy but among the known "stations" on the route to freedom in this period were several in Farmington, including the houses of John T. Norton, Elijah Lewis, and Samuel Deming, some of the men who had aided the Amistad Africans. Other stations were the Francis Gillette House in Bloomfield and the G. H. Wadell Homestead in Manchester. Gillette had been instrumental in trying to get suffrage for Connecticut blacks earlier in the century and, as a U.S. senator, had voted against the repeal of the Missouri Compromise and the passage of the 1854 Kansas-Nebraska Act. These bills and the Dred-Scott decision by the U.S. Supreme Court in 1857 rekindled the issue of slavery in the Western territories. Ministers, organized in the state under the leadership of the Reverend Leonard Bacon of New Haven, a confidant of Abraham Lincoln, were vocal in their opposition. Radical abolitionists in that city responded by sponsoring a group of 45 settlers who went to Kansas to help the "Free Soilers" in that newly forming state. The group, which included people from Wallingford and Berlin as well as New Haven, were armed with Sharps rifles called "Beecher's Bibles." Henry Ward Beecher, the militant abolitionist, had either supplied the guns, as some claim, or at least advocated their use.

The extent of prejudice generated by the nativist movement was reflected in the state by the rise of the national American party. As much a secret fraternity as a political organization, it was avowedly anti-Catholic, but clearly against any immigrant group. Called the "Know-Nothing Party" (a reference to their secret rituals, not their mental capacity), it elected a mayor in New Haven in 1854 and captured the governor's seat in 1855 and again in 1857. All Irish militia companies were disbanded by order of the governor; the General Assembly passed laws to limit suffrage to the literate and to prevent Roman Catholic bishops from holding property in the state.

Although states' rights, nativism, and even prohibition were ingredients in the political stew, by the end of the decade slavery was the central issue, one that cut across party lines. John Brown's raid at Harper's Ferry, Virginia, in 1859 was a major factor. However ill-conceived, his attempt to seize the federal arsenal as the first step in a general slave uprising polarized the country. Taking anti-slavery as a major plank in its state platform, a new Republican party emerged in the state and in 1860 invited Abraham Lincoln, the party's presidential candidate, to Hartford. Although Lincoln condemned slavery as a moral wrong in his speech there, he avoided defining national policies toward slavery. Speaking in Meriden on the same sweep through the state, however, he did address the issue of expansion of slavery in the West. In his colorful rhetoric, Lincoln compared the territories to "newly-made beds for our children...and it lies with the nation to say whether or not they shall have snakes [slaveholders] among them."[16] His speeches, which also drew large enthusiastic crowds in Middletown and New Haven (along with Waterbury and Norwich), helped the party gain control of the legislature, elect Governor William A. Buckingham, and produce the state's landslide vote in the 1860 presidential election.

Within months of Lincoln taking office, the nation was engaged in the Civil War. Anticipating a short conflict, the president called for 75,000 volunteers to serve for three months. Connecticut's share in this first enlistment was only one regiment, about 780 men. A much heavier sacrifice was required before the war ended in 1865. Connecticut sent 50,000 men to the bloodiest war in American history and 20,000, almost half, were casualties, either killed, wounded in battle, or missing in action. Several thousand died from disease and of these, 700 died in Southern prisons before they could be paroled. Hospitals in Washington, D.C., and the mid-Atlantic states still under federal control soon were overtaxed and wounded soldiers were brought North for treatment. By 1862 a new building was needed at the state hospital in New Haven to handle war casualties. The hospital was officially commandeered by the army the following year.

In the early years of the war, volunteer enlistments more than filled state quotas and most men reenlisted when the three-month stint was over. Although still smarting from their earlier treatment, the Irish formed a regiment to demonstrate their patriotism, the Ninth Connecticut Volunteers, and nearly 600 Irish Americans saw military service. As the war dragged on, enlistments were extended to three years' duration, fewer volunteered, and anti-war sentiment surfaced. Disheartened by the early failures of Northern generals, some called for peace at any price. Peace rallies held throughout the state were often disrupted by mob violence. After Lincoln signed the Emancipation Proclamation in 1863, *The Hartford Courant* called it a "monumental stupidity." Anti-black rhetoric appeared in the state newspapers; the New Haven *Register* was particularly virulent in its attack on what it termed a "Negroe War."

When Lincoln called for 300,000 more men in 1862, Governor Buckingham issued a proclamation for six Connecticut regiments, asking men in impassioned terms to leave their farms and factories in the cause of civil liberty and union. When volunteers failed to meet the state's 7000-man quota, the very unpopular national draft was instituted. Only the stern measures taken by Buckingham prevented the full-scale draft riots that took place in large cities such as New York. Service could be evaded by legal means, by paying a $300 commutation (in each draft) or paying a substitute to serve. New Haven and Hartford each voted $200,000 in commutation payments for those who could not afford that alternative. Even with these options, many young men left for Canada. So many made this choice, it is claimed that extra cars were needed on northbound trains out of Hartford. Although African-American soldiers from the state were already serving in Massachusetts, black enlistments were welcomed for the first time here in order to meet the state quota. They could not serve, however, until the General Assembly passed a special act overturning a state law on the books since 1790 that kept them out of the army or militia.

The response of the African-American community was remarkable. From a total population in the state of only about 8600, two black regiments were formed, the Sixteenth and Twenty-Ninth Connecticut Volunteers. To serve in the Union Army, these soldiers ran extraordinary risks and were confronted with considerable prejudice. Until the Connecticut legislature voted to make up the difference, their pay scale was half that of white soldiers. They ran the risk of being re-enslaved if captured and knew that they had no chance of being exchanged if taken prisoner. Both were official Confederate policies designed to discourage their participation, as well as the defection of Southern slaves who were accepted as free men into the Union Army. Some of the prejudice they encountered was offset by a display of brotherhood which took place at the Confederate prison in Andersonville, Georgia, notorious for its appalling

conditions. White soldiers there, led by Sergeant Richard E. Lee of Granby, refused parole as a point of honor unless black Union soldiers were also exchanged.

Even though the full citizenship they fought for was spelled out after the war by constitutional amendments and affirmed by state law, Connecticut's African-American veterans soon found that full equality remained an elusive goal and *de jure* rights were even harder to consolidate. During Reconstruction, most of the attention of Northern reformers was directed toward helping Southern blacks build schools and register to vote. So many African Americans took advantage of their newly won franchise that blacks were elected to state legislatures in large numbers and several were elected to Congress. Among them was Joseph Rainey from South Carolina, the first African American elected to the House of Representatives, who had a summer home in Windsor. The African-American community in Connecticut was left largely to its own resources, and racial barriers to industrial work remained in place. New Haven was a major exception. During the Civil War, in order to provide better educational opportunities for the black community, a group of citizens organized the Goffe Street Special School for Colored Children. Henry Austin, New Haven's leading architect at the time, donated plans for the building, which was completed in 1864 (Photograph 13). Within a few years, the school was also providing an evening program for adult education. Generally, however, African-American schools were gradually phased out after the state's public schools were integrated by law in 1869 but there was little real change in the educational *status quo*. Later in the century the Goffe Street School was used as a community center by several groups, including the Olympian Athletic Club, chartered as the Colored Young Men's Christian Association in 1895.

The Civil War was the last American war to be directly supported on the local level. Every community in the Central Valley shared in the sacrifice of its youth, and most continued to provide financial support for its soldiers and their families, a record probably found statewide. Considering that public opinion became sharply divided and many were adamantly opposed to emancipation as a war aim, the steadfast level of hometown commitment was remarkable. Every city and town went deeply into debt, borrowing large sums to meet their enlistment quotas. By custom established in the Revolution, a war of much smaller scale, local communities supplied their volunteers and draftees with arms, clothing, and equipment, shouldered the responsibility of caring for their families, and paid enlistment bonuses. Many communities in the Central Valley spent at least $40,000 on these endeavors; Farmington and New Britain spent $90,000, surpassed in the state only by Hartford. Adding to the local burden was the fact that few regiments were recruited statewide. Most were more local efforts, with many from one community serving in the same company or regiment. The record of the Eleventh Connecticut Volunteers, a three-year enlistment that had many men from Windsor, was not unusual. One-third of its personnel were killed after the regiment joined the Army of the Potomac and fought at Antietam, Maryland, and Cold Harbor and Petersburg, Virginia, some of the bloodiest battles of the war.

After peace was declared, the universal communal grief was assuaged by the dedication of memorials. One of the earliest was located on the Cheshire common in 1866, but these symbolic artifacts were erected and dedicated in practically every town in the Central Valley as late as 1913, when one of the last was put up on the green in Glastonbury. It was the first time that American war dead were commemorated in this manner and certainly not the last. (The few existing monuments for the Revolutionary War dead were not usually placed until the twentieth century.) Civil War monuments ranged from simple stones with bronze plaques to

stone obelisks or statues mounted on pedestals, often ranged about with cannon. Some were placed in prominent public intersections or town squares, as was done in Farmington, New Britain, and Wallingford. New Haven placed a monument in East Rock Park in 1886. Some towns beautified their neglected town commons to have a proper site for their memorial. They included North Haven, North Branford, Southington, Suffield, and Middletown, and their newly landscaped parks and greens often were the site of annual memorial services.

The most architecturally noteworthy Civil War monument in the Central Valley is the Soldiers and Sailors Memorial Arch in Hartford, completed in 1886. Designed by George Keller, an Irish-American architect, this imposing brownstone edifice, composed of a Gothic arch flanked by 116-foot Norman towers, still stands as a Hartford landmark at the entrance to Bushnell Park. Following most of the wars of the twentieth century, returning military personnel have proudly paraded through this triumphal arch, believed to be the first one erected in the United States. Although Keller also was a prolific designer of many public and private buildings in the state, his national reputation as a monument designer was richly deserved. Among his many other memorials were the 1867 U.S. Soldier Monument at the Antietam battlefield site, dedicated in 1880, and the Soldiers National Monument at Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, dedicated in 1869, which marks the spot where Lincoln delivered his famous address in 1863.

Industrial Cities

When Gideon Welles returned to Hartford after the Civil War following his service as Secretary of the Navy in the Lincoln and Johnson cabinets, he remarked that his adopted city was

> greatly altered - I might say improved, for it has been beautified and adorned by many magnificent buildings, and the population has increased.... A new and different people seem to move in the streets. Few, comparatively, are known to me.[17]

The year was 1869. Welles had been away only eight years and yet much change was already apparent, not just in Hartford, but in every city in the Central Valley. In coming decades these urban centers would be so modernized and transformed by the "City Beautiful" movement that they would be almost unrecognizable to those who had been living in the mid-nineteenth century. In many the population would double, then double again; the two major cities would burst their bounds and spread into the suburbs. Hartford's population doubled by the end of the century and on the eve of World War I stood at 99,000. By 1930 the populations of Hartford and New Haven, each about 164,000, had neared all-time record numbers. The newer cities of New Britain and Meriden, each a product of the Industrial Revolution, showed an even more impressive rate of growth in this period. New Britain, incorporated as a borough in 1850 with only about 5000 people, reached 68,000 by the end of this period. Meriden, with a ten-fold increase, then had a population of 38,000.

Municipal transportation became a necessity for the first time. No longer "walking cities" with business and commercial districts within a mile of the residential areas, Central Valley

municipalities contained new residential and mixed residential and industrial neighborhoods, served first by horse cars and then electric trolleys, which not only brought people to work and shop in the downtown but, by the turn of the century, also provided transportation to public parks and other recreational facilities on the outskirts. With a concentrated urban population, a host of new residential building types emerged, including rowhouses and apartment houses near the downtown and other multi-family housing. By the late nineteenth century "Perfect Sixes" (three-story tenements with two flats on each floor divided by a central hallway) and triple-deckers began to appear on urban streets, especially in Hartford. Tenements and boardinghouses for factory workers were common in or around industrial districts such as Parkville or near the factories along western Capitol Avenue in Hartford. Asylum Hill in Hartford or the radial avenues leading out of the city of New Haven were the earliest sites of large townhouses and fine suburban mansions for the well-to-do. In smaller cities larger homes were found on streets with names that emphasized their residental character, such as Broad or Pleasant. To keep pace with the increasing population, farmland and former estates were subdivided for housing. Block after block of single- and two-family frame houses created Victorian middle-class neighborhoods and streetcar suburbs, followed by planned subdivisions in the early twentieth century. Municipal services, such as fire stations and neighborhood schools, were often located near these new residential areas.

Nook Farm was a late nineteenth-century residential neighborhood with a very special character in Hartford. There, a literary colony was home to Mark Twain and Harriet Beecher Stowe, noted authors of the period. Other neighbors included Isabella Beecher Hooker, suffragist and women's rights leader; Charles Dudley Warner, editor of the *The Hartford Courant*; and William Gillette, playwright and actor. Both the Twain and Stowe residences are house museums open to the public.

A commercial building boom of major proportions began in the 1870s. Many new buildings were needed to provide all the goods and services demanded by the growing urban populations, and downtowns everywhere in the Central Valley became major shopping centers. They consisted of multiple blocks in the larger cities, but in New Britain, Meriden, Middletown, and other smaller communities, business was concentrated along one or more principal streets at major intersections, which in some places had been the colonial center of town. These main streets were lined with a series of brick and masonry commercial blocks, rarely more than six stories in height, often capped with prominent cornices and with the new plate glass display windows at street level. Stores, banks, post offices, and at least one major hotel were often located there. Specialty retail stores usually occupied the first and second floors, with offices or apartments above, but banks and larger modern stores often occupied a whole building.

When larger-scale, general retailing was introduced in urban downtowns, it often attracted shoppers from surrounding communities. Edward Malley Company, one of the first of the new department stores in New Haven, was founded in 1852. First housed in a three-story building, by the end of the century it had moved into a new 11-story structure on Chapel Street and was just one of four such stores in the city. In Hartford, too, the city's rival department stores, G. Fox & Company, Brown Thomson & Company, and Sage Allen & Company, expanded their presence on Main Street as the size of their business operations grew. Sage Allen constructed a richly detailed eight-story Renaissance Revival-style building in 1898. By 1900 Brown Thomson had expanded to occupy virtually the entire 1876 Cheney

Block. After a disastrous fire destroyed its existing store, G. Fox seized the opportunity to rebuild on a grander scale and moved into its new 11-story Neo-Classical Revival-style building in 1918. Another new idea in retail marketing was the chain store, which made its appearance in the early twentieth century. "Dime stores" such as Kresge's and Woolworth's were in most downtowns by the 1930s. When the Piggly Wiggly, an early grocery store chain, made its appearance in New Haven in 1920, it was the first self-service store in the region.

Ornate classically detailed banks and insurance office buildings were also part of the urban streetscape and some occupied the first skyscrapers in major cities. Hartford-Connecticut Trust moved into its new Colonial Revival 13-story building in 1920 and for a time an early skyline restaurant was located on the top floor (Photograph 18). New buildings added to New Haven's more modest historic skyline generally never exceeded 12 stories. They included a Colonial Revival bank of this scale, which housed the Union and New Haven Trust in 1927. The first true skyscraper, however, the 527-foot Travelers Tower, was located in Hartford (Photograph 18). It was designed by Donn Barber (1871-1925), a New York architect. When completed in 1919, it was the tallest building between New York and Boston, a record held until Hartford's City Place was constructed in 1983. The tower was a testament to the company's remarkable rise. Started in 1863 to insure travel risks, Travelers became the first multiline company in the country: the first to issue an automobile insurance policy in 1897, and in 1919 the first to write an aircraft travel insurance policy, which was issued to President Woodrow Wilson. Other insurance companies outdid themselves in a series of buildings in the 1920s on Elm Street facing Bushnell Park in Hartford. The two for Phoenix Mutual and Connecticut General were adaptations of Italian palazzos and elegantly detailed. A monumental new insurance building was completed for Aetna on Farmington Avenue in 1931. Although similar in design to the new 1926 home office for Connecticut Mutual Life on Garden Street, Aetna's 600-foot-long Colonial Revival building, designed by James Gamble Rogers (1867-1947), is reputedly the largest ever constructed in this style.

The "City Beautiful" movement inspired the construction of other imposing municipal and civic buildings in the early twentieth century. They included courthouses, post offices, and city halls. In New Haven the Green remained the focus of downtown, with a series of new government buildings along Church Street. By 1915 Hartford moved its city offices from the old Statehouse to its new Municipal Building, designed by the New Britain and Hartford firm of Brooks and Davis. Other new buildings were needed to house state functions and were grouped near the 1878 State Capitol, built only three years after Hartford became the sole capital of the state. They included the Connecticut State Library and Supreme Court Building and the Connecticut State Office Building.

By the turn of the century, opera houses and concert halls were located in many downtowns and by 1930 movie theaters were all the rage. Opera houses were usually gaudy pleasure palaces which hosted the vaudeville circuit and rarely presented grand opera. Practically every large town and city had one, sometimes just an auditorium on the second floor of a commercial building. Some were quite grand, such as the Middlesex Opera House in Middletown, which was noted for its lavishly decorated lobby and auditorium, ornamented with colorful, gilded decorations. National touring companies did appear in some of the region's theaters. Sarah Bernhardt played *Camille* in the Hyperion Theater in New Haven in 1886 and had a return sell-out engagement in *La Tosca* in 1891. John Philip Sousa and James O'Neill, the noted actor (father of playwright Eugene O'Neill), often entertained at the

Russwin Lyceum, built by the famous lock company in New Britain in 1893, and equally famous touring groups played at Hartford's Parsons Theater, built in 1895. By the 1920s opera and vaudeville houses were converted to show silent films, and many downtown movie houses were built just for this purpose. Several movie theaters were part of chains owned by enterprising immigrants, such as the Palace and the Bijou in New Haven, the Capitol in Middletown, and the Fox in Hartford. The latter theater, built in 1923 with a seating capacity of 1800, was showing the wondrous new "talking pictures" by the end of the decade.

Concert halls were also popular, starting with the Crown Street Music Hall in New Haven, which opened in 1860 with the New York Philharmonic as its guest orchestra. Gustave Stoeckel started the Mendelssohn Society there in 1858, which was especially popular with the city's large German-American population, as was the *Teutonia Maennер-Chor,* a traditional German singing club. German brass bands and singing clubs held outdoor concerts at their picnics in Schutzen Park in Hamden after the Civil War and similar groups were founded in New Britain. Philharmonic and symphony orchestras were established in the region's two leading cities by the end of the century. New Haven's symphony orchestra opened at Yale's Woolsey Hall in 1901. Bushnell Memorial Hall, the home of the Hartford Symphony, was built in 1930. The gift of Dorothy Hillyer Bushnell in honor of her father, it is distinguished by its exceptional Art Deco interior.

Libraries and other municipal buildings also were donated by philanthropic citizens in this period. Often elaborately detailed and sometimes monumental in scale, they included the Eno Memorial Hall in Simsbury, donated by Antoinette Eno for a town hall (Photograph 23). A Colonial Revival brick building embellished with classical detailing and designed by Roy D. Bassette of Smith and Bassette of Hartford, it has a distinguished formal interior which includes a central rotunda supported by marble columns. The Neo-Classical Curtis Memorial Library in Meriden was a gift to the city from Mrs. Augustus Curtis, widow of a former mayor who had been an officer of the Meriden Britannia Company. The Russell Library in Middletown, a brownstone building donated by the widow of Samuel Russell in 1875, was a former Greek Revival Episcopal church remodeled in the Gothic Revival style for use as the library. A library in Thompsonville in Enfield was one of the few known examples of Carnegie-endowed institutions in the Central Valley. The Neo-Classical structure was built with the assistance of the Andrew Carnegie Fund, established to finance libraries throughout the country.

Although some neighborhoods in the inner cities began to deteriorate from overcrowding and substandard housing, open space on the outer ring was set aside and beautified for public parks by the turn of century. Some of the first were in New Haven, a city that had been concerned with urban beautification since the early nineteenth century. Landscape designer Donald Grant Mitchell, who came to New Haven in 1858 from New York, where he had been associated with architect Richard Morris Hunt, designed its late nineteenth-century park system, which included a variety of landscapes from shore front and wetlands to the rugged terrain at East and West Rocks, laid out generally between 1885 and 1895. Although not all of his parks were built and a number have been altered to some degree or lost to development, several examples remain intact. The first was at East Rock, where a natural wooded landscape is preserved and trails and carriage drives rise to the summit. The 1891 West Rock Park, left even more in its natural state, now covers almost 600 acres. Only remnants remain of those at the shore, such as the carriage drive at Bayview Park, and much of Waterside Park was lost to Interstate 95 and the rest sold for development.

Hartford had set aside and beautified more than 1300 acres of parkland by 1900. The first was Bushnell Park, the first municipal downtown park of any size in the Central Valley and probably the region's earliest urban renewal project. The creation of the 36-acre park, which was designed to clean up the worst of the urban blight in Hartford, the industrial slum along the Park River, was largely due to the advocacy of the Reverend Horace Bushnell. Athough funds were voted in 1854, work did not get underway until 1861. Often credited to Frederick Law Olmsted (1822-1903), a Hartford native and co-creator with Calvert Vaux of New York's Central Park in 1858, Bushnell Park was actually designed by Jacob Weidenmann (1829-1893), a native of Switzerland who came to the United States in 1856 and joined the Olmsted firm in 1871.

Olmsted did, however, play a role in the development of the rest of Hartford's park system. As early as 1870, he had envisioned a ring of parks around Hartford and much later his sons, John Charles (1853-1920) and Frederick Law, Jr. (1870-1957), successors to their father's practice, had a hand in their design. In a short 15-month period just before the turn of the century, land was acquired or earmarked for five major parks. Three were designed by the Olmsteds, in partnership with Charles Eliot from 1893 to 1897, as picturesque microcosms of Connecticut Valley landscapes. Kept deliberately informal, they contained pastoral vistas of woodland and meadow in the eighteenth-century English manner also favored by the senior Olmsted. They included Goodwin Park, named for parks commissioner Francis Goodwin, located on the south side of the city and completed between 1897 and 1901, and the 693-acre Keney Park to the north built in 1896, which is partly in Windsor. In Goodwin Park, today largely given over to a golf course, part of the historic "Great Meadow" was recreated, left in its natural state and "mowed" only by grazing sheep. The Olmsteds also designed the 90-acre Pope Park, which is closer to downtown, with Interstate 84 now running along its western border. The land, a former farm originally scheduled for residential development, was donated by Albert Pope, the industrialist noted for his Columbia bicycle. When the park was completed in 1898, there was a rustic vista along the Park River, which is now underground. Elizabeth Park, built in 1897 in the West End, comprises 100 acres, much of which is in West Hartford. Designed by Hartford's superintendent of parks Theodore Wirth as an arboretum, it had a more formal layout and many ornamental plantings, of which only the famous rose garden remains today. The park was given to the city in 1924 by Hartford Trust Company president Charles Pond to honor his wife, Elizabeth. The last of these public spaces was Riverside Park, which was cut off from the city when dikes were constructed along the Connecticut River in the 1930s.

Urban Immigration

The waves of immigration can be roughly divided into two time frames. Up to about 1880, Irish and Germans continued to arrive in the Central Valley, adding to these already-established ethnic communities. By far the larger group was the Irish, part of the more than three million who came to the United States from the period of the Great Famines of the 1840s through to about 1890. In this period the first Scandinavians, especially Swedes, also arrived, along with many from England, Scotland, Wales, and Canada. By the 1880s the first immigrants from eastern Europe and southern Italy began to appear in Connecticut cities, a wave of immigration that reached its height just before World War I. Italians then comprised the second largest immigrant group in the Central Valley, followed by Poles and Jews from

Germany, Austria, and Russia, the listed countries of origin at that time. After the war, when the map of Europe was reconstituted, a number of smaller countries recovered their political autonomy, including Poland, Lithuania, Czechoslovakia, and Armenia. Immigrants who came from these places had an especially strong sense of national consciousness and reestablished their religious and cultural heritage in Central Valley cities and towns.

The foreign-born population doubled in Central Valley cities in the first decades of the twentieth century. For the first time the native white Protestant population was in the minority, a circumstance which produced a resurgence of nativism and a response from state and federal agencies. School censuses were undertaken to determine how many families still spoke a foreign language in the home. Americanization programs to instill American values were run by the local men's service clubs or the Y.M.C.A., as they were in Middletown, or were incorporated into the public school curriculum by the state board of education. Evening classes for adult immigrants included English language skills and American history. When a census of factory workers in 1917 revealed a high percentage of aliens, many in Central Valley defense industries were let go. The Home Guard was established at this time to protect rail lines, switching yards, and even water mains from sabotage. When America entered the war, many young immigrants felt compelled to enlist to prove their patriotism, and a disproportionate number of casualties were from ethnic communities.

The Russian Revolution in 1917 was another cause for alarm, leading to the "Red Scare" of the 1920s. Political groups such as the Ukrainian Socialists were denounced as Bolsheviks. *The Hartford Courant* labeled Hartford "Red City" after 2000 members of the state's Federated Union of Russian Workers met in its Grand Theater. Many who attended this meeting became the chief targets of the infamous "Palmer Raids" carried out in Hartford, New Britain, New Haven, and Bridgeport in November 1919 and January 1920 by the U. S. Department of Justice. They were named for A. Mitchell Palmer, Attorney General under Woodrow Wilson. A number of the Ukrainians, Lithuanians, and Russians who were arrested and held in jail in Hartford without a hearing were deported. Congress moved to tighten immigration laws, first with a literacy test and finally with a quota system in 1924 that severely restricted immigration from eastern and southern Europe.

As the first substantial immigrant group, the Irish established the pattern of economic and social mobility that was followed by most other urban ethnics. There were broad similarities between Irish Americans and Italian Americans who predominated in the early twentieth century. They congregated in urban neighborhoods, often the poorest areas in the city such as the old East Side in Hartford and the North End in Middletown. The Wooster Square area was the dominant Irish neighborhood in New Haven. Through the first and much of the second generation, the Irish married within their group and were geographically stable. As employment opportunities improved, many Irish left their first neighborhoods to fan out through the cities and their places were taken in these assimilation zones by succeeding immigrant groups, especially Italians. The Irish continued to marry others of their faith and, like the Italians, send their children to parochial schools, but over time, intermarriage with other national groups became more common. Generally assimilated by the twentieth century, many Irish were well established in business. The first of the ethnic political leaders in their cities and in the state, they were soon followed by upwardly mobile Italian Americans.

Job opportunities for immigrants were limited when large groups of Irish began to arrive in Connecticut after the famines in Ireland. The major construction projects that had provided work for the earlier arrivals were substantially completed. In the port cities they found work as cargo handlers and teamsters. When the cities began to grow after the Civil War, there were jobs building streets, water and sewer systems, and gas works. Barriers to industrial work generally relaxed at this time, although most Irish still occupied unskilled positions. In Hartford about ten percent of the employees at some of the new firms such as Pope Manufacturing, Weed Sewing Machine, and Hartford Rubber Works were Irish. The "No Irish Need Apply" signs even came down at the Colt Armory, one of the companies known for its restrictive hiring practices, where eventually they held two-thirds of the unskilled jobs. Second-generation Irish workers began to move up the labor scale, becoming machine operators in heavy industry. A large concentration of Irish workers in the Middletown area, earlier limited to employment at the brownstone quarries, began to find better-paying jobs in the Russell Manufacturing Company and Wilcox Crittenden, producers of marine hardware. Irish women, whose employment at first was limited to domestic service, also began to work in industry on assembly lines, as garment workers, and as retail store clerks. Like all working women at this time, their payscale was half that of men.

Many of the first Italian immigrants were laborers recruited to work in Connecticut under the *"padrone"* system. The *padroni* were labor agents who arranged for construction jobs in building and transportation.[18] Italian contract workers rebuilt and maintained the railroads and also constructed the trolley systems. Unlike the Irish, however, these workers were "sojourners"; they expected to return home after making their fortunes. Some did return, but often only to marry. Most saved part of their wages to bring over others from their native villages. In some cases parents came ahead and were joined by their children later when they were old enough to travel, usually at about age 12. The largest and strongest Italian neighborhoods were founded in the wake of upwardly mobile Irish in major cities in the Central Valley. One of the most enduring was Hartford's Little Italy on the East Side in Hartford, where Front Street, with its many specialty stores, social halls, and vibrant street life, was the focus of a closely knit community for almost 60 years. Only after the East Side was demolished for the construction of Constitution Plaza in the 1950s did the community finally disperse, to be partially recreated around a second-generation Italian community already living in the Franklin Street area south of the city.

One of the largest communities founded from a single village was in Middletown's North End, where about 2500 people came from Mellili, Sicily. Although about 20 percent eventually returned to Mellili, a strong ethnic neighborhood developed and today their descendants comprise more than half of the city's population. Over a period of years, masons among them built St. Sebastian's, a near-replica of the village church, one of several Old World recreations in the Central Valley. Until the church was completed in 1931, Middletown's Italians chafed under the necessity of attending mass at St. John's, also in the North End, where they were seated in the rear of the church. Like all Roman Catholic churches in Connecticut at this time, St. John's had an Irish priest and was controlled by an Irish hierarchy.

Strong religious and cultural ties in both groups were fostered by many parish churches, often connected with parochial schools. In 1852 members of the Sisters of Mercy came from County Clare, Ireland, to New Haven and Hartford and founded parochial schools and orphanages. By 1876 the order had schools in Middletown, Thompsonville (Enfield), and New Britain. The

sisters first taught in Hartford in the basement of St. Patrick's Church but soon had a school, St. Catherine's Academy. By 1873 it was known as Mount St. Joseph Academy and located, along with the motherhouse and novitiate, on Farmington Avenue in West Hartford. Plans were made in 1925 for a women's college, the present-day St. Joseph College, founded in 1932, which moved to its Asylum Avenue location in 1935, also in West Hartford. In 1896 nursing sisters opened St. Francis Hospital in Hartford and by 1907, St. Raphaels in New Haven. An estate on Prospect Street in New Haven was purchased in 1924 and became Albertus Magnus, the first Catholic women's residential college in the state.

The earliest Italian priest in Connecticut was the Reverend Leo da Saracena, who served as chaplain of the Irish regiment from New Haven during the Civil War. Italian Franciscan missionaries had held masses in New Haven and established churches in the western part of the state but there were no Italian Roman Catholic churches in the Central Valley until 1889, when members of the Scalabrini Order founded St. Michael the Archangel in New Haven's Wooster Square. It was established in a former Protestant church, which has since been extensively remodeled. Two teaching orders of Italian nuns established parochial schools and orphanages in the early twentieth century. The Sisters of the Sacred Heart, the order founded by Mother Cabrini, first taught at St. Michael's and later ran a girls' school in Hamden in connection with their motherhouse. The Fillipini Sisters, a later order, founded parochial schools in Meriden, Hartford, Middletown, and New Britain in the early 1930s, the latter school in conjunction with St. Ann's, built in 1932. Festival day processions associated with these churches, once common in many Italian neighborhoods, continue to this day in Middletown.

Irish-American mutual aid societies, fraternal organizations, and annual celebrations all demonstrated cultural solidarity. In the face of considerable prejudice, Hibernian societies were originally founded in 1852 in Hartford as defense leagues to protect Catholic life and property. By 1890, however, when the national convention of the Ancient Order of Hiberians was held in Allyn Hall in the leading hotel in Hartford, these societies were primarily fraternal organizations, but their charities still benefited the Irish community. St. Patrick's Day parades began in Hartford in 1852 and were customary events in other communities after the Civil War. A second Irish-American organization, the Knights of Columbus, was founded in New Haven in 1882. By World War I it was an international organization with 400,000 members. Today its world headquarters in this city is housed in a modern landmark building, erected in 1976. With its four cylindrical corner towers, it is visible for miles around.

More widespread were the Italian societies which began with *Fraternazella* Society in Hartford in 1896. Other groups such as the Garibaldi Society and the Sons of Italy spread throughout the Central Valley and at least one in each city was housed in a special clubhouse. By 1930 there were 16 such organizations in Hartford and at least six in New Haven and New Britain, many of which revealed the village origins of the group in their names. Usually initiated as funeral societies and generally restricted to male members, many are still the center of Italian-American social life.

Many Irish and Italians were upwardly mobile, founding banks and construction companies, entering the professions, and becoming active in politics. Among them were Frank Arrigoni of Durham, who built the Arrigoni Bridge over the Connecticut River at Middletown and served as a state representative, and John O'Brien, who had a building construction business centered

in Middletown. In addition to constructing a number of Roman Catholic churches and schools, he also built many buildings at Connecticut Valley Hospital. Sylvester Poli owned a large theater chain in Connecticut, Massachusetts, and Pennsylvania; among them were some of the first vaudeville and movie houses in New Haven.

From the beginning the state's Irish were quite political. During the Irish rebellion, they had formed the Connecticut Fenian Brotherhood and sent money and arms to their countrymen. Companies of "Fenians" from New Haven actually participated in the invasion of British Canada in 1866, a little-known chapter in Connecticut's Irish history. The transition from Irish nationalism to American politics was easily accomplished; some Irish city mayors were elected in the Central Valley by 1910. Among a number of local and state officials of Italian ancestry was Francis Pallotti, a Yale law school graduate who became Connecticut's first Italian-American secretary of state in 1923. Generally affiliated with the Republican Party until the 1920s, Italians joined the predominately Irish Democratic party in large numbers in 1928 to vote for Al Smith, the first Roman Catholic to run for president. Although usually thought of as an Irish American, Smith, four-time governor of New York, had both Irish and Italian ancestry; his grandfather was born in Genoa, Italy, in 1859.

Religious heritage was a major influence in ethnic solidarity for many other groups, a fact which is exemplified in New Britain, one of the most culturally diverse cities in the state. Known as "Polonia" for its high concentration of Polish immigrants, it had the largest immigrant population of any city in the Central Valley; in 1930 at least 80 percent were classified as foreigners by the federal census (either foreign born or having one or both parents born in another country). New Britain also had the largest group of Swedes, Armenians, and Ukrainians of any city in the state. The astonishing array of religious buildings produced there is a testament to the city's cultural diversity in this period and the enduring ethno-religious background of its citizens. Ethnic churches and synagogues were still being constructed there through World War II.

Between 1856, when St. Mary's, the first Irish Roman Catholic church in New Britain, was founded, and 1932, seven more churches of this faith were built, including two established by the Poles and one by the Slovakian community. Swedes and Germans in the city were Lutherans, Baptists, and even Congregationalists, and founded at least five separate churches. Germans of the Catholic faith founded a church with the French Canadians in the 1890s. There were three Orthodox churches built between 1913 and 1919; the first was Russian Orthodox, organized in 1902, soon followed by the Ukrainian St. George Greek Orthodox Church and St. Thomas The Church of the East and Assyrians. Eastern European and German Orthodox Jews, who had come to New Britain starting in the 1860s, organized Congregation Aheyu B'nai Israel in 1889. After holding services in several places, they bought the Swedish Lutheran Church about 1908. In 1924 the Congregation reorganized as Conservative under the United Synagogues of America and by 1940 had remodeled the Masonic temple as Temple B'nai Israel. In the following year the Armenians were able to build St. Francis of Assisi.

By the end of the industrial period Connecticut had the largest Polish population in the country. Although there were Polish communities in other Central Valley cities and towns, the largest was in New Britain, where Poles comprised 24 percent of population and owned more than 80 businesses. Sacred Heart, the first Polish church there, was organized in 1884. Mass was held in the basement of St. Mary's, the Irish-Catholic church, until a simple wooden

church was built in the 1890s. Under the leadership of the Right Reverend Lucyan Bojnowski, pastor from 1895 to 1960, a strong Polish community was forged. By the early 1900s the parish had constructed its present large Gothic stone church, a replica of the church in Dabrowa-Bialostocka, a village in Poland. The center of the religious and social life of the Polish community, it had more than 6000 parishioners by 1910. By then Sacred Heart also included a parochial school and novitiate for a teaching order of nuns, and later ran an orphanage and a home for the elderly. Ten societies associated with the church included Polish political clubs and several non-Polish societies formed by Slovak and Greek Catholic members, who later founded their own churches. By 1927 a second Polish church, Holy Cross, was founded and it too had its own parochial school.

Industry

The Central Valley dominated industrial development in Connecticut in the late nineteenth century, controlling three major sectors of the state's metal industries (arms production, hardware, and machine tools), and led the state in silk and carpet production. Despite an unstable roller coaster economy, marked by postwar depressions and recurring national financial panics, industry in the Central Valley forged ahead, producing several national and international corporations. By 1900 four Central Valley cities ranked in the top ten industrial centers statewide in the census of urban manufactures that year (urban defined as having at least a population of 20,000). New Haven was the leader, with more than 1200 firms, and Hartford, with almost 900 firms, ranked fourth (after Bridgeport and Waterbury), but both had an almost equal capital investment in industry of $30 million. Meriden and New Britain, though much smaller cities, still ranked sixth and seventh, respectively. All told, 20 of the 60 communities analyzed in the census were located in the Central Valley. They contained almost 3500 companies (42 percent of the total), which were capitalized for $122 million and employed 60,000 people. Although comparable figures are not available for later in the early twentieth century, the records of most successful companies show rapid expansion in the decade of World War I, followed by some retrenchment and then a resurgence cut short only by the collapse of the economy after the stock market crash.

Successful industrialists in the Central Valley were innovators in production methods and heavily reinvested profits in plant facilities. Since production capability generally outpaced expansion of the labor force until the early twentieth century, they made constant improvements in labor-saving machinery. Larger firms routinely utilized assembly line techniques; arms and hardware production in the Central Valley was compartmentalized under division foremen, subcontractors who were free to hire and fire and set task-bonus systems, such as piecework incentives, which were common at least until 1900. Factory owners went to extraordinary lengths to secure the most skilled employees; New Britain's hardware firms had agents in New York to hire promising immigrants literally off the boat. The silk and carpet companies imported workers already skilled in those fields from Scotland, England, and France.

Laissez-faire capitalism dominated Connecticut's late nineteenth-century industry and prevailed in the Central Valley. The takeover of the state's rail system by the New York, New Haven, and Hartford in 1887, a monopoly run by the railroad barons that controlled 80 percent of

New England's railroads, was but one example of this free-wheeling management style. Many companies in the Central Valley were quick to adopt some of its key practices. Among them were formal and informal trade agreements between competitors that set industry standards for prices and wages. And with the exception of a few that remained independent, particularly the Cheney silk mills in Manchester, most early twentieth-century corporations in the Central Valley were the result of a series of pyramiding mergers with competitors, considered an effective way to eliminate competition, consolidate capital, or control key patent rights. Some of these procedures were quite legal under Connecticut's corporation laws; others that involved interstate monopolies and restraint of trade eventually attracted the attention of the federal government and led to the Sherman Anti-Trust Act of 1890.

Perhaps the most important characteristic of mature nineteenth-century industry was its national scope. With expanded, more efficient, and cheaper rail service available after the Civil War, Central Valley firms, regardless of their location, had unlimited access to national markets and raw materials. Although the steam and electric-powered metals industries were concentrated in urban centers, even firms located in industrial villages or company towns in the Central Valley had equal access and also competed on a national scale.

The building of a railroad from New Haven to Willimantic in 1871, with a swing bridge over the Connecticut River at Middletown, completed the major rail systems of the Central Valley. It was a boon to Middletown, providing more direct and cheaper access to major markets. Known as the "Airline" for its long wooden viaducts on the east side of the river, it was the result of a 20-year struggle on the part of David Lyman of Middlefield. Middlefield, the last of Middletown's satellite rural parishes, had recently severed connections with its parent town. Its several industrial villages were well served by the new railroad. There were three depots in town (to Middletown's one), including one at Baileyville, where Lyman-owned factories were located. But the fact that a special tunnel was constructed for the passage of cattle under the railroad line suggests that Middlefield still retained its essentially rural nature.

Labor relations were not always harmonious in this period. Industry maximized profits by paying low wages and requiring long hours, conditions that generally prevailed until the 1890s when organized labor promoted legislative reform. Rarely did the daily wage exceed $1.50, and the 70-hour work week was not unusual in the 1850s. Strikes for better conditions were infrequent, mainly because of the threat of retaliation. Many workers were beholden to their employers for basic necessities. One of the largest strikes occurred in 1872 at the Portland brownstone quarries, where the three major companies had combined to set wages and prices. The strike was organized by a newly formed quarrymen's union, largely composed of Irish laborers, one of some 50 labor unions founded in the state in this period. During a prolonged lockout, many strikers were evicted and lost their credit at the local store; most were not rehired because of their union membership. Their places were taken during the lockout by the first group of Swedish immigrants in town, brought there by the quarry owners.

The Connecticut branch of the American Federation of Labor was founded in Hartford in 1887. Some of the notable legislation it promoted included a state board of mediation and arbitration and the right to join labor unions. By 1895 the minimum age for child labor was 14 and the ten-hour work day was mandatory for women and children. Although the six-day work week persisted, the eight-hour day, which had already become common in the construction industry, became a standard statewide in the 1920s. Children were gradually

phased out of the workforce, but starting about 1890, many more women were hired to work as clerks and on assembly lines, especially in the new electric parts industries, since they were willing to work for lower pay. To relieve the labor shortage during World War I, women were encouraged to enter the workforce. One-third were employed in defense industries in Hartford and New Haven, where some employers even had day nurseries for their children. By 1919 women in the state comprised 25 percent of the wage earners and 45 percent of the lower-level salaried employees.

The most important industry in the Central Valley was the production of arms, which was centered in New Haven and Hartford. There were two major companies in New Haven. The Winchester Repeating Arms Company relocated there from Bridgeport in 1870, the same year that the Marlin Firearms factory was established. The latter company, primarily producers of civilian arms, was located on Willow Street until 1970. Winchester, located northwest of the downtown in an area known as Newhallville, employed 3000 people by 1898 and operated around the clock during the Spanish-American War. Just before America entered World War I, the company began a major expansion, doubling the size of its plant to cover six city blocks, and by 1917 it employed 15,000 people. At the end of World War I, the company had a workforce of 21,000. Much of the existing plant was designed by Leoni Robinson, a noted architect in New Haven. The surrounding area consists of houses originally rented or owned by its employees, but built by private developers. In the 1850s Sharps Rifle Manufacturing Company, a subsidiary of a Vermont firm, and the Colt Armory were founded in Hartford. After the Civil War Sharps was bought out and moved to Bridgeport by P. T. Barnum, but the Colt Armory remained. Its importance to industrial development in the Central Valley goes well beyond its notable success in the arms field. Of far greater significance was its influence on the machine-building and machine-tool industries of Hartford and the development of industry statewide.

The Colt Armory with its distinctive blue dome, a landmark on Hartford's skyline, was the brainchild of Samuel Colt (1822-1862). In the last decade of his short flamboyant life, Colt established the largest private armory in the world in the South Meadows. It was the centerpiece of what was essentially an urban industrial village, created by reclaiming 300 acres of marshland with a two-mile dike along the Connecticut River. The original plant, built between 1854 and 1861, was a large H-shaped brownstone structure with two 500-foot wings (Photograph 12). The center connector behind the dome housed the power plant, integrating six vertical steam engines as structural components. It is estimated that the factory was 80 percent mechanized and by 1857 employed 600 workers. Nothing of this first building remains. After a disastrous fire in 1864, the armory was totally rebuilt to the same plan in brick and brownstone. Today only the front wing remains, attached on the south to concrete pier additions dating from the early twentieth century. Other features of Colt's complex included more than 50 multi-family workers' houses, of which only 10 survive, and nine single-family homes in "Potsdam," a separate group built for German willowware workers. "Armsmear," the Colt mansion, and several other large houses on Wethersfield Avenue, owned by the family or officers of the company, also still remain. At its height the village also included acres of landscaped parkland (now Colt Park), a bandstand, a social hall, and a beer garden, the latter for German workers and their wives. The Church and Parish House of the Good Shepherd were later additions to the complex erected by Elizabeth Colt, Samuel Colt's widow.

Considered a prototype of a successful nineteenth-century industry because of its technical advances and mass-production techniques, Colt Patent Firearms, as it was first called, became a world leader in its field. The famous "Colt 44," the icon of the West, and the later "45" became standard military equipment as sidearms. Promoting his product worldwide, Colt supplied arms to both sides in the Crimean war, and produced 300,000 revolvers in the first two years of the Civil War. In the buildup for World War I, the Colt company was manufacturing several new types of automatic rifles and machine guns designed by John Browning, a Colt employee, and supplied the Allies through Canada. With air-to-air combat then an essential part of warfare, a Browning machine gun was adapted for this purpose. Even though the firm increased its workforce from 800 to 8000, it could not keep up with the demand for these new weapons and temporarily released patent rights to other producers for the remainder of the war.

Colt and Winchester were not the only two Central Valley companies involved in war production. By 1915 war contracts were held by 34 state firms employing 40,000 people. They included the Russell Manufacturing Company in Middletown, which turned exclusively to producing webbing and strapping for military use; Hartford Machine Screw and Veeder's in Hartford; Landers, Frary, and Clark, which was making trench knives in New Britain; and Cheney Mills in Manchester, which was producing silk parachutes. A mechanized army no longer needed the wagons made in New Haven for earlier conflicts but, as they had during the Civil War, rubber companies in Hartford, Middletown, and New Haven produced boots and ponchos.

The Colt Armory made major contributions to machine-building technology and spawned a number of industries. Elisha K. Root, the plant superintendent hired by Colt from the Collinsville Axe Company, was largely responsible for original mechanization of the assembly lines and took over the plant after Colt's death. He designed a number of machines, including a chucking lathe and a more efficient drop forge, and trained a number of employees who went on to start their own businesses. Two employees patented a further improvement on the forging technique and incorporated Billings and Spencer in Hartford in 1869. Spencer later founded Hartford Machine Screw to produce automatic screw machines. The Cushman chuck factory, established in Hartford in 1862, hired Adrian Sloane from Colt for its works manager. Cushman Industries moved to its factory on Windsor Street in 1910 and by the 1930s was producing 80 percent of chucks (basically a work-holding device) in use in the United States.

Francis Pratt and Amos Whitney, two other graduates of Colt, founded a company on Capitol Avenue in Hartford which produced industrial machines and gauges and are well known for their later contributions to the aircraft industry. Pratt and Whitney's superior machine-building techniques were utilized by metal fabricators, specifically by Peck, Stow, and Wilcox, tin machinery producers in Plantsville (Southington) and Berlin, and more generally by the brass industry of Waterbury. Although Pratt and Whitney fostered development of the aircraft industry, it was not the pioneer in this field in the Central Valley. As early as 1909, Frank H. Harriman, a Hartford motor manufacturer who had moved his company to Glastonbury, produced a successful reciprocating engine and the first practical aircraft in 1911. In 1913 he constructed a concrete building on Main Street, still in use today as a garage, where he designed and built several types of aircraft, including a hydroplane which took off from and landed on the Connecticut River.

Pratt and Whitney became involved in aviation in 1921 when the company leased space in its Hartford plant to Frederick B. Rentschler and subsidized his first experiments in mass production of aircraft. In 1925 the operation moved to a huge modern assembly plant in East Hartford (Photograph 19) designed by Albert Kahn (1869-1942), based on his plan for Henry Ford's River Rouge automobile plant. It housed the "Aircraft," as it was already known, as well as Chance Vought, supplier of navy fighters, and Hamilton Standard, makers of aircraft propellors, both owned by Pratt and Whitney. By 1929 United Aircraft officially came into being, a national conglomerate which controlled all the major players in the aircraft and airlines industries. The aircraft divisions included Sikorsky in Connecticut, then a flying boat manufacturer, and Boeing, Western airframe producers. Among the five fledging airlines acquired was United, then just a small operation which, like most in this period, carried the mail but few passengers. By 1931 Rentschler Field was laid out next to the East Hartford plant. It was used by the company for flight testing and also served until 1940 as one of Hartford's municipal airports. Other sectors of the metals industry became nationally known corporations by the twentieth century. Some maintained their corporate headquarters in the Central Valley, including Stanley Works, Inc. One of the leaders in the builders hardware industry in Connecticut in the late nineteenth century, it was noted for its early use of steam turbines and hydroelectric power. In 1920 it bought out Stanley Rule and Level (founded by a distant relative), the basis for the well-known tool division of the company. Many of its patented tools were designed by Justus Traut, a German immigrant who was a lifetime employee. The other giant in the industry based in New Britain was American Hardware, a merger of several hardware and lock companies.

When International Silver of Meriden was formed in 1898, it was the culmination of a long-standing Central Valley tradition in precious metals, one that extended back to the pewterers and silversmiths of the eighteenth century. The incorporation was a merger of more than 12 smaller firms, including several in central Connecticut and others in New Haven, Bridgeport, and Waterbury. The basis of the firm here was the Meriden Britannia Company, which merged in 1862 with Rogers Brothers, silverware producers in Hartford.

A series of mergers produced Bigelow-Sanford Carpet Company, the nation's largest carpet manufacturer and the third largest corporation in New England by the early 1900s. In the early nineteenth century carpet was one of the many foreign products subject to high import tariffs to protect and encourage domestic manufacture. To gain access to the American market, carpet manufacturers in Scotland were willing to subsidized new ventures in the United States. Such was the case with the firm started in 1828 in Thompsonville (Enfield) by Orrin Thompson. Early production was done by skilled Scottish weavers on handlooms. So many Scots relocated to Thompsonville that the first Presbyterian church in the state was founded there in 1839. Creditors took over the plant in 1847 after the New York holding company that had provided financing bonds (run by Thompson's son) went bankrupt. Hartford interests bought out the defunct factory and restructured the business as the Hartford Carpet Company, installing Thompson as superintendent. Power looms were introduced in the carpet industry in 1847 by Erastus Bigelow, who designed and patented the first experimental model in Massachusetts. In order to remain competitive, the Enfield firm not only had to buy the new looms but also was required to pay royalties by the yard to the holder of the patent, Bigelow Carpet of Lowell, Massachusetts. After a merger in 1901 with a New York company which provided a new infusion of capital, Hartford Carpet invested in new plant facilities totalling 400,000 square feet, with a 4000-horsepower electric power plant, and expanded its product line. By 1910 the workforce totaled almost 3000. Italians and Poles had joined the original

Scottish, English, Irish, and Canadian immigrants from the nineteenth century. The company owned more than 300 houses and encouraged social and athletic clubs such as the Carpet City Band, which sported distinctive white "Kaiser" helmets. Expansion continued after another crucial merger, this time with Bigelow, which included the largest building at the plant, a five-story brick pier mill (470 feet x 130 feet), built in 1923 and fitted out with the first machinery for making broadloom carpet, mainly Bigelow's looms brought here from Massachusetts. By 1929 a third merger with a New York firm, Sanford Carpet, then the largest broadloom weavers in the business, produced Bigelow-Sanford Carpet Company. Before the plant closed in Enfield in the late 1960s, it employed up to 13,500 people.

Several Central Valley companies were large enough to attract the attention of national corporations based outside the state. They included the Berlin Iron Bridge Company, designers and fabricators of many iron lenticular-truss bridges in the region. It was bought out in 1900 and closed down by 1917 by American Bridge, headquartered in Ambridge, Pennsyvlvania, a near-monopoly run by J. P. Morgan. A new firm, the Berlin Construction Company, was founded here by former employees and specialized in steel fabrication for factories and bridges. The Hazardville Powder Company in Enfield was one of the three largest black powder producers in the country. Although its name was very appropriate for the location of a dangerous industry, Hazardville was actually named for its founder, Colonel Augustus Hazard, a New York commission merchant who took over an existing powder company there about 1837. Just before the Civil War, the company was doing a million-dollar business at its main plant, which covered over a square mile, contained 125 buildings, and employed a number of skilled English immigrants. With almost 40 major explosions during its 75-year history, most of its mills were specially constructed. "Blow-out" construction, as it was called, at Hazardville consisted of lightly fastened wood sheathing over heavy wood frames. Another method was employed by the fuse industry, centered in Simsbury and Avon. At the Ensign-Bickford complex in Simsbury, which contains dozens of workers' houses, the factory buildings were constructed with thick stone walls and lightweight roofing, which was designed to lift off in the explosions that also plagued this business. Production increased at Hazardville Powder after the discovery of gold in California produced a demand for blasting powder and rapidly expanded during the Civil War. By the 1870s the company combined with others in the field in the Gunpowder Trade Association to regulate prices for the industry nationally, but business was failing at Hazardville. Secretly purchased in 1876 by one of the trade members, Henry duPont, the Hazardville company officially became a subsidiary of E. I. duPont de Nemours, Inc., an international corporation, in the early 1900s. Shortly after the Sherman Anti-Trust Act was invoked against duPont, the Enfield operation was shut down.

The Cheney Brothers Manufacturing Company had a much different company history. Throughout its 117 years in business, it remained a closely held, independent business, totally owned and run by the Cheney family. Noted for its important innovations in silk weaving and spinning and as the largest importer of raw silk from the Orient (primarily Japan), Cheney Brothers prospered in the favorable tariff protection policies afforded this industry in the late nineteenth century, becoming the largest silk producer in the nation by 1880. By 1923 the firm was valued at $23 million and employed almost 5000 workers.

The industrial village in South Manchester, which was aptly dubbed a "principality" in a recent history of the town, contained 16 brick mills by 1916. Most were three-story pier mills with near-flat roofs, but the oldest mill still extant, the Clocktower Spinning Mill, incorporates three

mills built in 1886, which were later joined by 30-foot connectors, creating a massive structure covering over 200,000 square feet (Photograph 16). A four-story central stair and clocktower surmounted by a square belfry is located at the west end of the center mill. In addition to literally hundreds of houses, the company built or subsidized the construction of the 1867 Second Empire Cheney Hall, a community center, along with churches, schools, a library, and a fire station (still in use by the town). Among the group of ten family mansions located in a 70-acre parklike setting overlooking the mill complex are several designed by leading architects such as Charles Adams Platt and Stanford White. Although theirs was not the only industry in Manchester, the Cheney brothers virtually ran the community as a company town. They established subsidiary operations to provide their mills and the village with a water and sewer system and an electric generating plant, all of which eventuallly served most of Manchester. They even built a railroad to transport workers and materials. The shortest line ever incorporated in the state, the two-mile spur line to the depot also provided passenger service for the town.

Agriculture

By the late nineteenth century farming in Connecticut became increasingly specialized and more commercial. Although less land was in production statewide, farming became more intensive and productive in the Central Valley, spurred on by the research of the Connecticut Agricultural Experiment Station. Commercial production of dairy products and tobacco in the Connecticut River Valley were the dominant agricultural industries, remaining vital to the economy of the River Towns throughout most of the industrial period. Pomiculture and floriculture were other large-scale businesses that expanded because of agricultural research and improved transportation. Cities became even more dependent on the agricultural products of their rural hinterlands; the scale of market gardening kept pace with the urban population explosion. The vast network of railroads and trolleys made commercial dairying feasible and provided ready access to urban markets until the gasoline age, when trucking of farm and dairy products became commonplace. In this period the Morrill Act of 1862 also ushered in the land-grant college movement, which produced and supported most of the state universities of the Midwest. Although for 30 years Yale was designated Connecticut's land-grant college, by the 1890s the Connecticut Grange led the farmers of the state in an ultimately successful challenge to this designation. In 1893 the funds were transferred to the state agricultural school at Storrs, founded in 1881, which became the nucleus of the twentieth-century state university there.

The single most important agricultural development in this period was the establishment of the Connecticut Agricultural Experiment Station in 1875. The importance of its research to the state, as well as the nation, cannot be overstated. Because of its benefits, Connecticut's agrarian tradition was sustained throughout the industrial period in the Central Valley. Its very small rural population were able to meet their own needs and still supply the region's burgeoning urban population. Rural towns had remained static in this period. In general, out-migration equalled or slightly outpaced natural increase through 1900 in the Central Valley. Even when increased by a number of ethnic farmers in the early twentieth century, only three percent of the total population of the region lived in rural areas in 1930.

The founding of the Connecticut Agriculture Experiment Station was largely due to the efforts of Professor W. O. Atwater, a pioneer in the field of agricultural chemistry at Wesleyan University who led the crusade to secure legislative approval and funding. Initial experiments were carried out at Judd Hall at Wesleyan (where a laboratory was later named in Atwater's honor). Two years later the station was relocated to the Sheffield Scientific School at Yale. In 1882 a permanent home was found in New Haven on Prospect Hill, where the six-acre facility is still located. In 1887 Congress passed the Hatch Act, which provided federal funding, and Connecticut's $15,000 annual appropriation was divided between the New Haven facility and a new station located at Storrs.

The achievements of the station since its founding are legion and the public benefit is incalculable. They have included not only pioneering work in the more expected avenues of research, such as pesticides, fertilizers, plant pathology and entomology, forestry, and nutrition, but also, after 1895, analyses of consumer foods and drugs which were published in annual reports as part of the state's pure food law. Station-sponsored research also made notable contributions to the development of safe serums and vaccines. Its scientists were co-discoverers (with the Wisconsin Agricultural Experiment Station) in 1913 of the first vitamin. The station also excelled in the development of modern plant and animal breeding methods based on genetic research, which introduced hybrid sweet corn in the region, and in the twentieth century was a factor in improved nutrition levels in India. Practical soil analysis methods developed there in 1932 are still in use today all over the world.

The work of the station directly benefited Central Valley farmers in the tobacco, dairying, and poultry industries. In 1900 the first shade tent was constructed in Windsor in cooperation with the U. S. Department of Agriculture and revolutionized tobacco production. Between 1944 and 1950, new varieties of shade tobacco which increased land efficiency were developed. After determining the nutritive value of whole milk, the station promoted its use by children and infants through agriculture bulletins, the latter a major component of a successful outreach to farmers as well as the general public. Prior to this time, cream was saved for butter, and skim milk was used for cheese or animal feed, or even discarded. Modern poultry-raising evolved from the first demonstration of chicken houses at the station in 1918.

The Connecticut River Valley became known as "Tobacco Valley" in the nineteenth century, a title it justly deserved at least through World War II. Tens of thousands attended tobacco festivals that used to be held annually in Hartford, underscoring the important historic commercial value of the single largest crop in the region. Tobacco cultivation has been subject to more research in the state, both by farmers and state scientists, than any other single crop. Both labor- and land-intensive, it played a dominant role in Connecticut agriculture until at least 1950, when almost 20,000 acres were harvested. Tobacco production has declined dramatically since that time, with less than 2000 acres under cultivation in 1990. Because the price per pound has soared, however, the annual crop from this reduced acreage is actually worth twice as much as it was in 1950.

Most of the state's tobacco research has taken place in Windsor, the site of the first state experiment in shade-grown tobacco, but a decade earlier, growers there had already begun to run experiments at their own facility. Known as the Connecticut Tobacco Experiment Station and located in the Poquonock section of town, it was devoted to scientific analysis in the use of fertilizers and methods of curing tobacco. The results of the experiments were published

annually. In 1921 a second growers' facility was the Tobacco Experiment Station (since enlarged and taken over by the state), the only such station of this type in New England. Information developed there made Windsor the center of the industry, with more acres under cultivation than any other town in the valley. Similar growing conditions, however, particularly the level terrain and characteristic red soil, occur on both sides of the river north from Portland up into Massachusetts. Other Central Valley towns that specialized in the crop include Suffield, Enfield, Simsbury, East Granby, East Windsor, South Windsor, and Portland.

One of the largest concentrations of nineteenth-century buildings associated with tobacco production is found in the Windsor Farms Historic District in South Windsor, just to the north of the Bissell Bridge. Located on the first terrace above the Connecticut River, a fully developed community, organized around tobacco cultivation, lines its main street. It consists of houses built by growers, tobacco dealers, and laborers, as well as a church and a school. Behind the houses more than 1600 acres of cultivated fields extend to the east and all the way to the Connecticut River on the west. Even though the district's present-day tobacco companies no longer cure locally, the fields are still dotted with the distinctive tobacco-curing sheds associated with this industry (Photograph 20). All have the characteristic long, low rectangular shape capped by a gable roof, a form which has changed very little over time. They are sheathed with vertical boards on the long sides which can be adjusted to control temperature and humidity.

Although longer-lived in the Windsor Farms area than elsewhere in Tobacco Valley, the industry there is typical of the whole valley. Tobacco has been grown in Windsor Farms since the 1600s and was still a major crop in the 1980s. Field-grown leaf tobacco was the main crop of the nineteenth century, used primarily for cigars, which were made in the village. Finer grades of Havana seed leaf were introduced by the time of the Civil War. Larger acreages were brought under cultivation and cigar manufacturers in Hartford and New Haven bought most of the crop until the end of the nineteenth century, when they began importing a new lighter-colored leaf from Sumatra which could not be grown here. New methods of growing under cloth were developed to survive this foreign competition. Shade cultivation became a commonplace soon after experiments proved that by simulating tropical conditions, a finer, thinner leaf could be grown which was the equal of the tropical variety.

Marcus Floyd, a major Windsor grower, was one of the first to use the new method in Connecticut and 9000 acres were under cloth in the Central Valley by World War I. Field-grown varieties were still cultivated and used for filler in cigars. Shade tobacco was worth twice as much on the market, but cultivation was even more capital- and labor-intensive; large tobacco syndicates came into being, some controlled from outside the state. By the time of World War I, homogenized binders were introduced for cigars and less acreage was devoted to finer-grade leaf. Production remained high, however, and many growers found it more profitable to lease land to tobacco syndicates rather than grow the crop themselves. Following a period of over-production by the syndicates in the 1920s, which produced large unmarketable surpluses, some tobacco land was turned over to dairying, market gardening, nursery stock, or the cultivation of potatoes.

When tobacco moved from a cottage industry to a commercial enterprise, new sources of labor had to be found. One of the first was Irish immigrants. Whole families were hired to work in the fields and curing sheds. Some who worked as boys in the fields progressed to

working shares and a few succeeded in owning tobacco land. African-American migrant labor was used after the Civil War. By the twentieth century, although some smaller growers relied exclusively on local high school and college students during summer vacations, much of the labor force consisted of European immigrants and blacks. Through the Urban League in New York, Southern black college students came North just for the summer. During the labor shortage produced by World War I, jobs were advertised throughout the South; through the offices of its director, Adam Clayton Powell, a former minister in New Haven (father of Adam Clayton Powell, Jr., U.S. Congressman and civil rights activist), the league arranged for contracts between the growers and many black workers. A number brought their families and became permanent residents in Central Valley cities. Most settled in Hartford, where the African-American population quadrupled between 1910 and 1930 to reach 6000. A comparable rate of growth would not occur there again until World War II, when similar economic conditions produced a second, larger migration from the Deep South.

Commercial dairying began in the Central Valley in the 1880s. Centrally located processing plants known as "creameries" that were founded in such places as Ellington, East Granby, Farmington, and Somers collected the cream from regional farmers. Although some grazing land was still used for cattle, dairying became widespread in the Central Valley by the early twentieth century. Large purebred dairy herds, including Guernseys and later Jerseys, were found in many communities. Although many prize herds had to be slaughtered after tuberculin testing became mandatory, dairying revived and continued generally until the 1940s. Larger dairy farms bottled and sold their milk locally but many served a wholesale urban market, here and in Massachusetts. Fresh whole milk and other dairy products were delivered to city suppliers daily by train or trolley. By the 1920s dairy farmers were at the mercy of urban dealers and formed trade cooperatives to get better prices. The first was the New England Milk Producers, but it was soon followed by a state association.

Some of the oldest orchards in the state are found in the Central Valley. Among them are the Lyman Orchards in Middlefield, the Rogers' Farm in Southington, the Root Brothers in Farmington, and the Hale Brothers' Farm in Glastonbury. All were started as family-run businesses in the nineteenth century; several are operated by their descendants today. Like other agricultural sectors, pomiculture became a science in this period. Owners experimented with new varieties of apples, some produced by grafting. Lyman was the first orchardist to experiment with a hardy variety of peaches in the state, another crop particularly suited to the less productive uplands, but the Roots and the Hales became the largest growers. The latter owned 2000 acres in Connecticut and 1000 acres in Georgia, all devoted to peaches. John H. Hale, who served as a representative to the General Assembly from Glastonbury, was largely responsible for the passage of the bill that transferred land grant funds from Yale to Storrs and in 1888 he became a trustee of the Agricultural College. When modern methods of storage and processing to retard ripening were introduced, fruit was shipped by rail to out-of-state urban markets. Although Glastonbury lacked rail service, the Hales reached local and national markets by shipping their produce on special freight cars of the Hartford Street Railway, a form of transportation that supplemented steamboat freight service on the Connecticut River. Both methods were also used by local industries.

The floriculture business flourished in the Connecticut Valley in the early twentieth century. Both plants and flowers have been shipped from Windsor since 1910. Some farmers there specialized in one type of flower, such as the cultivation of gladioli on the Clark farm in the

1920s. Bulbs were shipped internationally and the flowers sold in the New York flower market, the East Coast center of the wholesale trade. The first floriculture under cloth was introduced in Windsor. John E. Luddy of Windsor, who had experimented with recycling the cheesecloth used for shade tobacco and formed a company for its distribution, also developed special cloths for shade and insect protection for field-grown flowers, especially for asters. Due to the efforts of the A. N. Pierson family, Swedish immigrants, Cromwell became known as the rose capital of the world. With hundreds of acres under glass in steam-heated greenhouses, their business prospered until the mid-1900s. Like many American floral nurseries, however, it later succumbed to foreign competition from South American growers. Recent efforts to revive the business have met with limited success.

Another aspect of farming in this period was the contributions of a rural immigrant population that took over abandoned or marginal Central Valley farms and made them thrive anew in the early twentieth century. By 1910 fully a quarter of the farms in the state were owned or farmed by immigrants. In Hartford, Middlesex, and New Haven Counties, where the majority of Central Valley towns are located, there were 7058 farms, with first-generation immigrants living on 45 percent of them (3158). Generally, most ethnic farmers were former peasants from Italy, Eastern Europe, and the Scandinavian countries. Parenthetically, it should be noted that only 113 farms statewide were owned by African Americans at this time. Some immigrant Jewish farmers from Poland and Russia were supported by the Baron de Hirsch Fund, established in 1891. Several such communities in the Central Valley were located in Manchester, Bloomfield, and Ellington. In Ellington, Orthodox Jewish farmers, aided by the Jewish Agricultural Society (an offshoot of the Baron de Hirsh foundation), bought land and established a country synagogue in 1913.

Immigrant farmers also excelled at wholesale market gardening. Under the stewardship of Italian Americans, rural land around metropolitan New Haven became more productive than it had ever been in its history. A notable example was the large 275-acre truck farm run by the Cecarelli brothers in North Branford, which supplied New Haven and its satellites, as well as New York. Market gardening on a similar scale was introduced in Windsor in 1896 by the Christensen family. Several Germans also were involved in this business there by the 1920s; all had sizable farms and supplied the Hartford market. There was a substantial Italian-American farming community which started in the 1890s in South Glastonbury. Among the first immigrants there were John Carini and Luigi Piro; both had been railroad workers. Carini eventually had 1500 acres in orchards, vegetables, and berries. Piro worked for grower J. H. Hale and became his partner in 1906. Frank Saglio, who came to Glastonbury about 1900, became Hale's foreman, and later owned his own farm. His son Henry Saglio began Arbor Acres, a chicken breeding company, which later evolved into the Rockefeller-owned International Basic Economy Corporation (IBEC), an agribusiness with 18 national plants and research facilities and 23 plants overseas.

The majority of immigrant farmers, however, raised crops and animals solely for home consumption, supplementing their income by part-time or off-season work. Some found employment in the small factories located in most rural towns. In Windsor Lithuanians became the dominant ethnic group in Poquonock by 1900, either working in the mills or on tobacco farms there. Two-thirds of the people in rural Middlefield were first- or second-generation immigrants by 1930. Many were Poles who lived on small farms and worked in the town's industries at Rockfall and Baileyville. Never large enough a community to sustain their

own church, they attended mass at St. Mary of Czestochow Church in Middletown, the Polish church there. They did, however, perpetuate their customs and traditions through a local chapter of the Tadeusz Kosciusko Society, named for the Polish hero who participated in the American Revolution.

In the early twentieth century it was becoming more common to work in the center city and live in the country. The effect of the first commuters was negligible, but large-scale residential development began to swallow up farmland by the 1920s, a harbinger of the massive suburbanization that took place in the Central Valley in the modern period. Some of the first suburbanites were leaders of Hartford's financial and insurance world who purchased and restored older homes on Main Street in Farmington, continuing a long-standing relationship between these communities. But Farmington grew only moderately and was not yet a bedroom community.

Elsewhere in the Central Valley, farmland was divided for the first suburban developments in Hamden and West Hartford. Commuters had been taking the trolley along Farmington Avenue to Hartford since the 1880s, but West Hartford, with only 3500 people, was still largely rural in 1900. Two large farms there had been subdivided for residential development in 1896, one to the north and the other to the south of West Hartford Center, but little building took place in either development due to the lack of town services. After 1910, however, growth was rapid and dramatic. Between 1920 and 1930, the population of West Hartford grew to 25,000, a 250-percent increase. The original subdivisions became large streetcar suburbs, which were composed of Colonial and Tudor Revival cottages and bungalows, built on uniformly small lots with similar setbacks, under the land deed covenants required by the developers.

Hamden experienced a comparable rate of growth as a suburb of New Haven, tripling its population to reach 19,000 by 1930. Frederick Graves, a cigar manufacturer in New Haven, started the trend when he built *Lucerne*, a "castle" overlooking Lake Whitney in 1906. Affluent middle-class neighborhoods developed in the Whitneyville area, which housed Yale professors and owners of smaller New Haven industries and businesses. Some German factory workers in New Haven had already moved over the town line by 1910, and by 1930 several of the city's industries had relocated in Hamden, further stimulating growth.

As many towns later discovered, suburban growth was a mixed blessing which strained town resources and required more professional town management. West Hartford was a pioneer in progressive reorganization of its colonial town structure to meet the needs of a modern suburban community. In 1919 it abandoned the selectmen-town meeting system in favor of the first council-manager form of government in the state. In 1923 it led the nation as the first town to have a town planning and zoning committee. The town center blossomed with commercial buildings, which were restricted in height by zoning regulations. A major building program produced, in addition to water, sewer, and lighting systems, several new schools, including a second high school in 1923. Although students in Hamden continued to attend high school in New Haven until 1935, several brick grammar schools were constructed. Hamden also needed a new town hall. In 1924 an imposing structure with a rotunda was built on Whitney Avenue in Centerville. It was located on the former site of a tavern that had once served this colonial crossroads village.

Recreation and Leisure

With the steady decline in the length of the work day, leisure time increased during this period. Many opportunities for recreation and amusement could be found throughout the Central Valley. The wealthy rode in their carriages through the multitude of municipal parks in every city, which also attracted many strollers, bicyclers, and picnic-goers. People flocked to the many outdoor recreational facilities available in coastal and lakeside resorts, which contained summer cottages as well as resort hotels, beach clubs, and dance and bathing pavilions. City children came to "fresh air" camps in several communities, which were often run by local civic groups. In the New Haven area trolley lines ran to the beaches at Lighthouse Point Park and Savin Rock, and boating in the harbor was popular. Organized sports became increasingly popular and practically everyone joined a social or fraternal organization.

West Haven's Savin Rock and other resorts in the Central Valley, such as Lake Compounce in Southington and Crystal Lake in Ellington, often featured elegant hotels for the well-to-do. The Savin Rock House, first built in 1832, then remodeled in the 1860s, installed a French chef and was advertised as the leading "watering place" on the Connecticut coast. Soon summer "cottages," of some size and distinction, were built nearby overlooking Long Island Sound. Savin Rock also featured a place called "White City," Connecticut's own Coney Island. It became so popular with working families that a special direct trolley line from New Haven was built in 1901 and made the trip in 20 minutes. It was equipped with large open cars provided by the park owners. Lake Compounce, which could be reached by trolley from all the surrounding towns, also had its dance pavilion and featured a popular carousel. Parochial school students from Hartford often rode the trolley for a day's outing at a park built by the trolley company in Unionville in Farmington.

Urban dwellers became increasingly enamored of the pleasures of seasonal country living in this period, especially in Connecticut's Western Coastal Slope. But the Central Valley also had its rural charms and some of the first country retreats here were located on the highest points of the Metacomet Ridge. The best known is the Heublein Tower, built in 1915 on Talcott Mountain, a 875-foot promontory in Simsbury. Like an earlier and smaller tower in Avon, *Monte Video*, built as a retreat in 1845 by Daniel Wadsworth, the Heublein Tower commands a 360-degree view of the surrounding countryside. Designed by Smith and Bassette of Hartford, it is a steel and concrete six-story structure, 165 feet in height, which was engineered to withstand heavy wind loads. It was built as a seasonal residence for Gilbert F. Heublein, Hartford's food and beverage importer, who came here from Bavaria with his family in 1856. The tower was the centerpiece of a "rustic" camp complex located on 350 acres. Today the property is part of Talcott Mountain State Park, which covers more than 500 acres in Simsbury and Avon.

Recreational sports of all kinds were found in the Central Valley. Practically every city had a bicycle club in the late nineteenth century. The first "Columbias" produced by Pope in his Hartford bicycle factory, ungainly contraptions with outsize front wheels, became a common sight on Central Valley roads. Sporting events included sulky racing and team sports such as baseball. Trotting parks were located in several places, including Plainville, Middlefield, and Manchester. One in West Hartford, founded in 1873, became the Charter Oak Fairgrounds by the turn of the century. A Gentlemen's Driving Club took over the former Brewster Park in

New Haven and built a fine course there for racing. The "boys of summer" were getting organized in the Central Valley as early as 1869; the Connecticut Baseball League had its own field at Savin Rock and by 1907 there were baseball diamonds and semi-pro baseball teams in several towns, often sponsored by local firms. A state soccer league was organized in 1900 and the local Manchester team won the state championship in 1907. The Yale Bowl, built in 1914, brought many townspeople to root for the home football team. One of the more unusual recreational sports was indoor roller skating, which began in New Britain in the 1880s. Stanley Tool and Level, a major company there, was already making wooden wheels for a Boston roller skate manufacturer and may have been instrumental in converting one floor in Strickland Hall, a hotel, to an indoor rink.

Golf courses and country clubs catering to businessmen, first founded in the 1890s in New Haven, appeared all over the Central Valley by 1930. Among them were the New Haven Country Club of 1898, which took over a large farm in Whitneyville for its golf course and built a clubhouse on Lake Whitney's shore. The Shuttle Meadow Club was founded in 1916 by a number of industrialists in the New Britain area near the reservoir of that name. One founded in Farmington by Hartford insurance executives was popular with business leaders from New Britain and as far away as Waterbury.

Foreign commentators on the American scene such as Alexis de Tocqueville had characterized America as a nation of joiners as early as the 1830s, but even this perceptive Frenchman would have been amazed at the extent of the practice in the industrial period. In addition to the many ethnic societies and fraternal organizations that proliferated in the Central Valley, civic booster organizations such as the Chamber of Commerce or Rotary, Elks, and Moose were established by the early 1900s. In major cities lodges often occupied monumental buildings, such as the Renaissance Revival structure in Hartford built in 1903 for the B. P. O. Elks, organized there in 1884. Masonic orders well established before the Revolution often built new lodge buildings at this time. Some were residential in appearance, such as the Second Empire Masonic temple facing the South Green in Middletown; others were more formal classically styled masonry buildings such as the two Masonic temples built in New Haven in 1926, one in Westville, the other on Whitney Avenue. Hartford's Masonic Hall, built in 1894, was an eclectic building, combining Moorish and Chateauesque influences in it design. The Prince Hall Lodge, founded in Boston in the 1780s, became a nationwide black freemasonry society in the 1860s. Primarily concerned with education and civil rights, its lodges, such as the one in Hartford, were also social centers for urban African-American communities. By 1924 the Grand Lodge of Negro Masons purchased New Haven's Goffe Street School for its headquarters. Business and university clubs were another type of organization often contributing elegant buildings to the downtown streetscape. Children's groups included the first Boy Scout troop in the state, founded in East Hartford in 1907.

Soon after the first American branch of the international Young Men's Christian Association was founded in Boston in 1850, there were YMCAs in several cities in the Central Valley, including one in Hartford in 1852 and another in New Britain in 1856, although neither group had its own building until much later in the century. One of the programs in Hartford provided manual and academic training for young men seeking employment, which was formalized in 1892 through the Hillyer Institute, named for General Charles T. Hillyer, one of the YMCA's strongest supporters. Later this school became the junior college which evolved into the University of Hartford. The Hartford County YMCA was founded in 1918 and the

two Hartford-based organizations, which merged in 1972, served the metropolitan area. Reflecting some societal changes, working single women founded their comparable organizations by the 1880s in Hartford and New Haven. The New Haven YWCA started the Women's Exchange in 1891 so that middle-class women could sell homemade goods anonymously. In New Britain, after renting an existing house for five years, the YWCA built a modern building in 1915, complete with a gymnasium and living quarters on the upper floors. "Y" buildings for both men and women can be found today in the downtowns of most cities, including the Georgian Revival one built in 1929 in Middletown. "Y" camps for children founded in the early twentieth century include one at Job's Pond in Portland, sponsored by the Middletown group, and those founded by Hartford's organizations.

There were several organizations associated with the deepening interest in America's colonial heritage in the early twentieth century. Antiquarians and genealogists became members of existing historical societies, and founded new groups. Among them were local chapters of the Daughters of the American Revolution and the Colonial Dames. The New Haven Colony Historical Society, which was founded in 1862 and first met in city hall, made its final move to its Whitney Avenue building in 1929. The somewhat later Connecticut Antiquarian and Landmarks Society, founded in 1936, owns and maintains several house museums in the Central Valley, including the Butler-McCook House built in 1782, the oldest remaining building in Hartford's downtown. Many of the other historical societies founded in this period eventually located in restored historic houses, such as the Mather-Mansfield House in Middletown, home of Joseph King Mansfield, the Civil War general killed at Antietam, or the Noah Webster House in West Hartford, or, as was the case for the Glastonbury society, in old town halls. In Hartford the Stowe-Day Foundation (now the Harroet Beecher Stowe Center), founded in 1941, preserved the Harriet Beecher Stowe House and later opened it to the public. By 1952 the Connecticut Historical Society, formerly housed in the Wadsworth Atheneum in Hartford, made the home of Hartford industrialist Curtis Veeder on Elizabeth Street its headquarters.

Victorian and Early Twentieth-Century Revival Architecture

Rapid advances in technology and the wealth generated by the Industrial Revolution produced an almost limitless appetite for new goods and services and a general improvement in the standard of living. Nowhere was this trend more apparent than in the stylish homes and buildings of the Victorian period. Freed from the design restrictions imposed by traditional post-and-beam framing methods, architects and builders created an unprecedented range and variety of styles. Utilizing machine-made architectural detail and applied ornamentation, combined with the new asymmetrical massing of forms and more complex floor plans made possible by mass-produced building components, they produced an array of successive architectural styles to met the demands of an almost capricious public.

The Central Valley had many high-style practitioners, architects who designed the monumental buildings and the estates of the wealthy in the grand manner. Their designs became models for countless vernacular variations disseminated to the public by imitation and through pattern books, often produced by architectural firms. Some of the leaders of the earlier

Romantic period, such as Alexander Jackson Davis and Henry Austin, continued in practice. Newcomers entering the field often trained in Europe and, although many who practiced in the Central Valley were based in New York or Boston, by the twentieth century architectural firms proliferated in New Haven and Hartford.

The field of architecture became increasingly professionalized in this period. The mentor-apprentice system was gradually replaced by rigorous academic training in architecture schools. By the 1860s the first of many young Americans attended the École des Beaux-Arts in Paris, which was a major influence on American architecture by the turn of the century. Among them were several of national prominence who are represented in the Central Valley, including Henry Hobson Richardson (1838-1886) and James Gamble Rogers. Architectural training was available closer to home at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in 1854 and by 1881 at Columbia University, where a school of architecture was founded in 1896. In Connecticut, architecture was studied as part of the curriculum at Yale's School of Art, founded in 1864, but architecture as a discipline was not introduced until the early twentieth century. By 1942 the first undergraduate degree in architecture was awarded. For many years the program was a department of the Art and Architecture School until the separate Yale School of Architecture was founded in 1972. Other signs of professionalism were the creation of professional journals, such as *American Architect and Building News*, and the licensing of architects in the state in 1933. The American Institute of Architects (AIA), which was founded in New York in 1857 and set standards for the profession, had a Connecticut chapter in New Haven by 1902. The influential Architectural Club was founded there in 1919 and sponsored yearly exhibitions of the work of Connecticut architects. By 1942 the Connecticut Society of Architects (CSA) was established in New Haven. CSA merged with the earlier Connecticut chapter of AIA in 1966 and in 1992 was renamed AIA Connecticut.

Victorian domestic architecture was characterized by a high degree of ornamentation and elaboration of surface, and a rich multichrome palette. The subtle earth tones of mid-century were replaced by schemes that used as many as five colors to accentuate the detailing in the High Victorian period. In general, the styles were derived from ancient and contemporary European architecture. The Italianate style, which is found throughout the Central Valley in both urban and rural settings, utilized a cube form with a low hipped roof, often capped with a cupola or belvedere. Heavy scrolled eave brackets were an essential characteristic of the style and entrances commonly displayed a Tuscan porch or doorhood supported by scrolled brackets. Because of its simple form and massing, the Italianate style lent itself to two-family urban housing in many cities. One of the most elaborate Italianates in the region was built for John Graves in 1862. Located on Hillhouse Avenue, New Haven's "quality row," it was designed by Frederick Withers (1818-1895), one of several English architects who came to the United States to study with Andrew Jackson Downing. A "modern" style, the Second Empire, was in vogue in France between 1850 and 1870 and was briefly fashionable in America after the Civil War. Always crowned with a slated mansard roof supported by eave brackets, the style was originated by a seventeenth-century French architect, François Mansart.

Early seventeenth-century English precedents were the basis of the Stick, Shingle, and Queen Anne styles. As with most domestic Victorian architecture, deep front porches or wraparound verandas were common features. Each style was characterized by a special surface treatment but elements of all three styles were combined freely. In the Stick style, the framing system was articulated on the exterior by horizontal, vertical, and diagonal trim boards. In highly

evolved examples, heavier three-dimensional Eastlake detailing was present. In the Shingle style, as its name implies, shingles wrapped around the wall surface and often curved into recessed windows and porches. The Queen Anne, one of the most popular residential styles of the Victorian era, often characterized by a corner tower or turret, employed irregular floor plans and massing of roof volumes, along with a variety of contrasting sheathing materials. Large houses of this style were a popular choice in middle-class neighborhoods such as the one that developed around Walnut Hill Park in New Britain, which was designed by Frederick Law Olmsted about 1870. Among the houses that border this 98-acre city park is the Queen Anne (Photograph 17) built for Charles W. Lines, owner of a commercial gristmill and a feed and grain store. Like many turn-of-the-century Queen Anne houses, it also utilized elements of the Colonial Revival style, just making an appearance at that time.

Utilizing Victorian pattern books, mail-order floor plans, and readily available millwork, builders and developers interpreted all of these styles, especially in urban residential areas. Blocks of houses, often distinguished from one another only by porch placement or reversal of plans, were found in many streetcar neighborhoods. They were individualized by machine-made detailing, combined in various ways on verandas and entrance porches. John Mead (1840-1889), an architect/builder in Hartford, employed 60 people in his millwork shop to make components for his Queen Anne and Stick-style houses for the middle class. By the 1870s source books gave way to mail-order plans complete with materials lists and cost estimates.

Several styles of the late nineteenth century almost exclusively limited to institutional architecture were the High Victorian Gothic and Romanesque and Renaissance Revivals. One of the most noted practitioners of the High Victorian Gothic, which carried the Gothic Revival to new heights of elaboration in its detailing and polychrome work, was Edward Tuckerman Potter (1831-1904). Trained in the office of Richard Upjohn, the leading ecclesiastical architect of the period, Potter designed three buildings in this style in Hartford: the Church of the Good Shepherd and its Parish House, both built for Elizabeth Colt, and the Mark Twain House. The church, built in 1874, is noted for its polychrome masonry, unusual detailing such as crossed pistols over the south entrance, and fine interior. The 1896 Parish House, built after the style was long out of fashion, takes a nautical theme for its design, including its boat shape, and is even more elaborately detailed. But the most extraordinary expression of this style was the 1874 Mark Twain House, one of few residential examples of Potter's work. In addition to its elaborate Gothic, Swiss, and French exterior of painted brick and wood, the house, now known as the Mark Twain Memorial, is noted for its richly detailed interior, especially the three-story entrance hall, all decorated by Louis Comfort Tiffany's Associated Artists in 1881. The High Victorian Gothic was also employed for civic buildings and schools, some of which have been destroyed or altered, such as the Hartford Public High School of 1883 which was demolished 80 years later for Interstate 84, and the 1861 City Hall in New Haven. Only part of the facade remains of this latter work designed by Henry Austin. Several examples remain elsewhere, however, including the Victorian Gothic Center School in North Haven, attributed to Solomon F. Linsley (1830-1901), a prolific self-trained architect who designed more than 30 local buildings. His other works include Memorial Hall (town hall), an unusual Queen Anne-style public building made of patterned brick from a local brickyard.

The most imposing building constructed in the late nineteenth century in the Central Valley was the new State Capitol, the only High Victorian Gothic statehouse in the nation (Photograph 14). After Hartford became the sole capital of the state in 1875, there was no

general consensus on the appropriate style and form for a late nineteenth-century statehouse when plans were made to build the new Capitol. A commission held two design competitions but was still unable to select a winner. Instead, New York architect Richard M. Upjohn (1827-1903) was appointed and he designed an ornate Gothic building with a clocktower. Most of Upjohn's design was used, but in the final plan (a surprisingly successful marriage of traditional and progressive styles), at the direction of the General Assembly the clocktower was discarded in favor of a large classical dome, a design element that had appeared in proposals for the Capitol as early as 1855.

Both the Renaissance and Romanesque Revivals took their inspiration from Italian precedents. The Renaissance Revival, modeled after the urban palaces of Northern Italy of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, was especially adaptable to large free-standing commercial buildings such as the United Illuminating Company Building of 1909 on Temple Street in New Haven. Designed by Roy T. Foote, one of the leading architects there in the early 1900s, its monochrome facades utilize a combination of marble, faceted brick, and terra cotta. The Roman arch and often a prominent bracketed cornice distinguished the buildings of the Romanesque Revival, a style often employed for downtown business blocks. The facades of numerous brick apartment buildings were often enlivened by these revival styles.

A uniquely American version was Richardsonian Romanesque, introduced by Henry Hobson Richardson and popularized by some of his contemporaries. Charles McKim and Stanford White, his pupils, practiced in this style in the early years of their careers. The Richardsonian interpretation of the Romanesque is characterized by rusticated stone and multiple arches, especially a cavernous Syrian arch, supported by truncated columns. The Central Valley's only example of Richardson's work is the Cheney Building, which was built in 1876 in Hartford's downtown. Stanford White (1853-1906), then a young associate, was the supervising architect. Constructed for residential and commercial use by the Cheney brothers of Manchester, for many years it housed Brown, Thompson & Company, a department store, on its lower floors. White, as a principal in McKim, Mead, and White of New York City, also designed several country estates for the Cheney family in Manchester. The Richardsonian influence spread in the Central Valley to Simsbury, where the Belden School combined the arches and rustication of this style with Gothic elements, particularly parapets and stepped corner buttresses. It was designed by Edward T. Hapgood (1866-1915), a major architect in greater Hartford. The United Methodist Church in New Britain, another example, was designed by A. P. Cutting of Worcester, Massachusetts. Occasionally the arched element of this style is combined with Queen Anne massing in residential masonry buildings. Such is the case in the exceptional and well-preserved 1893 Mary Borden Munsill House in Hartford, which also has a fine companion carriage house. The architect is not known.

By the turn of the century two more revivals were in progress that dominated American architecture for the rest of this period. One was a revival of classical architecture, fostered in part by the influence of the École des Beaux-Arts in Paris; the other, the Colonial Revival, looked to America's past for its inspiration. Beaux-Arts Classicism and Neo-Classicism were almost exclusively reserved for public monumental buildings, part of the "City Beautiful" movement of the early twentieth century. The initial impetus for the movement was the Chicago Exposition of 1893, where "White City" was constructed, a grand temporary assemblage of classical buildings, all sprayed with white plaster and designed by leading architects.

Several civic buildings designed in the classical manner face the New Haven Green: the Post Office and Federal District Court, built in 1913, and the New Haven County Courthouse of 1909. The former, designed by James Gamble Rogers, has an elongated temple-fronted facade stretched out along the Church Street side of the green. The County Courthouse, designed by the partnership of William Allen and Richard Williams, expresses the Greco-Roman feeling that predominated in Neo-Classicism at this time. Cass Gilbert (1858-1934), the noted designer of the Beaux-Arts Customs House in New York City, also designed several buildings in New Haven which were part and parcel of the civic improvement plan he created with Frederick Olmsted, Jr.: the 1908 Public Library, facing the Green from the Elm Street side, and Union Station. In Gilbert's original concept, the station was to serve as the gateway to the city, with a broad plaza and a boulevard running all the way to the Green, but these plans were not carried out.

Hartford met its special obligation as the capital with some of the most impressive classical buildings in the state. In their design and siting, they exemplified the type of building proposed by the New York architectural firm of Carrère and Hastings in its plan for Hartford in 1912. The first was the State Library and Supreme Court Building, designed by Donn Barber and Edward T. Hapgood (1866-1915), and located just south of the Capitol. Broad stairs lead up to its central projecting porch fronted by paired colossal columns, all features characteristic of this style.[19] The later Connecticut State Office Building by H. Hilliard Smith and Roy D. Bassette (1881-1965) of Hartford illustrates the progression of the classical movement toward the Moderne and Art Deco styles of the 1930s. Although still monumental in scale, the facade has a simplified planar quality and its detailing is restrained.

The care and attention given to the design and siting of the Bulkeley Bridge as a city monument make it significant part of the urban beautification movement (Photograph 21). A graceful, classically detailed stone-arched structure, it was designed by architect Edmund M. Wheelwright and engineer Edwin D. Graves. Reputedly, the designs of many ancient European bridges were studied before they arrived at their final plan. No expense was spared to make the "new bridge an ornament [to the city] which should endure forever."[20] When the bridge was completed in 1908, broad tree-lined avenues made a grand approach on the Hartford side of the river. The Colonial Revival used colonial forms and adapted Georgian and Federal detailing freely in domestic as well as civic and commercial architecture. So popular was this style that many older Victorians were colonialized and their polychrome palette uniformly hidden under a coat of white paint. The more high-style Georgian Revival was often employed for schools and other civic architecture, as well as grander mansions, and often executed in brick with limestone or white-painted trim.

America's love affair with the Colonial Revival was fostered by architecture journals and other publications, particularly the *White Pine Series of Architectural Monographs*, which started publishing in 1915. Connecticut's J. Frederick Kelly wrote and illustrated *The Early Domestic Architecture of Connecticut*, which was based on his own research and first published in the 1920s. Kelly himself did some architectural design and a number of restorations. His assistant, Delphina L. M. Clark, the first woman admitted to the Yale School of Art and Architecture, is credited with the restoration of a c. 1740 house in Hastings Hill in Suffield. Kelly's largest commission, the 1929 building for the New Haven Colony Historical Society, is a veritable pastiche of historical allusions, reflecting his detailed knowledge of design precedents. Restoration of buildings in the Town of Litchfield in the Northwest Highlands of Connecticut was also a powerful symbol of the Colonial Revival movement. Essentially a nostalgic recreation of a colonial village, the result inspired many imitators, and many elaborate

"restorations" in the Georgian Revival mode. One of its most famous Palladian houses, the Deming House, built in 1794, was a model for at least three houses in New Haven's affluent neighborhoods in this period.

The home built in 1908 for Charles Coyle, a New Haven Irish-American entrepreneur, is probably that city's finest example of the Georgian Revival. Coyle was the developer of several blocks between Whitney Avenue and the Mill River, just below Lake Whitney. His house, prominently sited on the avenue, approaches the scale and elaboration of some Newport, Rhode Island, mansions. Among the many palatial homes built in this style in Hartford were a number on the western border, including the Georgian Revival Governor's Mansion, originally the home of Doctor George C. F. Williams, which was purchased by the state in 1943. Other homes of this style in the area belonged to Hartford elites, such as Beatrice Fox Auerbach, owner of G. Fox & Company, and Alfred Fuller, founder of the Fuller Brush Company.

Two women were designing buildings in this style in the Central Valley. Alice Washburn, a designer/builder working in the Greater New Haven area in the late 1920s, created a number of comfortable suburban Colonial and Georgian Revival houses, including many in Hamden's Spring Glen. Theodate Pope Riddle (1867-1946), perhaps the better known of the two, was the daughter of Hartford industrialist Alfred A. Pope. She assisted Stanford White in the design of Hill-Stead, her parents' home in Farmington, now an art museum. After she designed several cottages in the village, Riddle's most ambitious work was Avon Old Farms School, where she worked exclusively in a medieval English manner which approaches the Tudor Revival.

The Tudor Revival, employing half-timbering and steeply pitched slated roofs, was one of several popular styles for urban and suburban residential architecture. Other types of buildings constructed in this style in the Central Valley included schools and firehouses that served urban neighborhoods, with particularly notable examples in the Blue Hills section of Hartford. An occasional Tudor Revival apartment house graced the urban scene, such as the 1919 Cambridge Arms in New Haven. A hip-roofed house with a cube form, called the Four-Square, was another urban style, often displaying Colonial Revival features. Another was the popular Bungalow, adapted from an Anglo-Indian house type, which was characterized by low sweeping front porches supported by heavy posts. Bungalows also displayed some influences of the Arts and Crafts style, which advocated the use of hand-crafted detail and natural materials, particularly wood shingles and stone. This type of house is often found in early subdivisions, such as Strong Court in Plainville or the Meriden Avenue/Oakland Hill Road district, a middle-class neighborhood in Southington, where Bungalows, Four-Squares, and Colonial Revivals lined the streets. Although primarily the work of suburban builders and developers, houses were also mass-produced in this period. Ready-cut houses in most of these styles could be selected from the catalogs of Sears Roebuck, Montgomery Ward, and the Alladin Company. They were shipped by rail to cities as well as rural towns, arriving with each piece marked for easy assembly by the owner.

Collegiate Architecture

There was considerable institutional development at the colleges of the Central Valley, spurred on by the more broadly ranging curriculum required in the Industrial Age. Starting in the late nineteenth century, higher education became increasingly specialized; new buildings were needed for newly organized departments in the sciences and professions. Trinity made an impressive new beginning at its present site in Hartford; both Yale and Wesleyan continued to

expand their existing facilities, with Yale engaged in a major building program by the end of this period. Some of the most prestigious architects of the day joined with others already practicing in the Central Valley, designing major buildings that adapted some leading architectural styles to an academic setting.

After Trinity sold its campus to the state in 1872 as the site for the new Capitol, the college had five years to select a new location and complete the move. In fact, it was not until 1878 that the last of Trinity's old buildings was demolished, the year that the first buildings at the new 100-acre campus were completed. During that period Abner Jackson, the college president, toured England, visiting academic institutions, and selected English architect William Burges (1827-1881) to design the new campus. Frederick Law Olmsted assisted in the site-selection process, and surveyed and landscaped the new campus. As originally designed, the Burges plan consisted of four quadrangles in the Gothic Revival style. Only a portion of the original plan was built, the western facade of the original central quadrangle, known today as the Long Walk (Photograph 15). Bordering the western edge of the campus on Summit Street, it includes Jarvis and Seabury Halls, completed in 1878, and the final elements, Northham Towers, finished in 1881. Construction was supervised by Francis Kimball (1845-1919), a New York architect who had journeyed to England to help prepare the plans. Reputedly modeled on Trinity College at Oxford, the final design actually incorporated borrowings from several English and Scottish institutions that had appealed to President Jackson. Although there have been numerous additions to the campus since that time, including four residence halls by 1930, one of the most notable was the Chapel, designed in the English Perpendicular Gothic style by Philip H. Frohman (1887-1972). He was a principal in the Washington, D. C., firm of Frohman, Robb, and Little, best known for the National Cathedral in that city. Situated on the north side of the campus and built of Indiana limestone, the 165-foot Trinity Chapel, which was finished in 1932, incorporates elements of medieval cathedral architecture from the twelfth to the fourteenth centuries and is noted for its stained-glass windows and elaborate carvings. Other significant contributions to the campus include the 1914 Williams Memorial by Benjamin Wistar Morris III (1870-1944), a New York architect and graduate of the École des Beaux-Arts who had roots in Hartford. A graduate of Trinity, Morris had married the daughter of the Reverend Francis Goodwin. Development took place along the south side of the campus in the 1930s, with a number of the buildings designed by the architectural firm of McKim, Mead, and White.

Wesleyan College also embraced the Gothic Revival when it came time to add to the original cluster of brownstone buildings there. Rich Hall (now 92 Theater), built as the library, and Memorial Chapel, which commemorated students who died in the Civil War, completed "Brownstone Row" by 1871. By the end of the century other distinguished buildings included the 1872 Judd Hall, the first location of the Connecticut Agricultural Experiment Station and designed in the Second Empire style by Bryant and Rogers. The firm was considered to be the largest practicing in Boston at that time and already was known for its design of the 1865 Boston City Hall of the same style. Josiah Cleveland Cady (1837-1919), another graduate of Trinity and trained in the office of Alexander Jackson Davis, also made his mark on the campus in this period. The principal in the firm of Cady, Berg & See of New York, he specialized in collegiate architecture and also designed buildings at Trinity and Yale. At Wesleyan, his first commission was the Fayerwether Gymnasium, designed in the Romanesque Revival style and constructed of brownstone. Its facade is set off by round towers with conical roofs and displays diminutive half-round pilasters and a series of round-arched windows at the second story. Only the west end was built in 1894; the east end is a

replica completed in 1913 by Henry Bacon (1860-1924), the college's resident architect. The gymnasium flanks Andrus Field on the north and faces Olin Library, a quite different building at the south end of the field designed by McKim, Mead, and White, assisted by Henry Bacon. A monumental example of Academic Classicism, it has a massive entrance portico on its south and principal facade on Church Street. The secondary facade facing the playing field is set off by stepped terraces bordered by classical balustrades, the traditional site for graduation ceremonies. Other key buildings include Cady's 1904 Wilbur Fiske Hall, another example of Academic Classicism, and Scott Laboratory, a Renaissance Revival building completed in 1903, which was designed by Charles Rich of New York. The small-town atmosphere of the campus is preserved in a number of exceptionally fine early nineteenth-century residential and fraternity buildings along High Street, its western border, which include the Greek Revival Samuel Russell House.

After the Revolution Yale had joined Connecticut Hall to a row of brick buildings facing the New Haven Green and had initiated its first building program outside the downtown on Hillhouse Avenue. The first of the Collegiate Gothic residence halls designed by Russell Sturgis (1838-1909) of New York were built along College and Elm Streets after the Civil War, the start of the enclosure of the blocks that make up the central campus. Since that time the brick row was demolished, but Connecticut Hall was preserved in the courtyard of the old campus behind the College Street buildings. Its original gambrel roof was recreated and a matching building, McClellen Hall, was built to the west in 1925.

By the turn of the century J. Cleveland Cady was the chief architect at Yale, designing 14 buildings, of which only five survive. Among them is the 1894 Hendrie Hall on Elm Street for the Yale Law School. Only the facade of this Renaissance Revival building is articulated; the side elevations were left blank in anticipation of adjoining buildings that never materialized. Reminiscent of an urban *palazzo*, the relatively plain facade is adorned with a typical *piano nobile*. The Renaissance Revival is employed more conventionally in Cady's Sheffield Laboratory of Engineering Mechanics built the same year, which has the diminishing height of successive stories, as well as the multiplication of small round-arched windows at the upper levels typically associated with this style.

John Gamble Rogers emerged as Cady's successor at Yale. A Yale student who also studied at the École des Beaux-Arts, Rogers practiced in Chicago before he opened his New York office in 1894. Although he became well-known as a practitioner of the Georgian Revival, his first major works at Yale were Neo-Gothic Revival towers: Harkness Memorial Tower, built in 1917, followed by the 1927 Sterling Law Buildings and the 1930 Sterling Memorial Library, the start of the building program funded by major bequests from the Harkness and Sterling families. All three buildings are highly ornamented and the Law Buildings, in particular, with multi-crocketted and pinnacled towers at each corner, resemble a Gothic cathedral.

A series of ten colleges (later 12), modeled after English university plans, were built between 1917 and 1930, mostly designed by Rogers. With the colleges Rogers successfully combined Georgian and Gothic Revival design elements to produce picturesque and highly individual masonry buildings which incorporate inner courtyards and quadrangles accessed by gated walk- and passageways. In evaluating his work at Yale, architectural historian Elizabeth Mills Brown found that in combining styles, Rogers contrived a historical metaphor and the illusion of great age; his deliberate irregularities and idiosyncratic treatments condensed centuries of European university tradition.[21]

V. MODERN PERIOD 1930-1990

The Great Depression and World War II were the major events of the modern period. The Depression not only created massive unemployment and considerable human distress, but it also began to erode the state's urban industrial base. World War II was a watershed for the nation. What followed was nothing less than a social and economic revolution; the structure of society was fundamentally changed by several major national trends. The central issues that had far-reaching consequences for the state as a whole, and the Central Valley in particular, were major national geographic population shifts; the restructuring and relocation of business and industry; and finally, suburbanization, which was accompanied by a decentralization of the economy, government, and many of society's institutions.

Because of the development of interstate highway travel in the postwar period, the Central Valley is part of what geographers call the "mainstream," the densely populated East Coast megalopolis. In Connecticut it extends along the coast and at New Haven swings up through the center of the state, encompassing much of the Central Valley. Most of the people in the state live in the mainstream region and today 58 percent of the state's population is located in the Central Valley. Connecticut's population almost doubled and reached about 3.3 million in 1990. Since 1970, however, both the region and the state have experienced less than six percent growth, as many people have left Connecticut seeking new jobs, a trend only partially offset by natural increase and in-migration.

Prior to World War II Connecticut was a major contributor to the industrial economy of the Northeast, the nation's leader in manufacturing. After the war national regional differences declined: the South and the West grew twice as fast as the older industrial Northeast, experiencing both population and industrial growth. Although 35 of the top Fortune 500 firms were headquartered in the state by 1983, with one fourth in the Central Valley, more than half of Connecticut's industry was controlled from outside the state by multi-national conglomerates, and the actual production of durable goods within the state declined. The transition from an industrial base to a suburban service economy was rapid. In 1940 two-thirds of the state's labor force were "blue collar" workers. By 1950 there was almost a complete turnaround, with 61 percent in clerical, service, or managerial positions. Between 1969 and 1974, a period when urban industry often relocated, only 5000 new jobs were created in urban centers but 60,000 new jobs were added to the suburban labor force. Much of this latter growth was in the service sector of the economy and included employees of some of the national conglomerates. The impact of computer-age technology and the "information superhighway," which has already changed the way services are delivered and often even the location of the workplace, is just beginning to affect this sector of the economy.

In the last 40 years macro demographic changes have impacted Connecticut. There have been massive relocations of several population groups. Until 1940 the South was still home to 77 percent of the country's African-American population but that region's dependence on sharecropping and tenant farming virtually disappeared with the mechanization of agriculture. Within a generation the majority of blacks nationally were Northern urban dwellers. Many who came North seeking employment during World War II settled in Connecticut's cities.

Other major migrant groups have been of Hispanic origin, including Puerto Ricans, who also came in great numbers to Connecticut in the postwar period. Because of several postwar changes in immigration laws, mainly the Displaced Persons Act of 1948 and the Immigration Act of 1965, which abolished the national quota system, there was also renewed immigration from abroad. The initial period of renewed immigration from war-torn Europe, which reached 350,000 a year nationally in the 1960s, was followed by immigration from Asia, especially after the Vietnam War.

The postwar development of suburbia in the Central Valley rapidly reversed the urbanization of the previous period. At the start of the Depression the majority of people in the region lived in urban centers, a pattern that continued through 1940. At that time 80 percent of its urban population was still located in Hartford and New Haven. A decade later less than half were still urban dwellers, and by 1990 less than 20 percent still lived in these cities. Suburban sprawl has created large overlapping metropolitan regions around the principal cities and dramatic population growth in the state's formerly rural towns. Business and industry followed people to suburbia, a trend which virtually eliminated much of the historic role of urban centers, sapped them of their vitality, and substantially reduced their tax base. Ultimately and most importantly, suburbanization created a dichotomous society, with totally different goals, needs, and aspirations. As towns in the Central Valley reorganized, planned, and built to accommodate a largely affluent middle class, its cities struggled with loss of population and revenue, deteriorating housing stock, poverty, racial tension, and crime. A host of federally sponsored urban renewal programs have failed to solve the massive social problems of the inner city and, in the minds of many, have exacerbated rather than halted urban decay.

The Great Depression and Wartime Recovery

The effects of the Great Depression were felt almost immediately in the industrial centers of the Central Valley. There was an abrupt decline in national markets for machinery, textiles, and durable goods. Banks closed in New Haven and New Britain in 1930. Twelve banks in the state were in receivership by 1932 and it is estimated that 150,000 people were out of work statewide. As many as 14,500 in Hartford and 13,000 in New Haven were unemployed. For a time the distress in New Haven was offset by the completion of the major building program at Yale University. To limit layoffs, some companies were able to "spread the work," with shorter hours and lower wages. Among them were Ensign-Bickford in Simsbury, which managed to do so throughout the Depression, and the Cheney Mills in Manchester, but in most cases this approach proved to be only a stopgap measure. Unemployment in the state reached 14.5 percent by April 1933 and payrolls had dropped by 30 percent. Almost half the workers in Plainville, New Britain, and Windsor Locks had been laid off and many businesses in these locations shut down for the duration. Hunger marchers surrounded the State Capitol to ask for relief. Despite a state "dirt roads" bill that pumped $3 million into the economy and was divided equally among the towns, and $100,000 appropriated for work in state forests, public and private charities and town poor-relief programs were swamped by the scale of the need.

President Franklin Delano Roosevelt took office in March 1933, and in the first 100 days of his administration helped restore public confidence in the economy with New Deal programs designed to reduce the staggering unemployment. By 1934 New Deal agencies had pumped $90 million into the state. One of the first was the Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA), which reimbursed the state for unemployment relief. The first $800,000 to Connecticut was used to partially reimburse towns for money already expended. By 1936 cash expenditures of $34 million and $2.7 million in commodities had been dispensed under FERA.

The Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) was a federal program which employed 30,000 young men in Connecticut before it ended in 1942. It was administered by the state's Park and Forest Commission. The first group of 3000 were selected and started to work in state forests in the late spring of 1933. Connecticut's state park system had been established in 1913 but the CCC was the first concerted effort to improve state-owned forests for recreational use. Very little land in the Central Valley had been set aside or donated for state forests or parks, but several road-building, reforestation, and construction projects took place, often with the assistance of other federal relief agencies. Sleeping Giant Park in Hamden was originally started by a private association that acquired 197 acres of land there and turned them over to the state in 1925. Private intervention had been necessary to save this distinctive rock formation from destructive traprock quarrying, which had become a major industry in several places along the Metacomet Ridge. A handsome 50-foot stone Romanesque tower and pavilion were erected in 1937 at the peak, one of three observation towers built by the CCC in the state system. It also built rustic pavilions and shelters at Stratton Brook State Park, part of the Massacoe State Forest in Simsbury, and Shade Swamp Sanctuary in Farmington.

The National Industrial Recovery Act established the Public Works Administration (PWA) to provide grants and loans for locally initiated capital improvement projects. In Connecticut 40,000 people were almost immediately put back to work statewide. But more than three times as many had applied for the available jobs, and local relief efforts were still needed. New Haven's mayor reported he was still feeding 14,000 people in 1934. By June 1937 a total of $50 million had been spent statewide on the construction of roads, schools, and municipal buildings. Construction of new buildings at Connecticut Valley Hospital in Middletown, which was part of a major renovation of state-owned facilities in 1938, was funded by both PWA and state bonds. The campus of the former Long Lane Industrial School for Girls was rebuilt in the Colonial Revival style. Privately founded in 1857, the school had been taken over by the state and today is coeducational. By 1935 the Works Progress Administration (WPA) was in place to fund smaller projects, such as a post office in Glastonbury, the town hall in West Hartford, and a public golf clubhouse in New Britain. Under this program many artists painted murals in the region's schools.

The Reconstruction Finance Corporation (RFC), set up under the Hoover administration, continued to provide loans to business and industry. Among the recipients of more than $20 million dispensed in the state were 29 failing banks. Cheney Mills in Manchester was a typical example of industries that applied for loans under this program. Already in a period of retrenchment that had started before the Depression, when it had sold off many of its facilities to the town, the company now declared bankruptcy. As a condition of its loan, it was required to divest its residential holdings, and company houses were sold at auction, often to current tenants. Desperately needed home mortgage refinancing was provided by the Home Owner's Loan Corporation (HOLC), a program which provided over $22 million in the state.

Relatively few new businesses were started in this period but one in the Central Valley was directly the result of Depression-era conditions. People were having trouble paying their hospitals bills in advance, as was required at that time. In 1936 this problem was addressed in New Haven by a new nonprofit member organization called the Hospital Service Fund. It first met in the Chamber of Commerce building, but within a year the membership had grown to 12,000 and a new rental office was found on Temple Street. By the end of 1939 the plan had 120,000 members and was authorized by the General Assembly to expand statewide. At that time it adopted the blue cross logo under which it is known today. Consolidated as Blue Cross & Blue Shield of Connecticut in 1977, it now serves the entire state from its North Haven location.

Just as the general economy was showing signs of recovery, a major flood hit the Connecticut Valley. Although the river towns had experienced several severe floods in their history, the flood of 1936 was a record breaker, cresting at 37.5 feet. Hartford, with damage amounting to $35 million, the largest disaster in its history, was inundated, with much of the East Side all the way to Bushnell Park flooded out. Over 1000 CCC and WPA workers were brought in to work on the cleanup and to disinfect the buildings. Three million dollars in federal WPA funds were immediately allocated to flood relief, adding to the two million already pledged by Hartford's business community. Altogether, 5000 people in the capital city, East Hartford, and downriver at Glastonbury and Middletown were evacuated. Fortunately, just two years earlier the National Red Cross had sent out word to its branches to set up disaster relief committees. Because of this foresight and the help of the National Guard, the Coast Guard, and the naval militia, evacuations were orderly and there were only five deaths.

Only two years later the scenario was repeated during the hurricane of 1938. Adding to the flood damage, almost a repeat of the earlier disaster, was the destructive wind force that toppled trees and power lines. Many churches in the region lost their steeples and sometimes even their roofs, as was the case with Glastonbury's Congregational Church. At Wesleyan University the Chapel spire collapsed into the building just after the student body had left, one of four steeples destroyed in Middletown. Connecticut, a shambles with 85 dead and all communication cut off, sustained incredible financial losses totaling $58 million. Of the 15 towns that had at least one million dollars in property damage, seven were in the Central Valley. In addition, the tobacco crop was destroyed, with a loss estimated at $20 million. The New York, New Haven, and Hartford Railroad, already deeply in debt at the start of the Depression, was forced to borrow $30 million from the RFC, the PWA, and private banks to rebuild its infrastructure.

In Hartford, although sandbagging had saved the Colt dike and those at South Meadows, it was evident that a major flood control program was needed. Largely funded through the WPA, 45-foot dikes were constructed and much of the Park River was placed underground. Completed in 1941, the dikes severed Hartford's connection to its riverfront, signaling the end of the vital historic role that the river had played for centuries in the commercial life of the city and paving the way for intensive postwar development of the East Side.

War in Europe marked the end of the Depression. Industry rebounded and some wartime construction began in the Central Valley even before the United States entered the conflict. Although an arms embargo was in place, orders were being filled as early as 1939 for foreign governments, and state industries continued to supply the Allies as well as the American forces throughout the war. One of the first, Pratt and Whitney Aircraft, was down to only 3000

employees when it began producing planes for France. By the end of the first year, production was up to $8 million and 12,000 were employed.

A plan to build a military airbase in the Central Valley at the site of present-day Bradley International Airport was one of the first concrete signs of America's impending involvement. Purchasing 1600 acres of tobacco land on the border of East Granby and Windsor Locks, the state leased it to the government in early 1941 to build an Army Air Corps base. Forty houses were moved and roads rerouted to accommodate the immense base, which contained 37 barracks, eight mess halls, and 17 hospital buildings, in addition to hangars and maintenance and repair facilities. Windsor Locks and East Granby braced for a major influx but to their surprise, the base had little impact on the towns after initial construction. A USO was set up in Windsor Locks for off-duty servicemen, but most of the military personnel, including WACS, who by the end of the war made up 40 percent of the mechanics working there, lived on the base and only a few married couples rented rooms in either town. In 1948 the base reverted to the state and was originally named Bradley Field for a flier who crashed there in 1941. Today nearby Bradley Air Museum displays examples of the aircraft flown during the war.

President Roosevelt called upon the nation to prepare for war in 1940. The fall of France had silenced the isolationists in the state and general mobilization began. United Aircraft led the all-out industrial effort but was soon joined by other companies in the Central Valley. Little new plant construction was needed, since many companies had expanded their factories during World War I. Non-essential industries rapidly converted to war production. Royal Typewriter in Hartford geared up to fabricate cowlings for Pratt and Whitney engines. Landers, Frary, and Clark in New Britain spent $2 million on new machinery to manufacture gun mounts and knives, instead of electric appliances. Bigelow-Sanford produced blankets instead of carpets and Cheney Mills made parachutes from a new fabric called "nylon." Machine gun belts became a major item among the hundreds of military products made by Russell Manufacturing Company in Middletown.

Pratt and Whitney expanded its workforce and leased vacant factories in such places as Southington and Longmeadow, Massachusetts, to manufacture aircraft parts, which were trucked to East Hartford for assembly. The Chance Vought division was moved to Stratford so that Hamilton Propeller could expand at the East Hartford facility. Several automobile companies in the Midwest were licensed for the duration to manufacture Pratt and Whitney engines. The company's workforce more than tripled, reaching 40,000 in order to meet the quota of 50,000 planes set by President Roosevelt.

By 1942, with 10,000 young men already in service, there was an acute labor shortage at home. Emergency training centers were set up in factories throughout the state to train workers in the needed skills. Farms were particularly undermanned, and women and teenagers were trained to serve as a "Land Army." In many cities drives were held to encourage women to take defense jobs; in New Britain alone, 2000 joined up in three months. Under the national War Manpower Act laborers were recruited from the Deep South, Haiti, and the Commonwealth Caribbean to work in the state on farms and in defense jobs. Among them were several thousands recruited expressly for the American Sumatra Company, one of the largest shade-grown tobacco syndicates operating in Connecticut. The company was still leasing thousands of acres in the Connecticut Valley up into Massachusetts, as well as in Georgia and Florida. Once again black college students came North in the summer to work in

the tobacco fields. Among them was Martin Luther King, Jr., then a student at Morehouse College in Atlanta, Georgia, who worked in Simsbury. A number of defense contractors, including Winchester Repeating Arms, also actively recruited in the South.

As thousands flocked into Connecticut's cities to take defense jobs—some estimates say as many as 130,000—the housing shortage became acute. By 1940 the populations of New Haven and Hartford each swelled to 160,000, four times the numbers there in 1930. In the capital, where it is estimated that 18,000 new workers were added to the labor force, the Hartford Housing Authority was created and some of the first housing projects were built. Large clusters of publicly subsidized housing replaced nineteenth-century tenements at Dutch Point, in the North End, and along Flatbush Avenue. With low profiles and generous green space, these projects were designed to resemble suburban "garden" apartments. Charter Oak Terrace and Rice Heights were other projects to house defense workers, and each had a minority quota. Wartime housing spilled over the line from East Hartford into Glastonbury, where Welles Village, another project, was constructed. Housing was also provided by the federal government near key industries, such as Trumbull Electric, a General Electric affiliate in Plainville. Several blocks of houses were constructed there, along with a community center for its workers.

At the close of the war, there was an abrupt decline in employment. War contracts were canceled the day after Japan surrendered; within a week 56,000 workers had lost their jobs, including 20,000 at Pratt and Whitney. Returning veterans competed for jobs with thousands of unemployed defense workers. So many veterans elected to return to school or enter college under the G.I Bill that the month of September 1946 showed a record drop in unemployment. Housing shortages were acute, with 7600 married veterans living with relatives in New Britain, a pattern found in other Central Valley cities. When wartime rent controls were lifted, many people were evicted and affordable rental housing literally disappeared from the market. The State Housing Authority estimated that 80,000 new houses were needed. With the help of FHA and G. I. mortgages, many young couples were able to buy houses for the first time and a suburban residential construction boom was soon underway.

Transportation

Because of a state and federal transportation policy that has promoted and encouraged use of the automobile as the primary means of transportation for much of the modern period, the physical landscape of the Central Valley has been drastically altered. Highway construction has irrevocably changed the face of its major cities, fostered continued suburban growth, and directed the course of economic development, especially the regionalization and decentralization of business, industry, and government. Its impact on smaller cities and towns has been mixed; some have retained their historic centers but others have made sacrifices for faster and more direct access.

Since 1895, when the first office of the State Highway Commissioner was formed, the primary responsibility for road construction and maintenance has been taken out of private and local hands. The first major infusion of state and federal dollars in 1916 produced the trunk lines

between cities. The Merritt Parkway was completed in 1940, and after the war the Wilbur Cross Highway extended the road north from Milford, a major impetus to growth in Hamden and other towns along its route. The completion of State Route 2 on the east side of the Connecticut River facilitated commuter travel from towns to the south. The last section to be finished is known as the "Glastonbury Express," since it carries workers north to East Hartford and Hartford from that suburb. Fortunately, it bypasses Glastonbury's historic Main Street. State Route 9 along the west side of the river from Old Saybrook north originally passed through Middletown, Cromwell, Rocky Hill, and Wethersfield. Construction of the section at Middletown required the demolition of much of its riverfront neighborhood and has cut off the downtown from the river. The present Route 9 continues as a limited access highway north of Middletown but the original route is now Route 99, a local road. Route 99 has been widened in Cromwell with little impact on its historic center, and part of old Rocky Hill is now bypassed. As the Silas Deane Highway, Route 99 runs to the west of Old Wethersfield and is the site of continuous strip development.

Construction of the interstate highway system began in 1956. By 1978 the system encompassed 5200 miles in the state and included three major highways that pass through the Central Valley, Interstate 95 (the Connecticut Turnpike), Interstate 91, and Interstate 84. Interstate 95 passes alongside New Haven's waterfront and was constructed on landfill from dredging the harbor. A six-lane connector provides access to the city. Never intended to be an interstate when it was first planned, this highway has become the major truck route from New York to Boston. Coming from the west, Interstate 84 passes directly through Hartford and continues east across the Connecticut River. This is a major commuter highway which required substantial demolition in the city along its route and the construction of interchanges to connect with Interstate 91. The latter highway is the state's principal industrial corridor. It provides direct access to Hartford from Massachusetts and New Haven and replaced State Route 15, the Berlin Turnpike, as the major north-south route. Now in the process of being reconstructed as it passes along the Connecticut River in Hartford, Interstate 91 remains a major physical and visual barrier to the city's waterfront. This well-travelled route has been constantly upgraded since it was built to accommodate increased traffic loads, especially north of Hartford. Most recently, to encourage car pooling, separate car and vanpool lanes have been added to both highways, along with commuter parking lots near many exit and entrance ramps.

Air travel and marine transportation have not been neglected. Bradley Field became an international airport serving Hartford and Springfield. Brainard Field, established in 1921 as the second municipal airport in the country, was phased out as a passenger terminal but it is still a major freight handler and is utilized by air express services and small private aircraft. Several towns have community or regional airports. Among them are Hamden and Meriden, where there are small fields for business and recreational pilots, and Tweed-New Haven, the major commuter airline field for the New Haven area. In the 1970s New Haven achieved its long-sought-after goal as the major maritime port on the Connecticut coast. Since the construction of a maritime freight terminal in the 1940s and a program of dredging, it has become the state's major port of entry and distribution center for fuel, chemicals, and steel. Tank farms to store aviation gasoline and petroleum are located nearby and are also found alongside the Connecticut River at Middletown and south of Hartford. Since the 1970s steel has been shipped here from Asian ports and its major export is scrap metal, mostly discarded cars.

Suburbia and Regionalization

Suburban development has made fundamental changes in the rural landscape of the Central Valley. Farmland in the river valleys has been bought up for housing developments, industrial parks, and shopping malls. Rural hillsides are dotted with clusters of condominiums and apartment complexes along major transportation corridors. Such intensive land development has produced an extraordinary rise in population density in suburban and exurban areas of 702 persons per square mile in 1990, up from only 118 persons per square mile in 1930. Although farming in general has declined in the state, in the Central Valley tobacco and dairy land has been the most affected, despite the efforts of a 1978 state farmland preservation program to buy up development rights. While dairying has continued in other parts of the state, it has generally ended here; many farmers have retired after selling their land for development. Tobacco land has been especially favored for development since it is level and well drained, although competition for the land is certainly not the only factor in the decline of tobacco production, and circumstances vary from town to town. Farmers in Windsor Locks, for example, chose not to replant after tornados swept through that area in the 1970s. Tobacco growing virtually ended in Manchester shortly after the "largest retail warehouse in the world under one roof" was built there for J. C. Penney on a 50-acre site.

Migration from the cities, new family formation, and a pent-up demand for housing were major factors that contributed to the growth of suburban communities in the postwar period. Starting in 1946 towns in the Central Valley experienced considerable growth which continued unabated for the next two decades. The population of the region's towns increased on the average by 250 percent, and they have maintained a fairly consistent but somewhat slower rate of growth since that period. Absolute numbers and population densities, however, vary widely in the region. Some suburban places now contain more than 50,000 people, but there still are exurban towns of under 5000 in the Central Valley. In Suffield, Enfield, Middlefield, East Windsor, and North Branford, all of which have experienced significant growth, the density remains below 150 people per square mile, and these communities still have large areas of open land. In the middle range is Glastonbury, with 133 square miles, the largest town in the region by area. Although it has experienced one of the highest rates of population growth in this period, only about half of its land is developed and the density is still at a relatively low rate of 385. By contrast, the density of Hamden has approached 1600 people per square mile. Since much of the northern part of this town remains largely rural and its 52,434 people are generally concentrated in the southern half of town, the actual population density there approaches that of neighboring New Haven. In West Hartford, the only other early suburb, the density is only about 1000, but it is also the only suburban community in the region to experience a population loss. Now it has 60,000 people, which represents a loss of 12 percent in the last two decades.

Since new family formation resulted in the "baby boom," one of the most immediate and pressing problems confronting the suburbs was a need for more schools. Between 1945 and 1957, a number of state aid bills were enacted to build, remodel, or enlarge school buildings. By 1960, towns statewide had spent $307 million on school construction, with $93 million reimbursed by the state. School administration and maintenance became the largest part of town budgets and by 1970 in places such as Simsbury and Glastonbury, the total cost of running the schools exceeded $7 million. Some places were building high schools for the first

time. Among them were East Granby, where students had always attended Simsbury High School. Regional school districts with high schools were another alternative, and Coginchuag Regional School in Durham, one of the few in the Central Valley, also serves Middlefield.

Population growth in the suburbs has also created other problems with traffic congestion, pollution, waste management, and conservation of land. Increasingly, suburban renewal programs to deal with these issues have been regionally mandated and administered. Most of the northern half of the Central Valley is included in the Capitol Region of Governments; New Haven and its surrounding towns are part of the South Central Region. Mid-State Regional Planning serves the people in the Middletown area. By 1957 every town in the state was required to have a comprehensive master plan in place, primarily to be eligible for state and/or federal assistance, and in the process many more towns in the Central Valley began to think about restructuring and professionalizing their governments.

In some towns postwar expansion has been chaotic and unregulated but a surprising number had put zoning regulations in place even before the war. Glastonbury, anticipating its growth, had some zoning in the 1930s and had even designated areas of town for industrial or residential use. By the 1970s most towns had followed West Hartford's lead and turned to the council-town manager form of government since the centuries-old form of town meeting had become too unwieldy a mechanism. A number of towns found their early town halls inadequate and replaced them with modern buildings; Wallingford had to replace one so new that it had been built by the previous generation. In a few cases older schools have been converted to town halls; such was the case with the Belden School in Simsbury. One of the smallest towns in the Central Valley, North Branford, which had traditionally carried on town business in the homes of town officials, was almost overwhelmed by population growth. Along with several other communities in this same situation, it built its very first town hall in the 1970s. Health and safety issues have been more recent areas of concern in the suburbs. Although some smaller towns still rely on resident state troopers, many now have their own police departments and rescue services, often including space for these departments in their new town halls.

To cope with the complex environmental problems of water pollution and waste disposal, professional planners have been hired by larger towns; smaller communities have access to the expertise of regional planning agencies. Many landfill dumps built to last 50 years have exceeded their capacity in less than 15, and regional waste management has become a hotly debated issue. Private wells, still the major source of water in some towns, are often polluted by septic systems. Despite the massive infusion of federal dollars, only parts of some communities have adequate sewer systems and many suburban homeowners still rely on private wells, especially in towns not affiliated with a regional water authority, a combination that poses a health risk. Although populations have leveled off, many towns such as Glastonbury expect to be adding to phased sewer systems in the year 2000.

A pure water supply is one of the prime regional issues in the Central Valley, compounded by the fact that many reservoirs which are located in suburban areas actually serve urban populations. Since today 84 percent of the state is served by public water systems, continued suburban growth can have an adverse impact. A state bill was passed in 1985 requiring all municipalities to consider protection of existing as well as designated potential watersheds in their development plans. In the Capitol and South Central Regions, water supplies are

generally controlled by regional agencies but a number of smaller reservoirs elsewhere are administered by local municipalities, especially those in the central portion of the Central Valley. Among the larger reservoir systems administered by the Metropolitan District Commission in the Greater Hartford area are several in the Trout Brook basin in the foothills of West Hartford, primarily built in the nineteenth century. Until the 1860s, when Trout Brook was dammed for the first reservoir, the Connecticut River supplied water for the City of Hartford. By 1885 five more reservoirs in this basin were added to the system. The primary water sources for the City of New Haven, which are controlled by the South Central Regional Water Authority, are Lake Whitney in Hamden, a reservoir and water supply system developed by Eli Whitney in 1861, and Lake Galliard, a major impoundment built in 1933 in the traprock ridges of North Branford. Three miles in length, it covers one-third of the acreage of the town. Systems administered by city and town water departments include the 1857 Shuttle Meadow Reservoir, which serves New Britain, three small reservoirs in Greater Middletown run by the Middletown Water Department, and several operated by the Manchester Water Company.

Residential property taxes skyrocketed in suburbia during this period, but many towns in the Central Valley still could not support all the services demanded by their growing populations. They looked to industrial parks to add tax revenue and today these complexes can be found on the outskirts of almost every community. Primarily devoted to light industry and offices, they attracted new businesses from out of state, along with former urban industries from within the state. Towns along the Interstate 91 corridor have been particularly successful. For example, Enfield residents brought the New England distribution center for Hallmark cards and a division of LEGO Industries to their community. LEGO is now in the process of completing its multi-million dollar national headquarters there.

Suburban shopping malls were another source of revenue, and a number of regional malls have been built in the Central Valley. Among them are Enfield Square, Meriden Square, and two of the largest in the state, Buckland Hills in Manchester and West Farms Mall in West Hartford, all of which have siphoned off shoppers who formerly patronized local downtown business centers. With an emphasis on "people events" such as fairs, arts and crafts shows, and live performances of music, these malls strive to become the new "hometown" community centers. All are near major highway exits and are easily accessed from any part of the state.

There has been extensive regionalization of state services and facilities, including the relocation of some state offices outside the capital city. Several towns and cities in the Central Valley now contain departments for various specialized social services for the physically and mentally disabled, including those in Bloomfield, Meriden, and Middletown. The latter city also is a site for the Department of Human Resources. The Departments of Transportation and Public Utility Control now have offices in Rocky Hill and New Britain, respectively. The Department of Correction maintains prisons and training facilities in several communities, including Cheshire and Enfield; the latter prison occupies the land and some of the buildings of the former Shaker community. In some cases functional obsolescence has resulted in the closing of once-localized state facilities such as the armories in Middletown, New Britain, West Hartford, and Wallingford. A state policy of deinstitutionalizing mental patients has left many buildings vacant at Connecticut Valley Hospital.

During the decentralization of Connecticut's higher education system, five of the ten community colleges built in the state were located in the Central Valley, many in suburban

locations. One of the first to be built in the 1950s was Middlesex Community College in Middletown, which serves the center of the state. Three in the Capitol Region are located in Manchester, Farmington, and Enfield. South Central Community College is located in New Haven, also the site of Southern Connecticut State University, a division of the state's university system, which has other branches in Hartford and New Britain. Farmington is also the location of the Governor John Dempsey Health Center, the University of Connecticut's medical school.

Urban Change

Since World War II urban populations have declined and fragmented; more permanent inner-city minority neighborhoods have been created. New Haven and Hartford rapidly declined from their 1950 all-time record population levels of 164,000 and 177,000 respectively, with each city losing about 40,000 people by 1980. In the last decade these cities have stabilized and have shown slight but statistically insignificant gains. Since 1970 there have been significant decreases in the towns of Windsor Locks, East Hartford, and Enfield, and the City of New Britain, which have experienced between a 12 to 20 percent drop in population. There was a slight recovery in New Britain and Enfield by 1990 but none of these communities has returned to 1970 peak levels. Meriden, alone among the smaller industrial cities, has maintained steady growth, reaching almost 60,000.

Urban demographics have also changed in the modern period, with a higher proportion of elderly in the cities, along with a new racial and ethnic mix. In Hartford there has been almost an eight-fold increase in the African-American community since 1930, which today makes up 39 percent of the population there, and in the same period, a nine-fold increase in New Haven, where blacks comprise 36 percent of the total population. Although Puerto Ricans had been citizens since 1917, few became permanent residents before the 1970s. Many had been East Coast migrant farm laborers and by the 1970s, this group comprised a quarter of the migrant workers employed in the Central Valley by the Shade Growers Association of Connecticut. Starting in the 1950s, however, some Puerto Ricans began to be permanent residents in Central Valley cities. By far the largest numbers settled in Hartford, where in the last decade the Puerto Rican community has increased from 20 to 32 percent of the total population, and in New Haven, with fewer numbers and at a slower rate, from eight to 13 percent of that city's population. Together, African Americans and Puerto Ricans now constitute a majority of the population in Hartford and almost half that of New Haven, and are concentrated in distinct areas of each city. By 1990 about seven percent of the population of the Central Valley was born in another country. The foreign born are generally dispersed throughout the region but the urban foreign-born population in Hartford, which includes a number of West Indians, reached as much as 17.5 percent, followed by New Britain, with 16.3 percent. A significant number in the Central Valley have been of Asian origin and today there are 21,000 people primarily from Southeast Asia and India here, and many make their homes in the cities.

Traditionally urban religious institutions began to leave the city in the postwar period, following their members to the suburbs and underscoring basic shifts in inner-city demographics. In the Hartford diocese a number of Roman Catholic urban churches have been

vacated but at least six new churches were built in the suburbs. Temple Beth Israel, the oldest Jewish congregation in Hartford, had started the exodus of this group, relocating in West Hartford in 1935. Most of the Jewish relocation, however, took place in the 1960s from Hartford's North End, where several congregations, including one organized as late as 1946, merged as the United Synagogues and also moved to West Hartford. Temple Mishkan Israel, New Haven's oldest congregation, which was founded in 1843, moved to Hamden, just one of several that has left this city. Demolition for urban renewal projects was the fate of some synagogues left behind in New Haven, but a number have been adaptively reused as art and community centers, and in one case, even as an office building. Quite a few in Hartford have become churches that now serve the African-American community.

Hartford's North End became one of the region's largest inner-city minority neighborhoods in the postwar period. By 1960 80 percent of the city's 44,000 African Americans lived there and had formed a cohesive and stable community. Their churches continued to be the center of religious and social life, and in their role as community leaders, black ministers continued to work for social justice. The North End Community Center held seminars on neighborhood problems. Many residents were active in the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and the Urban League. A number owned their own businesses and were politically active, including Wilfred X. Johnson, the first black in the state to be endorsed by the Democratic party and the first to hold state office. He was elected as a state representative in 1958 and served four terms. Upwardly mobile blacks, including professionals and teachers, began to move out of the inner city to residential neighborhoods such as Blue Hills in northwest Hartford, which for a time remained partially integrated. Among them was Boce W. Barlow, Jr., a Hartford attorney and municipal court judge who was elected in 1966 as the first black state senator

There were several African-American communities in New Haven. Among them was the Dixwell Avenue neighborhood, historically a center of the black community. The Dixwell Avenue Congregational Church, first black church in the city, was located there, along with the Varick A. M. E. Zion Church that moved there in 1908. The Dixwell Community Center, established in 1924 as a social and recreational facility, served the area until a second center was built in 1967. A slightly different pattern occurred in Newhallville. A number of African Americans came to this neighborhood from elsewhere in Connecticut in the postwar period. The neighborhood represented a step up the economic and social ladder and remained stable and solidly middle class for some time. Decline did not set in until the closing of Winchester Repeating Arms, the area's major employer, and many black residents who had worked for the company for more than 20 years found themselves unemployed for the first time.

An ethnic community in the northwest section of Hartford also got its start during World War II when a number of West Indians came to the area under the War Manpower Act. Today a small but vigorous and closely knit community located in the Upper Albany-Blue Hills area of Hartford contains a number of its own businesses, churches, and social clubs, including the Caribbean American Society and the West Indian Social Club. Although many retain their West Indian citizenship, this group shares the concerns of all African Americans for social justice here and in the Caribbean. Their commitment to their cultural heritage is manifested through educational programs and annual celebrations, and most West Indians subscribe to one of several Caribbean newspapers published here in the states and maintain family ties with their home countries.

By the 1970s one of the largest Puerto Rican neighborhoods in Hartford was located in Frog Hollow, where an ethnic community has evolved that includes bodegas, as well as banks and other commercial services, generally all owned by residents. A common language, extended families, and an annual festival promote cultural solidarity. This assimilation zone had previously been the center of the French Canadian community. Although most have left the area, as late as 1985 they still returned to mass at St. Anne's, the French-Catholic church that they had founded. Its parochial school students, however, are predominately Puerto Rican. In New Haven the largest numbers are found on the "Hill," with a smaller group in Fair Haven, although both these neighborhoods are racially and ethnically mixed.

With the breakdown in the historic mobility of urban living patterns, all of these inner-city neighborhoods have become more segregated. Formerly, these neighborhoods had served a series of immigrant groups as transition zones. As each group became upwardly mobile, their place was taken by new arrivals. For the last arrivals, however, the traditional avenues for upward mobility were closed. Economic mobility was restricted by a lack of educational opportunities and a shrinking job market. Unemployment among minorities in general rose as the industrial base of the cities declined. Even the few in a position to obtain better housing and jobs in the suburbs found that, with the exception of Windsor and Bloomfield, most towns had closed their doors, a situation that became apparent as early as the 1950s. The latter town, however, which prided itself on an open-door policy and welcomed minorities, today has the largest African-American population (40 percent) of any suburban town in the Central Valley. In other towns in the Greater Hartford area, however, there was considerable resistance at that time and it was difficult for African Americans to rent a house or to obtain a mortgage. In most Hartford suburbs, minority percentages have remained at low levels and today rarely exceed one percent of the population, a pattern also found around New Haven.

Connecticut began to address some of these problems as early as 1943, the year Governor Raymond Baldwin established the Connecticut Inter-Racial Commission, one of the first civil rights commissions in the country. Dr. Frank T. Simpson, an African-American leader in Hartford, was the first paid staff person and later became its executive secretary. In 1960 he was the executive assistant to the State Welfare Commissioner. The commission first took on the task of analyzing the extent of racial "tensions," i.e., barriers, in industry, education, and housing, and made recommendations for remedial legislative action. Although actual gains were limited at first, the principle of equal opportunity had been endorsed by the state and led to the passage of the Fair Employment Practices Act by the General Assembly in 1947. Enforced by the commission, the act produced a significant increase in racial minority hiring, especially in the aircraft industry. A leading member of the agency, now known as the Commission on Human Rights and Opportunities, was the Reverend John C. Jackson, pastor of the Union Baptist Church in Hartford's North End. An early civil rights activist, he was influential in founding the commission and worked to improve employment opportunities for blacks, especially in the public sector. He was instrumental in the hiring of C. Edythe Talor, the first African-American teacher in a public non-segregated school in Hartford, just one of the members of his church who broke down socio-economic barriers in the city.

Project Concern was an early program to address segregated schooling. Under a plan conceived by Harvard University, African-American students were bussed to neighboring suburban towns. Started in 1966 under the direction of the State Board of Education, the project was carried on by the boards of participating cities. Altogether, however, less than 10

percent of the African-American elementary school students enrolled in the state were bussed under this program, reaching a maximum of about 700 from any given city each year. Participation by the towns was voluntary but 15 suburban school districts were involved in the Greater Hartford area by 1987. New Haven participated in the project from 1973 to 1985. Outside the region, Bridgeport and Waterbury also experimented with the program. Costs were borne by the originating city's school boards but in several years federal funds supplied extra teachers.

Barriers to higher education were also starting to fall at some other Central Valley institutions by the 1960s. In the private sector Wesleyan University took the lead in recruiting minority students. With the assistance of federal financial student aid, supplemented by work study and college scholarship programs, it achieved 15 percent minority representation in the student body by 1975. Minority professors were actively recruited at most colleges in the region, and by the 1980s Afro-American studies programs were part of the curriculum.

Despite these gains, problems of segregated schooling and deteriorated housing continued to multiply in racial and ethnic urban neighborhoods in the Central Valley. Fueled in part by increased militancy on the part of some black leaders and the growing civil rights movement gaining headway in the South, racial tensions began to mount in the late 1960s. Riots erupted in the cities, especially after the tragic assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., in 1968. Near the end of a series of "long hot summers," Puerto Ricans began to participate in riots for the first time. In response to housing demands, more public projects have been constructed, such as SAND in Hartford, but they have not turned out to be effective solutions. As many cities nationwide have discovered, the scale of these projects and their lack of social and economic facilities have created more community unrest. More recently, with the advent of the drug trade, many residents of these projects are victims of the rising crime rate. More constructive urban renewal programs have partially alleviated some of the poor housing conditions, particularly the interest in historic rehabilitation that was generated in the early 1980s by federal tax incentives.

The Modern Industrial Economy

Industry has been totally restructured in the Central Valley in the last 40 years. The state's role in the forefront of the Industrial Revolution was no longer an advantage. Most urban factories were obsolete, with many built in the nineteenth century and most unimproved since World War I. The lack of natural resources in Connecticut became a liability for the first time as the cost of transportation and fuel rose in the 1970s. Many Connecticut firms closed or left the state in this period. There has been a range of solutions for the older companies remaining in the Central Valley, which, together with new firms in the region, comprise one-third of the state's 100 largest corporations. Although diversification and decentralization are the predominate patterns, some old-line companies have been absorbed by conglomerates and/or relocated in suburbia and a few privately held firms have become public corporations.

Colt Industries and United Technologies exemplify the multi-conglomerate that evolved in this period. Headquartered in New York, Colt Industries today has, in addition to arms production,

26 other divisions ranging from steel production to the manufacture of aircraft landing gear and laser equipment. United Technologies Corporation (UTC), the Central Valley's corporate giant, ranked sixteenth in the nation in the Fortune 500 list of 1990 and is the second largest company in the state (after General Electric Company, Inc., headquartered in Fairfield). Its diversified and far-flung operations are controlled from its modern glass office tower in Hartford. By 1985 the corporation was an international conglomerate employing 200,000 people, with at least 75,000 overseas; approximately a third of its revenues came from operations outside the United States. It was forced to divest its airline holdings in 1934, but today it controls a number of divisions totally unrelated to aircraft engine production and machine tools, the original products, including the manufacture of elevators, solid rocket fuel, computer chips, and air conditioning systems. Changes at UTC's holdings in the Central Valley have included a focus on jet engines which started in the 1960s at its East Hartford plant and continued at a large new jet testing and development facility in the Maromas section of Middletown. Recent development projects here include the building of less expensive short-range jet aircraft for commercial travel, a joint effort with several foreign countries, including Japan and Germany. Piston-engine production was moved to Montreal as Pratt and Whitney Canada. Other aircraft divisions that relocated include Chance Vought, which was moved from Stratford to Texas by its new parent company, Ling Temco; Hamilton Standard moved from East Hartford to a new facility in Windsor. The Pratt and Whitney tool division and Chandler Evans Control Systems, a new acquisition, are located in West Hartford.

Some firms have relocated within the Central Valley; others have left the region or the state. Sometimes the process of relocation has been part of a major restructuring, as was the case with Stanadyne, formerly Hartford Machine Screw, which moved to an industrial park in Windsor. Another Hartford firm, Taylor and Fenn Company, formerly Phoenix Iron Works, the only historic manufacturer of cast-iron architectural elements in the state, also moved there in the 1950s, as did Terry Steam Engine, now Terry Corporation, a division of Ingersoll Rand. Windsor also has Combustion Engineering Power Systems Group, the town's largest employer, which is located in a campus-like setting. Heublein, Inc., which started in Hartford as importers of food and beverages in 1875, moved its corporate headquarters to Farmington, where its modern building, with rooftop gardens, occupies 1.5 acres of a hillside site, but the company still maintains research and development and some distilling in Hartford. Today a subsidiary of a British conglomerate, Heublein is one of the 20 largest foreign-owned companies in the state and one of three such companies in the Central Valley. The others are Konica Business Machines in Windsor, owned by the Japanese, and Pirelli Armstrong Tire Corporation in New Haven, formerly Armstrong Rubber, which is now an Italian firm. Until recently Farmington was also the location of the world headquarters of Emhart, a Fortune 500 company, but the corporation was destructured and its holdings sold. Emhart had been created from a number of old-line Central Valley hardware companies, including American Hardware, Inc., of New Britain. The Stanley Works of New Britain, however, the other major hardware firm, still prospers and was one of the five Fortune 500 companies remaining in the Central Valley in 1990. Though still headquartered in Simsbury, Ensign-Bickford Industries, Inc., now diversified into fiber optics and hazard abatement, moved Danworth, its early chemical preservative division, to Avon.

One of the last major historic industries to end production in the Central Valley was the manufacture of typewriters. Both Underwood and Royal Typewriter, which came to Hartford at the turn of the century because of the skilled labor pool available, were among the city's largest employers. Underwood's factories in Hartford and Middletown have closed (the

Hartford plant was demolished in the late 1970s). By the 1980s Royal Typewriter was an international corporation with much of its production overseas and had closed its huge Hartford plant, which was visible from Interstate 84 and has since been demolished.

Similar changes have taken place in New Haven, where 20,000 urban jobs were lost between 1947 and 1980. Job creation in its suburbs in the same period rose dramatically, from 19,400 to 100,000. A number of smaller firms had started to move out of the city to Hamden even prior to 1930 and the trend continued after the war along the Interstate 91 corridor north of the city. J. C. Boardman, a leader in the pewter industry, moved to Wallingford in 1961, just one of the companies which relocated along the Wilbur Cross Parkway. One of the major closings was Winchester Repeating Arms. It was bought out by Olin Mathieson, a Midwest corporation, in the 1970s, and closed down in 1981; its plant is now a "science park," leasing to small engineering and technical firms. Marlin Firearms has relocated. The company, which had failed after World War I, was bought out and revitalized in 1926 and moved to a new plant in North Haven in 1970. Today firearms is only one of three divisions of the company.

A major exception to this litany of relocation and removal is the Dexter Corporation of Windsor Locks. One of the oldest companies in the United States, it began as a gristmill and sawmill founded by the Dexter family in 1767. C. H. Dexter, now managed by seventh-generation descendants, began manufacturing paper at this location in the 1840s. By the 1930s the company was specializing in non-woven papers for food packaging and later for surgical and more durable applications. On its 200th anniversary in 1967, the firm went public and became a division of Dexter Corporation, also headquartered in Windsor Locks. A multi-national conglomerate in 1990, this Fortune 500 company now includes chemical, life science, and pharmaceutical divisions.

Most of the major insurance companies still maintain offices in Hartford, but there has been some relocation and restructuring to address modern requirements. In the process, some companies became subsidiaries of giant conglomerates, such as Hartford Fire Insurance, which became a division of International Telephone and Telegraph (IT&T). There have been very different solutions to shared problems, particularly the competition in the same Greater Hartford labor pool and the expense and scarcity of urban space for expansion of new divisions, especially the large facilities needed for modern computer technology. Aetna constructed a modern addition to its earlier Colonial Revival building in Hartford. Travelers was able to occupy nearby modern high-rise office buildings for some of its expansion. Middletown provided a combination of tax deferment and financial assistance to keep one of its major employers, Middlesex Mutual Assurance, in the city. The company's new Post-Modern tower, which can be seen for miles around, makes a dramatic change to Middletown's historically low skyline. Some insurance companies elected to transfer group divisions or computer headquarters outside Hartford in the 1980s, thereby expanding their labor market. They include Travelers, which has a branch in Wallingford, and Aetna, which constructed a major complex in one of Middletown's industrial parks. Still headquartered in Hartford, Phoenix Mutual Life (now Phoenix Home Life) has established warehouse and computer facilities farther north on the Interstate 91 corridor, in Enfield and Greenfield, Massachusetts.

The major relocation among insurance companies was made by Connecticut General (CIGNA), which moved to Bloomfield in 1957, where it occupies a 300-acre wooded and landscaped site and today employs about 5000 people. Its complex epitomizes the new

campus style favored for suburban offices and corporate headquarters. The original Wilde Building, named for its then-president Frazar Wilde (later chairman of the board), incorporates four garden courts. In the 1970s CIGNA acquired another architecturally distinguished building across Cottage Grove Road which was built in 1965 by the former Emhart Corporation. Other expansion has taken place there, including an addition to the original building, which houses computer services underground.

City-based utility companies also merged in this period to become regional or state corporations. After such a merger, United Illuminating, a New Haven gas supplier, built a new plant in North Haven. HELCO, based in Hartford with a major plant in the South Meadows, an area reclaimed for industrial development in the 1920s, has become Northeast Utilities, one of the first power companies in the nation to introduce the regional grid supply system. Among the first of its new facilities in the Central Valley was a coal-burning electric plant, soon followed by Yankee Atomic Power, a nuclear subsidiary, both located below Middletown on the Connecticut River.

Another sector of the economy which has regionalized is the retail food business. In the 1950s and 1960s supermarkets were town- and city-based and served local residents. Gradually, more were built in the strip malls outside the centers, locations they shared with various types of discount chain stores. By the 1980s, however, major food chains had built giant supermarkets to serve concentrations of regional populations. These new outsize stores are located in malls near highway exits rather than in downtowns and draw people from a large regional area. As a result, some communities no longer have local grocery stores of any size. Smaller downtown supermarkets run by these large chains and even some of those in the strip malls have closed. Often higher-priced convenience stores are all that remain to serve urban neighborhoods and downtown residents.

Urban Renewal

Urban renewal has a long history. It started with the Truman Administration in 1949 and has been promoted to some degree by every president since that time. Over the years the concept has undergone subtle changes. Each phase has developed a slightly different focus and has affected the cities of the Central Valley to a greater or lesser degree. The bulldozer was the image of early urban renewal efforts, when residential and commercial neighborhoods were destroyed, displacing thousands of urban dwellers and small businesses. Under President John F. Kennedy, the federal government responded to the backlash this dislocation created and began to involve affected urban residents in the planning process, but largely neglected to include local officials. That approach was also the policy of President Lyndon B. Johnson's War on Poverty, which probably doomed those efforts from the start. Johnson's Great Society program, however, directly brought local government into the system and produced the so-called Model Cities, a program based to a large degree on the urban renewal carried out in New Haven under Mayor Richard C. Lee's tenure. In the 1970s Community Development Block Grant (CDBG) programs and Urban Development Action Grants (UDAG) reduced the scale of urban renewal to smaller projects, many with a neighborhood focus and often concerned with rehabilitation. With CBDG funds, older housing and small businesses were upgraded in many urban communities in the region.

Richard C. Lee, mayor of New Haven for eight consecutive terms from 1954 to 1970, developed an ambitious program to restore his city's vitality and economic base, and in his words "make it slumless." By the end of his tenure the approach to urban renewal had moved from extensive demolition and a focus on transportation to reinvestment in neighborhoods through new construction. Much of his initial program was derived from the work of earlier planners, especially Maurice Rotival, a French planner on the faculty at Yale. Rotival's utopian plan reflected the influence of Le Corbusier and incorporated some ideas that had been presented in the Gilbert-Olmsted plan for the city in the early 1900s. He envisioned the city as a traffic distribution center, the hub of high-speed highways, also recognizably the concept that had enraptured the public at the "World of Tomorrow" at the New York World's Fair in 1939. Included in Rotival's plan were specific recommendations for the development of the waterfront and the relocation of what was then U. S. Route 1. By 1953 Rotival and others had been hired to produce the Short Approach plan which positioned Interstate 95. Since that time under development director Edward Logue, the Oak Street Connector, a six-lane highway, has been built as the gateway to the city. It is lined with high-rise buildings and apartments, including the New Haven Coliseum and the Knights of Columbus Building. Long Wharf Industrial Park was developed at the harbor and has a number of industrial and corporate tenants. Among them was the headquarters of what was then Armstrong Rubber Corporation and the new plant for Sargent Hardware, an old-line New Haven company. Long Wharf Theater is also located there. The latter project was funded with state assistance under a program for non-residential urban renewal projects passed in 1958.

By the 1960s Mayor Lee began a program of redevelopment that utilized new forms of architectural expression to create a "civilized urban environment" for the social rebirth of the city. Traditional stereotypes for schools and housing were discarded in favor of new approaches, most notably achieved in the Lee High School built in 1964, a monumental cast-concrete structure designed by Kevin Roche, John Dinkeloo Associates of Hamden. The 1969 Church Street South project nearby was another attempt to create a more urban statement in public housing. With its terraces, plaza, and internal pedestrian street, it was a departure from earlier types, especially the suburban garden apartment model. Located across from the restored Union Station and just down the street from the modern police station, it was designed by ML/TW Charles Moore Associates. Moore was the last of a series of designers engaged by the city to plan this redevelopment area.

The heart of the urban renewal program in Hartford was the building of Constitution Plaza in the 1960s, which replaced more than 200 deteriorated commercial and residential buildings. Intensive development continued next to Interstate 91, with office towers here and also closer to downtown until the late 1980s. The Hartford Redevelopment Agency also demolished blocks of old housing and stores along Windsor Street and in the Sheldon-Charter Oak area for office complexes and public housing. Many buildings were demolished along Capitol Avenue for a government center with a new Statehouse, which was never built. As a fortunate alternative, the Capitol has been restored to all its former glory and more space provided by a new legislative office building nearby.

Downtown shopping malls were part of urban renewal programs, with only partial success in New Haven, Middletown, and Meriden. One of the first was in New Haven, where the bustling historic retail district was relocated in Chapel Square Mall south of the Green, and also included a hotel and parking garage. Macy's and Edward Malley's, anchor stores for this complex, have

since gone out of business. Large above-ground parking garages have been built nearby, including one that is an integral part of New Haven's Coliseum. Historic commercial blocks in Meriden were leveled for a mall that has not proved to be economically viable. There has been a high turnover in commercial tenants there and in the Metro Square Mall in Middletown. Hartford's Civic Center was a major construction project designed to revitalize the downtown. Incorporating an arena for sports, also used for the performing arts, and an underground parking garage, as well as the usual stores and restaurants found in suburban shopping malls, the center has not completely lived up to the expectations of the city or its developers.

The continued destruction of key historic buildings and places in many cities triggered the development of historic preservation organizations in the early 1970s. South Green in Middletown was scheduled to become a rotary to facilitate traffic flow and several nearby historic buildings were destined for demolition. Preservationists rallied to save the historic urban space and the Greater Middletown Preservation Trust, then just a fledgling organization, grew in member strength. New Haven preservationists cringed while a large crowd cheered the spectacular demolition of Ithiel Town's Greek Revival-style City Hall, just one of similar events that led to the formation of the New Haven Preservation Trust. The Hartford Architecture Conservancy (HAC) also grew out of the concern for continued unnecessary destruction of landmark buildings, culminating in the demolition of the elaborate Romanesque Revival YMCA on Pearl Street. All of these groups embarked upon comprehensive architectural surveys of their communities, and in Middletown the project was extended to include all the towns that had originally comprised this colonial center. Now the Greater Hartford Architecture Conservancy, GHAC is also one of the few preservation groups in the state to actively engage in historic rehabilitation projects.

Rehabilitation of historic buildings had become a major part of renewal programs by the late 1970s. Changes to the Internal Revenue Code in 1976 encouraged the preservation of historic buildings through a program of tax incentives. By 1981 historic rehabilitation had proved to be so successful in terms of economic benefit that tax credits were raised to 25 percent to encourage more private sector investment. Although the credits have since been lowered to 20 percent, literally hundreds of historic residential, industrial, educational, and commercial buildings have been rehabilitated because of these incentives. By 1990 over 550 tax-act projects, representing an investment from the private sector of about half a billion dollars, had been completed in the state. Needed housing has been created from vacant schools and obsolete factories; rehabilitated housing has helped stabilize some inner-city neighborhoods; and although the late 1980s recession has had a damper effect, some downtown business districts have been renewed.

In the Central Valley these projects range in size from the largest conversion in the state, the Bigelow-Hartford Mills in Enfield, an investment of $65 million, to the rehabilitation of individual houses and apartment buildings for less than $500,000. The Bigelow-Hartford project included the rehabilitation of six buildings on a 22-acre site, producing approximately 400 residential units, as well as new office and light-industrial space. Other mills and factories have been rehabilitated in Hartford, New Haven, Middletown, Glastonbury, Manchester, and Vernon, producing more than 1000 units of new housing. Among them are the Quinnipiac Brewery and its Bottling Plant in Fair Haven and the Clocktower Spinning Mill in Manchester, the latter a tax act project which was part of a general rehabilitation of the Cheney Mills recommended by preservation planners in a feasibility study. Schools in West Haven,

Middletown, Manchester, New Britain, Hartford, and Windsor have also been converted to residential use. Union Station in Hartford, a multi-use tax act project, includes a transportation facility as well as stores and offices. Mixed-use commercial and residential buildings have been restored in downtowns, including some in Middletown's Main Street historic districts. In downtown New Haven, several commercial blocks and individual buildings have been restored for retail and office use. The Schubert Theater, which closed in 1976, reopened in 1983 with a completely restored interior and a new multi-story lobby addition. Multi-family houses have been rehabilitated in a number of historic districts, including Dwight Street in New Haven, and Clay Hill, Charter Oak Place, Frog Hollow, and Congress Street in Hartford.

Modern Architecture

The architecture of this period was both self-consciously modern and revolutionary in its break with the past. After a brief fling with stylized ornamentation in the late 1920s and 1930s, architects eschewed ornamentation and all classical precedents. By and large, modern architecture was the architectural language of commerce, and most of its monumental buildings were designed for urban corporate America. This is certainly true in the Central Valley, where cities are displayed to the passing world of the expressway in this contemporary idiom.

Art Deco and Art Moderne were the styles of the 1930s. Of the two, Art Deco was the stronger influence in the Central Valley. Inspired by the Exposition des Arts Decoratifs in Paris in 1925, Art Deco uses stylized geometry, especially chevrons and zigzags, as ornamentation, but surfaces are in low relief, exemplified in the design of the Polish National Home built in 1930 as a social center by Hartford's Polish community (Photograph 22). An exceptionally well-preserved building which retains its fully detailed Art Deco interior, it was designed by Hartford architect Henry F. Ludorf (1900-1977). A number of Southern New England Telephone (SNET) buildings also were designed in the style, including the SNET Building in Hartford completed in 1930, the work of Roy W. Foote of New Haven. Mayan and Egyptian motifs, along with stylized flowers and chevrons, ornament its limestone walls. The addition of six more floors has eliminated the original stepped parapet. Foote joined with Douglas Orr (1892-1966), a Yale graduate, to design a building for the company in New Haven. Its lobby is considered one of the finer expressions of this style. Without question, however, the auditorium of Bushnell Memorial Hall is Art Deco at its height. Set within a more traditional Georgian Revival exterior and lavishly decorated, it preceded the use of this style in the later Rockefeller Center in New York City. A contrast to these monumental buildings is an Art Deco gem executed in 1941 for the W. I. Clark Company in Hamden, one of the very few industrial buildings in this style. The low relief sculptural panel over the front entrance combines the botanical elements of the Art Deco with stylized gears and steam shovels, advertising the construction business within.

The modern architectural revolution originated in Europe, where it coincided with a similar revolution in the arts. The new art movements, Expressionism, Cubism, and Neo-Plasticism, the latter exemplified by Mondrian's geometric designs, were also rejections of the past and had obvious architectural parallels. In 1932 New York City's Museum of Modern Art (MOMA) produced its first architectural show. Photographs and drawings of the work of architects from

15 countries were displayed under the title "International Style" and the movement was given its name. Among its practitioners was a group of stellar European architects whose modernist design philosophy dominated American architecture and its architectural schools for the next 50 years. They included Le Corbusier (Charles Edouard Jenneret, 1887-1966), Walter Gropius (1883-1969), who joined the faculty at the School of Architecture at Harvard, and Ludwig Mies Van der Rohe (1886-1969). The latter two men were associated with the Bauhaus, the famous art and architecture school in Germany. Both came to the United States in the late 1930s after the rise of National Socialism in Germany, but it was Mies' designs for glass skyscrapers that were the major influence in American architecture.

The essential features of the International style were unembellished planar surfaces, rectangular forms, and glass cladding. The style was as much a celebration of engineering and technology as architectural design. Revealed structure and function were emphasized by curtain-wall construction: steel framing with non-loadbearing walls. Although this technology was already available and had been used in industrial buildings, the extensive use of glass, which gives the style its light, airy quality, was a major innovation. These great glass slabs began to transform the New York skyline in the early 1950s and although they are by now almost a cliché, they began to alter the appearance of Central Valley cities in the 1960s.

The region's earliest buildings in this style are located at Constitution Plaza in Hartford, built between 1959 and 1964. It was designed by Harrison and Abramovitz, with Charles DuBose (1908-1986), the supervising architect who also designed some of the buildings. The principals of this leading New York firm, Walter K. Harrison (1895-1981) and Max Abramovitz (b. 1908), both educated at the École des Beaux-Arts, were known for a number of landmark buildings. Among them were the United Nations Secretariat, Lincoln Center, and the Trylon and Perisphere, the symbols of the 1939 World's Fair. The centerpiece at Constitution Plaza is the Phoenix Home Life Building (Photograph 24). Known locally as the "boat," the building gains its characteristic shape from a unique lenticular plan. The bulk of the building, which is clad in alternating bands of light and dark green glass, floats above a recessed first floor, a feature not readily visible from the expressway. Buildings at Constitution Plaza are joined by an elevated pedestrian mall. Originally an isolated entity, the complex is now joined to later nearby skyscrapers by connections over Columbus Boulevard. Other office towers built through the 1980s nearby demonstrate the maturing modern style. They include One State Street, designed by Skidmore, Owings, and Merrill (SOM). Its more complex stepped profiles and curved forms are rendered in rose granite as well as pink copper-clad glass. Another contribution to Hartford's modern skyline by a noted architect is Bushnell Tower, a high-rise concrete residential building completed in 1969. A modernist example of the New Brutalism that evolved from the International style, it was designed by I. M. Pei (b. 1917) and displays irregular groupings of windows and protruding balconies. The only one constructed of two towers Pei designed for the site across from Bushnell Park, it is the sole example of his work in Hartford. Born in China, Pei was a student of Gropius at Harvard. Ludorf, the designer of the Polish National Home, was his associate for the project.

SOM has two other examples of its work in the Central Valley, both designed by Gordon Bunshaft (1909-1990). Bunshaft, regarded as a grand master of the International style, was the creator of Lever House in New York in 1952, the first glass skyscraper in Manhattan. This seminal structure, which set in motion the transformation of the New York skyline, was unanimously praised by the critics when it was constructed and was declared a city landmark

in 1983, one of the first modern buildings to receive this designation. Lewis Mumford considered it to be "an impeccable achievement...[which] says all that can be said...delicately [and] elegantly, with surfaces of glass.[22] Bunshaft's first commission in the Central Valley was the 1957 suburban corporate headquarters of CIGNA in Bloomfield, still considered a superbly functional complex, one that utilizes the principles of the International style in a horizontal massing. His last work in the state was the 1961 Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library at Yale, a rectangular marble box form supported by granite piers, which floats above a granite plaza. The facades act as integral trusses, and translucent marble panels illuminate the interior.

The influence of Yale University on the modern architecture of New Haven is legendary. Among the other internationally known architects who have designed buildings on the Yale campus and in the city were Marcel Breuer (b. 1902), Eero Saarinen (1910-1961), and Paul Rudolph (b. 1918), a longtime member of the Yale faculty. In the Armstrong building at the Long Wharf, Breuer took the structural complexity of floating a building above a recessed lower level to new heights by using giant trusses. Its surface is clad with wavy composition panels of a material called Plasticrete, which was invented by Ciro Parella, an Italian American who came to New Haven in the 1920s. The company is still carried on there by his descendants. In Breuer's later Becton and Applied Science Center at the university, which is set above an arcade, the facades are further elaborated by vertical and horizontal folding. The 1957 Ingalls Hockey Rink at Yale designed by Saarinen with a soaring, suspended aluminum roof, although not the first modern building at Yale, was one that inspired the modernist impulse at the university. His later 1969 Morse and Stiles Colleges, a poured aggregate structure composed of strong vertical panels, was designed to harmonize and provide visual connectives to nearby existing buildings. Paul Rudolph's contributions to New Haven architecture include Crawford Manor, a towering assemblage of massed verticals built in 1960 for elderly housing, and the Yale School of Art and Architecture. The latter building represented the ultimate direction of modern architecture and shocked the public when it was constructed in 1961. A total reversal of the simple geometry of the International style, it employs irregular massing of forms and voids in a manner approaching New Brutalism.

Brutalism makes an even more powerful statement in the Albert C. Jacobs Life Science Center, built in 1969 at Trinity College, As designed by Orr, deCossy, Winder, it captures the essential massive brooding quality of this style. Huge concrete piers periodically interrupt the long horizontals of the building in a dramatic counterpoint and reinterpretation of the Long Walk designed by William Burges in the nineteenth century. Another modern collegiate building is the Hartford Seminary, designed by Richard Meier (b. 1934). Built in 1981, it is clad in white porcelain (baked enamel on steel), the architect's trademark, which gives an elegance to his complex massing of strong solids and voids.

The Post-Modern style, which began to evolve in the 1970s in the Central Valley, was a rejection of the uniformity and blandness of many of the glass boxes produced by less skilled practitioners. Although Post-Modern architecture still relied on modern design principles, there was a renewed emphasis on classical elements and precedents, albeit reinterpreted and abstracted. Proportions are often deliberately distorted to make a statement, as shown by the outsize circular and arched windows, which have become the hallmarks of the Post-Modern. Classical massing of stepped towers is another feature of the style, as displayed by the Middlesex Mutual Assurance Building in Middletown designed by Jeter, Cook, and Jepson, a prolific Hartford firm. One of the most recent urban examples of this style in the Central

Valley is State House Square, built in 1986 and designed by Russell Gibson von Dohlen. Each of its stepped towers displays a large arched window in the gable. One of the largest of Hartford's architectural firms, Russell Gibson von Dohlen also designed Heublein's corporate headquarters in Farmington, St. Peter Claver Church in West Hartford, and, most recently, the Post-Modern 1988 Legislative Office Building in Hartford, which has a connecting bridge over Interstate 84 to the Capitol.

Since World War II residential architecture has been influenced by modern design principles, but more traditional and conservative domestic construction has continued to play a role in the Central Valley. In suburban neighborhoods of the 1950s and 1960s, the one-story Ranch style was often favored. Originating in California, it was influenced by the horizontal asymmetrical massing and overhanging rooflines that are found in the residential work of Frank Lloyd Wright (1869-1959). Its later derivatives, the Raised Ranch and the Split Level, made this style even more functional for growing families. More organic massing of forms, often with shed roofs, characterize another California prototype often used for condominium complexes in the Central Valley in the 1960s. Neo-Colonial styles, however, often predominated in postwar suburbia, bringing full circle a 350-year architectural continuum. The practical Cape style is perhaps the most common, found in subdivisions as well as individually built homes. Commercial buildings are often simplified versions of the Colonial Revival and Georgian Revival designs of the early 1900s.

VI. CONCLUSION

The Central Valley has been aptly called the "incubator" of Connecticut. Its people and ideas have shaped the course of the state's history since the seventeenth century. A diverse multicultural society governed by a modern state has been created from two small English colonies on the edge of the wilderness. The region is hardly the center of a "Land of Steady Habits," for its society has been in a state of flux and its culture curiously contradictory, progressive as well as reactionary at different moments in its history. The Central Valley has an impressive record of leadership in government, education, science, technology, and social reform. Its people have improved the quality of life in the state and made substantial contributions to national growth and development.

The rich diversity of the cultural landscape is a testament to that progress. At least 300 years of the built environment remain—from colonial dwellings to modern skyscrapers—a historic tapestry interwoven with the technological advances, social evolution, and artistic expressions of generations. The resulting interplay between a wide range of contrasting landscapes is a distinguishing characteristic of the Central Valley. Urban towers rise out of the valley floor within minutes of colonial townscapes, mill villages, farmscapes, remote rural vistas, and secluded woodlands. Time is compressed by this immediacy and history made accessible, perhaps more so here than in any other region of the state.

Towns and cities throughout the Central Valley are meeting the challenge of preserving this remarkably diverse environment. Since the 1970s a broad spectrum of cultural resources reflecting its multicultural history has been identified. Effective mechanisms are in place to preserve and enjoy both historic and natural resources. Heritage tourism celebrates colonial history and is a major component of economic development in Windsor and other older towns. Cheshire and Hamden are participating in the Farmington Canal Greenway project, an ongoing regional effort to provide public access to this unique cultural resource. City festivals are held annually to celebrate ethnic heritage. Riverfront Recapture in Hartford is reclaiming the historic public access to the Connecticut River, the region's prime natural resource.

The urban crisis, the legacy of the modern postwar period, is the Central Valley's gravest challenge. The historic role of the city has diminished markedly, and resulting problems have been exacerbated by the national recession of the early 1990s. No longer the economic and social core of a wider metropolis, the region's cities are surrounded by large competing urbanized suburbs, independent *loci* of industry and job creation. Not only has revitalization of downtowns ground to a halt, but many urban retail stores have also closed. Once integrated by historic internal social and communal core functions, cities are now fragmented into segregated neighborhoods, defined by class, race, and ethnicity, and municipal governments struggle with massive social unrest engendered by these divisions.

In an interview in the *New York Times*, Richard C. Lee, former mayor of New Haven, acknowledged the extent of today's problems in that city, but he has great faith in the ultimate rebirth of Connecticut's cities.[23] Although Lee predicts that the recovery may take as long as 25

years, he believes that cities can be strengthened by new governmental systems that involve core cities and their suburbs, such as has been done with some success in other places in the nation, most notably Atlanta and Indianapolis. Lee acknowledges that this regional approach would have substantial opposition in Connecticut, where town autonomy is sacrosanct and zealously guarded. He is confident, however, that the concept will become more politically feasible when everyone recognizes that the suburbs are no longer safe havens protected by political boundaries and that the urban crisis is everyone's challenge.

As the Central Valley's urban planners redefine the role of the city for the twenty-first century, they can build on a strong, viable foundation. Containing the highest concentrations of the region's historic resources, cities are the repositories of much of its heritage. Generations of new Americans made their start in urban neighborhoods. Private investment in historic rehabilitation is still reclaiming urban history and paving the way for an urban renaissance. An ambitious large-scale project is in process in New Haven's Ninth Square, involving the rehabilitation of commercial and residential buildings as well as new construction. Urban life continues to offer many historic amenities. City parks still welcome families on a warm spring day as they have for over a century. Tourists mingle with students and residents on the New Haven Green, one of the oldest public spaces in the region, surrounded by imposing civic and institutional buildings. Finally and most heartening is the knowledge that society will always renew itself in these vital centers of culture, the enduring function of cities throughout history.

ENDNOTES

1. Two of these towns, Enfield (1683) and Suffield (1674), daughter towns of Springfield, were still part of the Massachusetts Bay Colony. They would not be officially part of Connecticut until 1749.

2. Albert E. Van Dusen, *Connecticut,* p. 35.

3. Stanton, who was apparently fluent in the Pequot language, was a semi-official interpreter for all the River Towns after the war, a service for which he received a small payment. See Christopher P. Bickford, *Farmington in Connecticut,* p. 42. For his humanitarian action during the war, see Van Dusen, p. 40.

4. Bickford, *Farmington in Connecticut,* p. 150. The later history of the Tunxis tribe is also taken from the same text, pp. 150-162.

5. The plan and orientation were recommended by Marcus Vitruvius Pollio, a minor Roman architect, working about 30 BC. After it was published in 1486, his *De Architectura* influenced early Renaissance architecture and planning. See Vitruvius, *Ten Books of Architecture* (New York: Dover Publications, 1960).

6. Cited in *Hamden: Our Architectural Heritage,* 1986, p. 1.

7. *Public Records of the Colony of Connecticut,* XIV, p. 438.

8. For this quote and the following passage on intensive farming, see Kevin Sweeney, "From Wilderness to Arcadian Vale: Material Life in the Connecticut River Valley, 1635-1760," in *The Great River: Art & Society of the Connecticut Valley,* 1635-1820, p. 23.

9. Bernard Bailyn, *The New England Merchants in the Seventeenth Century,* p. 95.

10. William Joseph Uricchio, ed., *The Fowles History of Windsor, Connecticut,* 1663-1900, p.53.

11. The population figures and percentages are taken from Bruce P. Stark, "Slavery in Connecticut: A Re-Examination," *Connecticut Review* 9 (November 1975) pp. 75-81.

12. Cited in Stark, "Slavery in Connecticut ...," p. 77.

13. Peter D. Hall, *Middletown: Streets, Commerce, and People, 1650-1981,* p. 13.

14. Gregory E. Andrews and David F. Ransom, *Structures and Styles: Guided Tours of Hartford Architecture,* p. 246.

15. *New Haven Architecture: Selections for the Historic American Buildings Survey*. No. 9, National Park Service, U. S. Department of the Interior, 1970.

16. Quoted in Frank Andrews Stone, *African American Connecticut: African Origins, New England Roots,* The People of Connecticut Multicultural Series, Pilot Edition (photocopy), No. 9, p. 155.

17. Quoted in Glenn Weaver, *Hartford: An Illustrated History of Connecticut's Capital,* p. 83.

18. Unfortunately, some of the *padroni* in New Haven were also involved in exploiting young Italian boys, who were brought here to work as bootblacks and street musicians, supporting their masters with their earnings. After the intervention of the Italian government, these abuses were brought to an end.

19. Barber, a New York architect trained at the École, also designed another classical Hartford landmark, the *Hartford Times* building. Completed in 1920, it has an ornate polychrome facade of brick, terra cotta, and granite. Until its ceremonial stairways were removed in 1981, they were the traditional location for speeches by every Democratic presidential candidate. Its colossal green granite Ionic columns and terra cotta cornice were salvaged from the 1906 Madison Square Church designed by Charles McKim, which was demolished in New York City.

20. Quoted in Bruce Clouette and Matthew Roth, *Building the Bridges of Connecticut,* p. 34.

21. Elizabeth Mills Brown, *New Haven: A Guide to Architecture and Urban Design,* p. 121.

22. Quoted in Paul Goldberger, "Gordon Bunshaft, Architect, Dies at 81," *New York Times,* August 8, 1990.

23. *New York Times,* May 1, 1994.

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Bibliographical Note

Since there has been no previous scholarship that focuses on the Central Valley Geographic Historic Context as a discrete region, this overview is a compilation of several different types of secondary sources. The starting point was the numerous city and town histories that have been published since the late nineteenth century, followed by a review of the architectural surveys that document the historic resources of most regional communities. The last major source was the National Register of Historic Places nominations, which provided detailed information about literally hundreds of sites and districts in the Central Valley.

General histories and geographies of the state have also been consulted. *Connecticut* by Albert E. Van Dusen is one of the most comprehensive histories available. It is particularly valuable for its analysis of the political issues in each historical period. For readers who wish to know more about the physical environment of the state, there are several excellent works which were used for this overview. Among them is the recent geography by Thomas Lewis and John E. Harmon. Connecticut's geology is covered in Michael Bell's book, published by the Department of Environmental Protection in 1985, which makes a complex subject accessible to the general reader. Although it covers all of New England, William Cronon's work presents a new ecological slant on the early contact and settlement period. Several works are more narrowly focused: Bruce C. Daniel's study of the development of Connecticut towns is particularly useful for the colonial period, as is *Connecticut in Transition* by Richard J. Purcell, also town-based, for a later vital stage in Connecticut's history, 1775-1818, one often neglected or misinterpreted by local historians. Industrial history is covered quite comprehensively in *Connecticut: An Inventory of Historic Engineering and Industrial Sites*, a survey carried out by Matthew Roth and published by the Society for Industrial Archeology. The last important general work to be consulted was published by the Wadsworth Atheneum to accompany a major exhibit of Connecticut River Valley art and artifacts. Much more than an exhibition catalog, it includes scholarly monographs that make a compelling case for a regional culture which encompasses the entire Connecticut Valley.

Considerable information has been published about the principal cities, especially Hartford and New Haven. They range from scholarly works such as Rollin G. Osterweis's history of New Haven, a carefully researched analysis that provides a national and state context for the city's development up to 1938, to a series of illustrated histories published in the 1980s. Although primarily "picture books," this latter group is lavishly illustrated with contemporary and historic photographs, some of which have never before been published; the accompanying texts are written by knowledgeable professional and amateur historians. An added bonus is the capsule histories of local business sponsors, one of the few sources for industrial and commercial history in the modern period.

Architectural historians have provided two urban tour guides: Elizabeth Mills Brown, for New Haven, and David F. Ransom and Gregory E. Andrews, who collaborated on the more recent

guide for Hartford, both invaluable aids to studying the rich architectural diversity of these places. The guides include individual capsule histories and architectural descriptions with photographs for hundreds of buildings, ranging from major architectural monuments to residential vernacular examples. City parks are also included. The accompanying photographs are quite small and serve to identify sites as they are being viewed, but are still large enough to satisfy the "armchair" tourist. Organized on a neighborhood basis, each with a brief overview, they clearly convey the historic urban development patterns of these communities. Both continue into the modern period and include analysis and commentary about urban renewal. The Hartford guide also contains an important bibliographic dictionary of architects who have practiced in the city and the state.

Nineteenth-century local histories are the first sources for information about individual towns. Although by modern standards they are generally pedantic, anecdotal, and overloaded with geneological information, these works are important sources because the authors often were writing about contemporary events. In the same genré are "memorial" county histories, which are often compilations of town histories, but excellent biographical sources.

Many towns have produced histories in the twentieth century, especially for the Bicentennial celebration. Some exceptional examples include Christopher P. Bickford's scholarly history of Farmington, a model of what community history can be. Utilizing extensive primary source material, the author produced an academic history with a local focus and purpose, a rare combination that is a valuable resource for the Connecticut historian. A recent history of Enfield, which is a well-organized compilation of the work of a dozen local authors, is another type of community history. Arranged topically under standard historic periods, it is one of the best of the Bicentennial publications. Both these books were published by their respective historical societies, as are many other fine examples cited in the bibliography.

The major source for ethnic history is the Multicultural Ethnic Heritage Series produced by the School of Education at the University of Connecticut, which deals with the background and history of each immigrant group. African-American history, a recent addition to this series, has not yet been published but is available in bound photocopy format. The draft version contains much new information and is illuminated by interviews and biographies. Teacher guides and additional sources for those who wish to pursue various topics are included in each of these publications. There are also numerous journal articles on black history which contain new information on education and religion in New Haven and Hartford. Another ethnic history source with direct application to the Central Valley is the Ethnic Heritage Studies *Journal 1980* produced by the Graduate Liberal Studies Program at Wesleyan University, which also contains community and institutional studies for Irish, Italian, and Jewish Americans, all in central Connecticut.

The historic and architectural resources of the Central Valley have been intensively surveyed, perhaps more so than in any other region of the state. Only seven of the 41 towns have yet to conduct a survey of their historic and architectual resources, a remarkable record. Wethersfield, however, is the only one of the original River Towns not surveyed, one of the more serious omissions. Except for some of the better-known colonial buildings, there is very little public documentation of any kind available. Many of Wethersfield's historic buildings are contained within its large National Register historic district, but the nomination was prepared years ago when the level of documentation was less demanding than today. It is highly recommended

that the town undertake a comprehensive survey in the near future. For towns that were surveyed more than ten years ago, it is recommended that the surveys be updated. At minimum, a field survey should be carried out to determine which buildings have been altered or demolished. Several thematic surveys and nominations have been carried out that have direct application to the Central Valley. Among them are the multitown nomination for the route of the Farmington Canal, the statewide survey of Town Greens, and, most recently, a survey of Connecticut's African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Zion churches.

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Part 2

Management Guide

VII. CENTRAL VALLEY PROPERTY TYPE MATRIX

	COLONIAL PERIOD 1614-1780	AGRICULTURAL AND EARLY INDUSTRIAL PERIOD 1780-1850	INDUSTRIAL AND URBAN GROWTH PERIOD 1850-1930	MODERN PERIOD 1930-1990
AGRICULTURE/ SUBSISTENCE	farmsteads / farmhouses / livestock farms / horse farms / grain farms / open-field farms	farmsteads / farmhouses / livestock farms / horse farms / dairy farms / vegetable farms / grain farms / orchards / tree farms / model or experimental farms	farmsteads / farmhouses / livestock farms / horse farms / dairy farms / vegetable farms / grain farms / tobacco farms / orchards / model or experimental farms / seed farms / windmills / icehouses / oyster farms	horse farms / dairy farms / livestock farms / tobacco farms / vegetable and fruit farms / oyster farms / orchards / nurseries / greenhouses
COMMERCE	ships / boats / barges / shipyards / wharves / docks / ropewalks / warehouses / farm markets / trading posts / artisan shops / commercial districts / chandleries / inns / taverns	ships / boats / barges / shipyards / wharves / docks / ropewalks / warehouses / merchant stores / chandleries /artisan shops / banks / commercial districts / general stores / grain and feed stores / apothecaries / inns / taverns / hotels	ships / shipyards / steamboats / barges / wharves / docks / jetties / ropewalks / warehouses / merchant stores / chandleries / artisan shops / banks / commercial districts / insurance buildings / office buildings / newspaper plants / telephone exchanges / radio stations / general stores / grain and feed stores / company stores / department stores / national chain stores / drug-stores / inns / taverns / hotels / tourist courts / diners / restaurants / gas stations / garages / auto dealerships	boatyards / marinas / steamboats barges / wharves / docks / jetties / warehouses / petroleum storage tanks / banks / commercial districts / insurance buildings / office buildings / corporate headquarters / newspaper plants / telephone buildings / radio stations / television and cable stations / television towers and receivers / department stores / national chain stores / supermarkets / shopping malls / shopping plazas / commercial strip development / hotels / motels / tourist courts / diners / restaurants / fast food restaurant chains / gas stations garages / parking garages / auto dealerships
EDUCATION	schoolhouses / academies / grammar schools / colleges	schoolhouses / academies / high schools / colleges	schoolhouses / district schools / private academies / parochial schools / elementary schools / high schools / normal schools / private day schools / boarding schools / colleges / private colleges and universities	schoolhouses / district schools / private academies / parochial schools / elementary schools / junior high schools / high schools / normal schools / vocational and technical schools / private day schools / boarding schools / junior colleges / state community colleges / state technical schools / private colleges and universities

	COLONIAL PERIOD 1614-1780	AGRICULTURAL AND EARLY INDUSTRIAL PERIOD 1780-1850	INDUSTRIAL AND URBAN GROWTH PERIOD 1850-1930	MODERN PERIOD 1930-1990
IMMIGRATION / ETHNIC HISTORY	cemeteries / slave quarters	cemeteries / abolition-related buildings / safehouses / workers housing / Catholic churches	cemeteries / ethnic churches / synagogues / safehouses / fraternal organization halls / ethnic social halls / ethnic benevolent society halls / workers housing / parochial schools / resort hotels	cemeteries / ethnic churches / synagogues / temples / fraternal organization halls / ethnic social halls / ethnic benevolent society halls / workers housing / parochial schools / resort hotels
INDUSTRY	carriage and wagonmaker shops / wheelwright shops / blacksmith shops / cooper shops / joiner shops / clockmaker shops / tin-ware shops / pewterer shops / shoemaker shops / silversmith shops / shipyards / ironworks / brickyards / mines / mints / quarries / potteries / distilleries / gristmills / fulling mills / oil mills / cider mills / sawmills / tanneries / slaughterhouses / printer shops	carriage and wagonmaker shops / wheelwright shops / blacksmith shops / cooper shops / joiner shops / clockmaker shops / tinware shops / pewterer shops / silversmith shops / shoemaker shops / shipyards / ropewalks / ironworks / naileries / brickyards / mines / quarries / potteries / distilleries / gristmills / fulling mills / oil mills / cider mills / sawmills / tanneries / slaughterhouses / printer shops / slitting mills / glass factories / spinning mills / fulling mills / carding mills / weaving mills / bleacheries / dyeworks / paper factories / clothiers / britannia-ware factories	carriage and wagonmaker shops / carriage factories / wheelwright shops / blacksmith shops / cooper shops / joiner shops / sawmills / lumberyards / distilleries / breweries / clock factories / metal fabrication shops and factories / bridge factories / pewterer shops / shoemaker shops / shipyards / ropewalks / ironworks / foundries / machine shops / brickyards / gun factories / mines / quarries / potteries / grain mills / distilleries / breweries / oil mills / cider mills / sawmills / tanneries / powder mills / slaughterhouses / leather goods factories / print shops / glass factories / textile mills / paper and box factories / rubber factories / typewriter factories / bicycle factories / marine hardware factories / brittannia-ware factories / silverware factories / machine tool factories / aircraft factories /electricity generating plants / gas manufacturing plants / petroleum storage tanks	sawmills / lumberyards / clock factories / metal fabrication shops and factories / shipyards / boatyards / foundries / machine shops / ordnance factories / gun factories /aerospace factories / brickyards / sand and gravel quarries / traprock quarries / distilleries / breweries / printing plants / food processing plants / textile mills / paper and box factories / rubber factories / typewriter factories / marine hardware factories / silverware factories / machine tool factories / electricity generating plants / gas manufacturing plants / petroleum storage tanks / chemical storage tanks / national corporate headquarters
MILITARY	powder mills / parade grounds / magazines / encampments / forts / prisons / privateer ships	powder mills / parade grounds / magazines / forts / privateer ships	state armories / war monuments and memorials / forts	state armories / war monuments and armories / Nike battery sites / military bases

	COLONIAL PERIOD 1614-1780	AGRICULTURAL AND EARLY INDUSTRIAL PERIOD 1780-1850	INDUSTRIAL AND URBAN GROWTH PERIOD 1850-1930	MODERN PERIOD 1930-1990
POLITICS / REFORM / WELFARE	meetinghouses / courthouses / jails / taverns / statehouses / customs houses / pesthouses / animal pounds	meetinghouses / state courthouses / county courthouses / customs houses / jails / statehouses / boroughs / cities / pesthouses / animal pounds / post offices / town halls / almshouses / schools for deaf / schools for blind / private mental institutions / sewage and water systems	municipal courthouses / counry courthouses / custums houses / jails / statehouses / boroughs / cities / post offices / town halls / police stations / firehouses / poor farms / orphanages / schools for deaf / schools for blind / state mental institutions / private mental institutions / sanitariums / sewage treatment plants / water pumping stations / resevoirs / union halls / greens	state courthouses / country court-houses / statehouses / boroughs / post offices / town halls / municipal buildings / state correctional institutions / police stations / firehouses / customs houses / nursing homes / jails / orphanages / schools for deaf / schools for blind / state mental institutions / private mental institutions / sanitariums / sewage treatment plants / water pumping stations / reservoirs / water filtration systems / flood control dams / CCC camps / WPA and PWA projects
RELIGION	cemeteries / burying grounds / meetinghouses / churches / Sabbathday houses / parsonages /	cemeteries / meetinghouses / Protestant churches / Sunday schools / parsonages / rectories	cemeteries / Protestant churches / Catholic churches / synagogues / parsonages / rectories / parish houses / chapels / convents / parochial schols / hospitals / colleges / religious campgrounds	cemeteries / Protestant churches / Catholic churches / synagogues / temples / parsonages / rectories / parish houses / chapels / convents / parochial schools / seminaries / hospitals / colleges / religious campgrounds
SETTLEMENT TYPE	towns / commons / nucleated villages / linear villages / isolated farmsteads	towns / commons / nucleated villages / linear villages / isolated farmsteads / mill villages / central business districts	towns / mill villages / detached single-family housing neighborhoods / multi-family housing neighborhoods /. ethnic neighborhoods and transition zones / central business districts / streetcar suburbs / estates / resort colonies	towns / mill villages / detached single-family housing neighborhoods / multi-family housing neighborhoods / apartment complexes / public housing projects / ethnic neighborhoods and transition zones / central business districts / streetcar suburbs / estates / war-related emergency housing suburban tract housing / congregate housing / condominiums / resort colonies

	COLONIAL PERIOD 1614-1780	AGRICULTURAL AND EARLY INDUSTRIAL PERIOD 1780-1850	INDUSTRIAL AND URBAN GROWTH PERIOD 1850-1930	MODERN PERIOD 1930-1990
SOCIAL HISTORY / RECREATION / CULTURE	taverns	taverns / social halls / granges / private libraries / museums / theaters / circus grounds / ballrooms / racetracks	social halls / granges / libraries / museums / theaters / opera houses / symphony halls / movie theaters / circus grounds / dance halls and ballrooms / YMCA and YWCA buildings / college fraternity, sorority, and secret society houses / athletic stadiums / resort hotels / seasonal cottages / seasonal estates / campgrounds / state parks / municipal parks / beach pavilions / public bathhouses / amusement parks / racetracks / golf courses / country clubs / athletic fields / zoos / fairgrounds	social halls / granges / libraries / museums / theaters / opera houses / symphony halls / movie theaters / circus grounds / dance halls and ballrooms / YMCA and YWCA buildings / college fraternity, sorority, and secret society houses / athletic stadiums / resort hotels / seasonal cottages / seasonal estates / campgrounds / state parks / municipal parks / beach pavilions / public bathhouses / amusement parks / racetracks / golf courses / country clubs / athletic fields / zoos / fairgrounds / drive-in movie theaters / yacht clubs / health clubs / swimming pools / gymnasiums / sports arenas / playgrounds / playscapes
TRANSPORTATION	wharves / ferry docks / ferry crossings / ferry boats / bridges / trails / town roads / county roads / post roads	wharves / passenger sailing packets / steamboats / ferry docks / ferry crossings / ferry boats / bridges / trails / town roads / county roads / post roads / stagecoach taverns / livery stables / turnpikes / toll roads / tollhouses / tollgates / canals / canal barges / towpaths / train stations / railroad lines / freight yards / freight houses	wharves / passenger sailing packets / steamboats / ferry slips and docks / lighthouses / breakwaters / bridges / town roads / county roads / post roads / stagecoach taverns / livery stables / turnpikes / toll roads / canals / canal barges / towpaths / canal locks / train stations / railroad lines / freight yards / freight houses / airports / streetcar barns / state roads and highways / tourist courts	wharves / ferry slips and docks / lighthouses / breakwaters / bridges / town roads / county roads / state roads and highway / train stations / railroad lines freightyards / freight houses / streetcar barns / marine terminals / bus stations / airports / heliports / motels / parking garages

VIII. PROTECTION PROGRAM/ACTIVITY NARRATIVE
by the
Connecticut Historical Commission

Federal Protection Programs

Historic Resource Survey: The historic resource survey is the process of identifying and gathering information on a town or city's historic buildings or sites. It identifies historic, architectural, archaeological, and historic engineering resources. Surveys conducted in accordance with the standards of the Connecticut Historical Commission are the cornerstone of preservation in Connecticut because they serve as the framework on which local government officials and planners, citizen boards, preservationists, and developers can base sound development decisions.

Certified Local Government Status: The Certified Local Government program was authorized by the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as amended in 1980, to recognize local preservation planning expertise and to provide communities with a way to participate more fully in federal and state historic preservation programs. At least ten percent of the annual Historic Preservation Fund grant administered by the Connecticut Historical Commission under the National Historic Preservation Act and in accordance with 36 CFR Part 61 must be distributed among Certified Local Governments in the state. Note: only municipalities which have at least one local historic district or property established pursuant to Connecticut General Statutes 7-147 *et seq.* are eligible for participation in this program.

National Register Listing: The National Register of Historic Places was established by the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966. Administered by the Connecticut Historical Commission under 36 CFR Part 60, the listing recognizes properties that have significance in American history, architecture, archaeology, and culture at the local, state, or national level. Districts, sites, buildings, structures, and objects may be nominated. Listing results in consideration in planning for federal, federally licensed, or federally assisted projects in accordance with Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966, as amended, and 36 CFR Part 800. Federal agencies are required to assess what impact an agency's proposed undertaking will have on properties listed on the National Register of Historic Places. The process includes review and comment by the State Historic Preservation Office and may involve the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation. This protection is also afforded to properties eligible for listing. In addition, owners of listed properties may be eligible for: (1) federal tax benefits for the rehabilitation of historic properties under 36 CFR Part 67, and (2) federal historic preservation matching grants-in-aid when funds are available. In Connecticut, listing also results in the application of Connecticut General Statutes Section 22a-19a of the Connecticut Environmental Protection Act. This law permits legal recourse for the proposed unreasonable destruction of properties under consideration for listing or listed on the National Register of Historic Places.

National Historic Landmark Listing: Administered by the National Park Service under 36 CFR Part 65, National Historic Landmarks are identified, designated, recognized, and

monitored directly by the federal government. To qualify for landmark status, a property must possess exceptional historical significance to the nation.

State and Local Protection Activities

State Register Listing: Connecticut General Statutes Section 10-321a established the State Register of Historic Places in 1975. Historic properties significant to the development of the state may be nominated by the State Historic Preservation Office and designated by the members of the Connecticut Historical Commission, who are appointed by the Governor. The criteria for selection are similar to those of the National Register of Historic Places. Since 1977, all properties approved for nomination to the National Register of Historic Places and all local historic districts and local historic properties favorably recommended by the Connecticut Historical Commission pursuant to Connecticut General Statutes Section 7-147 *et seq.* are automatically entered on the State Register of Historic Places.

Preservation Plan: Connecticut General Statutes Section 8-23 requires municipalities to adopt development plans which may include an independent historic preservation plan or a historic preservation component. A preservation plan identifies goals for the protection and enhancement of historic properties and is typically based on a comprehensive and intensive-level historic resource survey.

Cultural Resource Planning Map: Usually compiled as a component of preservation plans, historic resource survey, or nominations for National Register of Historic Places and National Historic Landmark listings, a cultural resource planning map locates and identifies significant or potentially significant cultural resources.

Overlay Zoning: Connecticut General Statutes Section 8-2 authorizes municipalities to establish zoning regulations that may provide for reasonable consideration for the protection of historic factors. Overlay zoning is an additional layer of regulations superimposed on the base zoning regulations for a particular area in a community. The purpose of historic overlay zoning is to maintain the architectural character of historic buildings that might be adversely affected in the absence of such special zoning provisions. Regulations may provide for an additional preservation review process with reference to those aspects of architectural design governed by zoning, such as density, height, and use.

Demolition Delay Ordinance: Connecticut General Statutes Section 29-406a and b identifies the terms under which a permit for the demolition of a particular structure may be granted. Section 29-406b authorizes any town, city or borough, by ordinance, to impose a waiting period of not more than 90 days before granting any permit for the demolition of any building or structure or any part thereof. The 90-day waiting period allows time for exploring alternatives to demolition. The ordinance establishes the criteria for determining which properties are subject to a delay of demolition. Such criteria may include historic factors and a definition of historic properties.

State Scenic Roads Designation: Connecticut General Statutes Section 13b-31b through Section 13b-31e defines a state scenic road as any state highway or portion thereof that (1) passes through agricultural land or abuts land where a National Register or State Register property is located; or (2) affords vistas of marshes, shorelines, forests with mature trees, or notable geologic or other natural features. It authorizes the commissioner of transportation in consultation with the commissioners of environmental protection and economic development to designate state highways or portions thereof as scenic roads. The purpose of the state scenic road designation is to ensure that any alteration to such a road maintains the character of the road. Towards this end, the commissioner of transportation, in consultation with the commissioners of environmental protection and economic development, is required to adopt regulations which set forth special maintenance and improvement standards that take into consideration the protection of the historic and natural features of scenic roads.

Municipal Scenic Roads Designation: Connecticut General Statutes Section 7-149a authorizes towns, cities, or boroughs to designate, by ordinance, locally owned roads as scenic roads for the purpose of regulating future alterations or improvements, including, but not limited to, widening of the right-of-way or traveled portion of the road, paving, changes of grade, straightening, and removal of stone walls or mature trees. To qualify, a road must meet at least one of the following criteria: (1) it is unpaved; (2) it is bordered by mature trees or stone walls; (3) the traveled portion is no more than 20 feet in width; (4) it offers scenic views; (5) it blends naturally into the surrounding terrain; or (6) it parallels or crosses over brooks, streams, lakes, or ponds. Designation requires that a majority of the owners of lot frontage abutting the road agree by filing a written statement of approval with the town clerk.

National Register Land Record Citation: Connecticut General Statutes Section 47-18a requires the record owner of any property under consideration for listing or listed on the National Register of Historic Places to record that information on the land records of the town in which the property is located. The purpose of such action is to inform subsequent owners of the property that the property is subject to the consequences of listing on the National Register of Historic Places.

Design Review Board: Municipalities can establish a design review board, composed of qualified professionals and other community representatives, to review and provide advisory comments on exterior changes to historic buildings or structures and on new construction which might have an impact on historic properties.

Municipal Preservation Board: Connecticut General Statutes Section 10-321q authorizes municipalities to appoint Municipal Preservation Boards to review National Register of Historic Places nomination forms and submit comments to the State Historic Preservation Board.

Local Historic District/Property Study Committee: Connecticut General Statutes Section 7-147 *et seq.* authorizes municipalities to establish local historic districts and/or properties. The first step in the process is the appointment of a citizens' study committee.

Local Historic District/Property Commission: Connecticut General Statutes Section 7-147 *et seq.* authorizes the establishment of permanent commissions appointed by municipalities to govern local historic districts/properties established by the procedures of the enabling statute.

Duties of the commissions are to implement design review procedures and to regulate exterior architectural changes to historic properties within local historic districts or to individual historic properties if those changes are visible from a public right-of-way. Note: districts listed on the National Register of Historic Places are not subject to these restrictions, although in some cases local districts may also be listed on the National Register of Historic Places.

Local Historic Preservation Trust: Citizens have established privately funded nonprofit historic preservation organizations throughout Connecticut. These groups serve as local advocates for the preservation of historic properties within the community or region. Activities can include sponsoring cultural resource surveys to identify historic properties, offering educational programs, and providing technical assistance. In some cases the local historical society carries out a preservation role. Connecticut General Statutes Special Act 75-93 established the Connecticut Trust for Historic Preservation, a statewide nonprofit organization.

Municipal Preservation Planner: Towns and cities may include a paid professional position in their planning departments to prepare and implement a preservation plan, assist local historic district/property commissions, evaluate the environmental impact of certain municipal activities, act as liaison between the municipality and the State Historic Preservation Office, and administer the Certified Local Government program, if applicable.

Municipal Historian: Connecticut General Statutes Section 7-148 (c) (5) (D) authorizes towns and cities to appoint a municipal historian whose responsibilities are locally defined. The municipal historian can provide information about a community's history which can assist in local decisionmaking and preservation planning.

Tax Abatement: Connecticut General Statutes Section 12-127a allows municipalities, by ordinance, to abate all or part of the real property taxes on structures of historical or architectural merit, provided it can be shown that the current level of taxation is a factor which threatens the continued existence of the structure, necessitating its demolition or remodelling in a form which destroys its integrity.

Assessment Deferral: Connecticut General Statutes Section 12-65c through 12-65f authorizes municipalities to adopt a resolution designating one or more rehabilitation areas and establishing the criteria for determining which properties within the area so designated are eligible for a deferral of a tax assessment increase resulting from rehabilitation of the property.

Connecticut Environmental Protection Act: Connecticut General Statutes Section 22a-19a directs that the provisions of sections 22a-15 through 22a-19 of the Connecticut Environmental Protection Act, which permit legal recourse for the unreasonable destruction of the state's resources, shall also be applicable to historic structures and landmarks of the state. Such structures and landmarks are defined as those properties (1) which are listed or under consideration for individual listing on the National Register of Historic Places or (2) which are listed as part of a district listed or under consideration for listing on the National Register and which have been determined by the State Historic Preservation Board to contribute to the historic significance of such a district. If the plaintiff in a resulting legal action cannot make a *prima facie* showing that the conduct of the defendant, acting alone or in combination with others, has unreasonably destroyed or is likely unreasonably to destroy the public trust in such historic structure or landmarks, the court shall tax all costs for the action to the plaintiff.

Connecticut State Building Code: Section 513 ("Special Historic Structures and Districts") and Connecticut General Statutes Section 29-259 (a) recognize the special nature of historic structures and allow for certain alternatives to the life safety code so long as safe design, use, and construction are not affected. The Connecticut Historical Commission, under Section 513 of the State Building Code, reviews applications for designation of historic structure status and for preservation and rehabilitation work in compliance with established standards. A Preservation and Rehabilitation Certificate is issued by the Connecticut Historical Commission for applications meeting the established standards.

IX. CENTRAL VALLEY PROTECTION PROGRAM/ACTIVITY TABLE

	PROGRAM/ACTIVITY	Avon	Berlin	Bloomfield	Cheshire	Cromwell	Durham	East Granby	East Hartford	East Haven	East Windsor	Ellington
FEDERAL PROTECTION PROGRAMS	Historic Resource Survey	X	X		X	X	X	X	X			
	Certified Local Government Status								X			
	National Register Listing	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
	National Historic Landmark Listing							X				
STATE AND LOCAL PROTECTION ACTIVITIES	State Register Listing	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
	Preservation Plan					X		X	X			
	Cultural Resource Planning Map	X										
	Overlay Zoning				X							
	Demolition Delay Ordinance								X			
	State Scenic Roads Designation											
	Municipal Scenic Roads Designation											
	National Register Land Record Citation											
	Design Review Board	X		X					X			
	Municipal Preservation Board											
	Local Historic District/ Property Study Committee				X				X		X	
	Local Historic District/ Property Commission		X				X		X			
	Local Historic Preservation Trust					X	X					
	Municipal Preservation Planner								X			
	Municipal Historian	X	X		X	X	X	X	X			
	Tax Abatement									X		
	Assessment Deferral									X		

	PROGRAM/ACTIVITY	Enfield	Farmington	Glastonbury	Granby	Hamden	Hartford	Manchester	Meriden	Middlefield	Middletown	New Britain
FEDERAL PROTECTION PROGRAMS	Historic Resource Survey	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
	Certified Local Government Status			X								
	National Register Listing	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
	National Historic Landmark Listing		X	X			X	X				
STATE AND LOCAL PROTECTION ACTIVITIES	State Register Listing	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
	Preservation Plan		X	X				X				X
	Cultural Resource Planning Map	X	X	X			X	X			X	X
	Overlay Zoning	X						X	X			
	Demolition Delay Ordinance		X	X			X	X			X	
	State Scenic Roads Designation			X								
	Municipal Scenic Roads Designation					X						
	National Register Land Record Citation											
	Design Review Board						X		X		X	
	Municipal Preservation Board										X	
	Local Historic District/ Property Study Committee		X				X					
	Local Historic District/ Property Commission	X	X	X			X					
	Local Historic Preservation Trust		X				X			X	X	
	Municipal Preservation Planner						X	X				
	Municipal Historian	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		X	
	Tax Abatement											
	Assessment Deferral						X					

	PROGRAM/ACTIVITY	New Haven	Newington	North Branford	North Haven	Plainville	Portland	Rocky Hill	Simsbury	Somers	Southington	South Windsor
FEDERAL PROTECTION PROGRAMS	Historic Resource Survey	X	X	X	X	X	X		X	X	X	
	Certified Local Government Status	X							X			
	National Register Listing	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
	National Historic Landmark Listing	X				X						
STATE AND LOCAL PROTECTION ACTIVITIES	State Register Listing	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
	Preservation Plan								X			
	Cultural Resource Planning Map						X		X		X	X
	Overlay Zoning	X	X						X			
	Demolition Delay Ordinance	X		X			X		X			
	State Scenic Roads Designation											
	Municipal Scenic Roads Designation								X			
	National Register Land Record Citation											
	Design Review Board			X					X			X
	Municipal Preservation Board											
	Local Historic District/ Property Study Committee						X					X
	Local Historic District/ Property Commission	X							X			X
	Local Historic Preservation Trust	X					X					
	Municipal Preservation Planner								X			
	Municipal Historian	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		X	
	Tax Abatement											
	Assessment Deferral											

	PROGRAM/ACTIVITY	Suffield	Vernon	Wallingford	West Hartford	West Haven	Wethersfield	Windsor	Windsor Locks			
FEDERAL PROTECTION PROGRAMS	Historic Resource Survey	X	X	X	X	X		X	X			
	Certified Local Government Status		X					X				
	National Register Listing	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X			
	National Historic Landmark Listing				X		X	X				
STATE AND LOCAL PROTECTION ACTIVITIES	State Register Listing	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X			
	Preservation Plan		X					X				
	Cultural Resource Planning Map		X					X				
	Overlay Zoning											
	Demolition Delay Ordinance		X		X							
	State Scenic Roads Designation											
	Municipal Scenic Roads Designation			X								
	National Register Land Record Citation											
	Design Review Board		X									
	Municipal Preservation Board	X	X	X								
	Local Historic District/ Property Study Committee		X									
	Local Historic District/ Property Commission	X	X		X		X	X				
	Local Historic Preservation Trust			X	X							
	Municipal Preservation Planner											
	Municipal Historian	X	X		X	X	X	X	X			
	Tax Abatement											
	Assessment Deferral											

X. NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES CRITERIA

The following criteria are designed to guide the states, federal agencies, local governments, the public and the Secretary of the Interior in evaluating potential entries (other than areas of the National Park System and National Historic Landmarks) for the National Register of Historic Places.

The quality of significance in American history, architecture, archaeology, engineering, and culture is present in districts, sites, buildings, structures, and objects that possess integrity of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling and association, and:

A. that are associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history; or

B. that are associated with the lives of persons significant in our past; or

C. that embody the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction, or that represent the work of a master, or that possess high artistic values, or that represent a significant and distinguishable entity whose components may lack individual distinction; or

D. that have yielded, or may be likely to yield, information important in prehistory or history.

Ordinarily cemeteries, birthplaces, or graves of historical figures, properties owned by religious institutions or used for religious purposes, structures that have been moved from their original locations, reconstructed historic buildings, properties primarily commemorative in nature, and properties that have achieved significance within the past 50 years shall not be considered eligible for the National Register. However, such properties will qualify if they are integral parts of districts that do meet the criteria or if they fall within the following categories:

A. a religious property deriving primary significance from architectural or artistic distinction or historical importance; or

B. a building or structure removed from its original location but which is significant primarily for architectural value, or which is the surviving structure most importantly associated with a historic person or event; or

C. a birthplace or grave of a historical figure of outstanding importance if there is no other appropriate site or building directly associated with his/her productive life; or

D. a cemetery that derives its primary significance from graves of persons of transcendent importance, from age, from distinctive design features, or from association with historic vents; or

E. a reconstructed building when accurately executed in a suitable environment and presented in a dignified manner as part of a restoration master plan, and when no other building or structure with the same association has survived; or

F. a property primarily commemorative in intent if design, age, tradition, or symbolic value has invested it with its own historical significance; or

G. a property achieving significance within the past 50 years if it is of exceptional importance.

XI. CENTRAL VALLEY RESOURCES LISTED ON NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES

The listings below are alphabetized by resource name within the 41 towns of the Central Valley, which appear in alphabetical order. Organization of the listings is as follows: name of resource, address of resource (for some historic districts, peripheral streets indicate general boundaries), and date of entry on the National Register of Historic Places. The list is current through June 1995.

KEY

NHL - National Historic Landmark
HABS - Historic American Buildings Survey
HAER - Historic American Engineering Record
LHD - Local Historic District
MPS - Multiple Property Submission
MRA - Multiple Resource Area
TR - Thematic Resource

AVON

AVON CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH, Jct. of CT 10 (US 202) and US 44, 11/07/72
PINE GROVE HISTORIC DISTRICT, Ct 167, 02/11/80

BERLIN

HOOKER, HENRY, HOUSE, 111 High Rd., 11/29/78
KELSEY, EZEKIEL, HOUSE, 429 Beckley Rd., 09/16/77
SIMEON NORTH FACTORY SITE, address restricted, 08/18/90
WORTHINGTON RIDGE HISTORIC DISTRICT, Roughly Worthington Ridge from Mill St. to Sunset Ln., 07/13/89 LHD

BLOOMFIELD

GILLETTE, FRANCIS, HOUSE (moved), 545 Bloomfield Ave., 03/25/82
OLD FARM SCHOOLHOUSE (Brick School), Jct. of Park Ave. and School St., 10/18/72
SOUTHWEST DISTRICT SCHOOL, 430 Simsbury Rd., 07/24/92

CHESHIRE

CHESHIRE HISTORIC DISTRICT, Roughly bounded by Main St., Highland Ave., Wallingford Rd., S. Main, Cornwall, and Spring Sts., 08/29/86

FARMINGTON CANAL LOCK, 487 N. Brooksvale Rd., 02/16/73
FIRST CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH OF CHESHIRE, 111 Church St., 12/04/75
MARION HISTORIC DISTRICT (also in Southington), Along Marion Ave. and Meriden-Waterbury Tpke., 12/21/88

CROMWELL

MAIN STREET HISTORIC DISTRICT, Roughly bounded by Prospect Hill Rd., Main, Wall, and West Sts., Stevens and New Lns., and Nooks Hill Rd., 10/24/85
MIDDLETOWN UPPER HOUSES HISTORIC DISTRICT (Upper Houses River Port), CT 99, 07/27/79
SAGE-KIRBY HOUSE (Kirby House), 93 Shunpike Rd., 04/29/82

DURHAM

LYMAN, THOMAS, HOUSE, Middlefield Rd., 11/20/75, HABS
MAIN STREET HISTORIC DISTRICT, Along Main St., roughly bounded by Talcott Ln., Higganum Rd., and Maple Ave., 09/04/86, LHD

EAST GRANBY

EAST GRANBY HISTORIC DISTRICT, Church and East Sts., Nicholson and Rainbow Rds., N. Main, School and S. Main Sts., 08/25/88
OLD NEWGATE PRISON (and Copper Mine), Newgate Rd., 10/15/70, NHL
PHELPS, EZEKIAL, HOUSE, 38 Holcomb St., 02/25/82
VIET'S TAVERN, Newgate Rd., 02/23/72

EAST HARTFORD

BEMONT, MAKENS, HOUSE (Hugenot House), 307 Burnside Ave., 03/25/82
BREWER, SELDEN, HOUSE (moved), Naubuc Ave., 06/04/79
CENTRAL AVENUE-CENTER CEMETERY HISTORIC DISTRICT, Center Ave. from Main St. to Elm St. and Center Cemetery, 04/19/93
FIRST CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH OF EAST HARTFORD AND PARSONAGE, 829-837 Main St., 03/25/82
GARVAN-CARROLL HISTORIC DISTRICT, Roughly bounded by S. Prospect, Chapel, and Main Sts. and I-84, 08/26/91
GILMAN-HAYDEN HOUSE, 1871 Main St., 08/16/84
ST. JOHN'S EPISCOPAL CHURCH, 1160 Main St., 11/28/83

EAST HAVEN

BRANFORD ELECTRIC RAILWAY HISTORIC DISTRICT (also in Branford), 17 River St. to Court St., 06/03/83
FIRST CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH OF EAST HAVEN (Old Stone Church), 251 Main St., 03/25/82

EAST WINDSOR

BROAD BROOK COMPANY, Main St., 05/02/85
ST. JOHN'S EPISCOPAL CHURCH, 92 Main St., 04/27/82

ELLINGTON

ELLINGTON CENTER HISTORIC DISTRICT, Roughly Maple St. from Berr Ave. to just W. of High School and Main Sts. from Jobs Hill Rd. to East Green, 11/15/90

ENFIELD

BIGELOW-HARTFORD CARPET MILLS (Bigelow-Sanford Carpet Mills), Main and Pleasant Sts., 03/10/83
BIGELOW-HARTFORD CARPET MILLS HISTORIC DISTRICT, Roughly bounded by Lafayette St., Hartford Ave., Alden Ave., and Pleasant, High, Spring, South, and Prospect Sts., 11/24/94
ENFIELD HISTORIC DISTRICT, 1106-1492 Enfield St., 08/10/79, LHD
ENFIELD SHAKERS HISTORIC DISTRICT, Shaker, Taylor, and Cybulski Rds., 05/21/79
ENFIELD TOWN MEETING HOUSE (Old Town Hall of Enfield), Enfield St. at South Rd., 09/10/74
HAZARDVILLE HISTORIC DISTRICT, CT 190 and CT 192, 02/19/80

FARMINGTON

COWLES, GENERAL GEORGE, HOUSE, 130 Main St., 05/11/82
FARMINGTON HISTORIC DISTRICT, Roughly bounded by Farmington Ave., Mountain Rd., Colton, Meadow, and Garden Sts., 03/17/72, LHD
FIRST CHURCH OF CHRIST CONGREGATIONAL, 75 Main St., 05/15/75, NHL
GRIDLEY-STAPLES-PARSONS HOMESTEAD, 1554 Farmington Ave., 07/30/81
HILL-STEAD, 35 Mountain Rd., 07/22/91, NHL
PEQUABUCK BRIDGE, Meadow Rd. at Pequabuck River, 07/19/84
SHADE SWAMP SHELTER (CONNECTICUT STATE PARK AND FOREST DEPRESSION-ERA FEDERAL WORK RELIEF PROGRAM STRUCTURES TR), E. of New Britain Ave. on US 6, 09/04/86
STANLEY-WHITMAN HOUSE (The Farmington Museum), 37 High St., 10/15/66, NHL
TUNXIS HOSE FIREHOUSE, Lovely St. and Farmington Ave., 07/28/83

GLASTONBURY

CURTISVILLE HISTORIC DISTRICT, Roughly Pratt St. from Naubuc Ave. to W. Main St., Also Parker Ter., Parker Ter. Ext., and adjacent parts of Naubuc Ave., 12/14/92
GLASTONBURY HISTORIC DISTRICT, Roughly bounded by Main St. from Hebron Ave. to Talcott Rd., 08/02/84, LHD
HALE, DR. ELIZUR, HOUSE, 3181 Hebron Ave., 11/13/89

HOLLISTER, JOHN, HOUSE, 14 Tryon St., 11/07/72
KIMBERLY MANSION (Smith Sisters House), 1625 Main St., 09/19/74, NHL
SOUTH GLASTONBURY HISTORIC DISTRICT, High, Hopewell, Main, and Water Sts., 11/23/84
WELLES, GIDEON, HOUSE, 37 Hebron Ave., 10/06/70, HABS
WELLES-SHIPMAN-WARD HOUSE, 972 Main St., 09/19/77
WILLIAMS, J. B., CO. HISTORIC DISTRICT, Hubbard, Williams, and Willieb Sts., 04/07/83

GRANBY

ALLEN'S CIDER MILL, 6 Mountain Rd., 04/28/92
COSSITT, FREDERICK H., HOUSE, 388 N. Granby Rd., 06/28/88
GRANBY CENTER HISTORIC DISTRICT, 3-8 E. Granby Rd., 2 Park Rd., 207-265 Salmon Brook St. S., 10/17/85
HAYES, SAMUEL, II, HOUSE, 67 Barndoor Rd., 04/27/92
HOLCOMB, JUDAH, HOUSE, 257 N. Granby Rd., 06/16/88
HOLCOMB, NATHANIEL, III, HOUSE (Isaac Porter House), 45 Bushy Hill Rd., 04/29/82
ROWE And WEED HOUSES (Enders House), 208 Salmon Brook St., 01/18/78
WEST GRANBY HISTORIC DISTRICT, Broad Hill, Hartland, W. Granby, and Simsbury Rds., and Day St. S., 05/01/92

HAMDEN

ATWATER, GEORGE, HOUSE, 1845 State St., 01/17/92
ATWATER-LINTON HOUSE, 1804 State St., 01/17/92
DICKERMAN, JONATHAN, II, HOUSE (The Old Red House), 105 Mt. Carmel Ave., 04/15/82
EDGERTON (Park) (also in New Haven), 840 Whitney Ave., 09/19/88
FARMINGTON CANAL LOCK NO. 13, Brooksvale Ave., 05/06/82
HAMDEN BANK AND TRUST BUILDING, 1 Circular Ave., 03/01/90
JOHNSON, ALPHONSO, HOUSE, 1 Gilbert Ave., 01/17/92
MOUNT CARMEL CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH AND PARISH HOUSE, 3280 and 3284 Whitney Ave., 195 Sherman Ave., 12/27/91
PISTOL FACTORY DWELLING, 1322 Whitney Ave., 12/27/91
SLEEPING GIANT TOWER (CONNECTICUT STATE PARK AND FOREST DEPRESSION-ERA FEDERAL RELIEF PROGRAMS STRUCTURES TR), 200 Mt. Carmel Ave. at Mt. Carmel Summit in Sleeping Giant State Park, 09/04/86
TODD, ORRIN, HOUSE, 3369 Whitney Ave., 01/17/92
WHITNEY, ELI, GUN FACTORY SITE, 915-940 Whitney Ave., 08/13/74, HAER

HARTFORD

ANN STREET HISTORIC DISTRICT, Allyn, Ann, Asylum, Church, High, and Pearl Sts., 11/28/83
APARTMENT AT 49-51 SPRING STREET (ASYLUM HILL AREA), 49-51 Spring St., 03/31/83

ARMSMEAR, 80 Wethersfield Ave., 11/13/66, NHL
ASLYUM HILL MULTIPLE RESOURCE AREA(PARTIAL INVENTORY), This area includes various districts and individual properties at various locations, 11/29/79
AUSTIN, A. EVERETT, HOUSE, 130 Scarborough St., 04/19/94, NHL
B.P.O ELKS LODGE (DOWNTOWN HARTFORD MRA), 26-28 High St., 12/23/84
BARBOUR, LUCIUS, HOUSE, 130 Washington St., 08/21/79
BARLOW, BOCE, JR., 31 Canterbury St., 07/31/94
BARNARD, HENRY, HOUSE, 118 Main St., 10/15/66, NHL
BATTERSON BLOCK (DOWNTOWN HARTFORD MRA), 26-28 High St., 12/23/84
BETH HAMEDRASH HAGODOL SYNAGOGUE (Historic Synagagues of Connecticut MPS), 370 Garden St., 05/11/95
BUCKINGHAM SQUARE DISTRICT, Main and Buckingham Sts., Linden Pl., and Capitol Ave., 06/15/77
BUCKINGHAM SQUARE HISTORIC DISTRICT (BOUNDARY INCREASE), 248-250 Hudson St., 06/15/77
BULKELEY BRIDGE, 12/10/93
BULL, AMOS, HOUSE, 59 S. Prospect St., 11/08/68
BUSHNELL PARK, Bounded by Elm, Jewell, and Trinity Sts., 10/22/70
BUTLER-McCOOK HOMESTEAD, 396 Main St., 03/22/71
CAPEN-CLARK HISTORIC DISTRICT, Capen, Clark, Elmer, Barbour, Martin, and Main Sts., 04/27/82
CHARTER OAK BANK BUILDING, 114-124 Asylum St., 10/22/78
CHARTER OAK PLACE, 7-40 Charter Oak Pl., 01/20/78
CHARTER OAK PLACE (BOUNDARY INCREASE), 103 Charter Oak Pl., 05/12/82
CHENEY BUILDING AND G. FOX BUILDING, 942 Main St., 10/06/70
CHEVREY LOMDAY MISHNAYES SYNAGOGUE (Historic Synagogues of Connecticut MPS), 148-150 Bedford St., 05/11/95
CHILDREN'S VILLAGE OF THE HARTFORD ORPHAN ASYLUM, 1680 Albany Ave., 06/28/82
CHRIST CHURCH, 955 Main St., 12/29/83
CHURCH OF THE GOOD SHEPHERD AND COLT PARISH HOUSE, 155 Wyllys St., 02/20/75
CLAY HILL HISTORIC DISTRICT, Roughly bounded by Main, Mather, Garden, and Walnut Sts., 06/16/83
CLAY HILL HISTORIC DISTRICT (BOUNDARY INCREASE), 8 Florence Ave., 02/16/84
COLT INDUSTRIAL DISTRICT, Huyshope, Van Block, Curcuembe, and Van Dyke Aves., Colt Park, 06/08/76
COLT, JAMES B., HOUSE, 154 Wethersfield Ave., 04/14/75
CONGRESS STREET DISTRICT, Congress St., 10/06/75
CONNECTICUT STATE CAPITOL, Capitol Ave., 10/30/70, NHL
CONNECTICUT STATE LIBRARY AND SUPREME COURT BUILDING, 231 Capitol Ave., 06/04/81
DAY, CALVIN, HOUSE, 105 Spring St., 12/18/78
DAY HOUSE, 77 Forest St., 04/16/71
DAY-TAYLOR HOUSE, 81 Wethersfield Ave., 04/14/75
DEPARTMENT STORE HISTORIC DISTRICT (Downtown Hartford MRA), 884-956 Main St. and 36 Talcott St., 03/23/95

DILLON BUILDING, 69-71 Pratt St., 02/11/82
DOWNTOWN HARTFORD MULTIPLE RESOURCE AREA (PARTIAL INVENTORY), This area includes various districts and individual properties at various locations, 12/23/84
ELM STREET HISTORIC DISTRICT, 71-166 Capitol Ave., 55-97 Elm St., and 20-30 Trinity St., 06/28/84
ENGINE COMPANY 1 FIRE STATION (FIREHOUSES OF HARTFORD MPS), 197 Main St., 03/02/89
ENGINE COMPANY 2 FIRE STATION (FIREHOUSES OF HARTFORD MPS), 1515 Main St., 03/02/89
ENGINE COMPANY 6 FIRE STATION (FIREHOUSES OF HARTFORD), 34 Huyshope Ave., 03/02/89
ENGINE COMPANY 9 FIRE STATION (FIREHOUSES OF HARTFORD MPS), 655 New Britain Ave., 03/02/89
ENGINE COMPANY 15 FIRE STATION (FIREHOUSES OF HARTFORD MPS), 8 Fairfield Ave., 03/02/89
ENGINE COMPANY 16 FIRE STATION (FIREHOUSES OF HARTFORD MPS), 636 Blue Hills Ave., 03/02/89
FIREHOUSES OF HARTFORD MPS, 03/02/89
FIRST CHURCH OF CHRIST AND ANCIENT BURYING GROUND, 675 Main St., 12/05/72
FIRST NATIONAL BANK BUILDING (DOWNTOWN HARTFORD MRA), 50 State St., 12/23/84
FOOTGUARD HALL (DOWNTOWN HARTFORD MRA), Footguard and High Sts., 12/23/84
HOUSE AT 36 FOREST STREET (ASYLUM HILL MRA), 2/24/83
FOURTH CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH, Albany Ave. at Vine St., 04/12/82
FROG HOLLOW (District), Capitol Ave. between Oak St. and Park Ter., 04/11/79
FROG HOLLOW HISTORIC DISTRICT (BOUNDARY INCREASE), Bounded by Park Ter., Hillside Ave., Hamilton and Summit Sts., 03/01/84
GOODWIN BLOCK (District), 219-275 Asylum St., 5-17 Hayes St., 210-228 Pearl St., 03/26/76
HARTFORD CLUB (DOWNTOWN HARTFORD MRA), 46 Prospect St., 12/23/84
HARTFORD GOLF CLUB HISTORIC DISTRICT (also in West Hartford), Simsbury Rd., Bloomfield and Albany Aves., Norwood Rd., Mohawk and Mohegan Drs., 06/26/86
HARTFORD SEMINARY FOUNDATION, 55 Elizabeth St., 72-120 Sherman St., 06/22/82
HARTFORD UNION STATION, Union Pl., 11/25/75. HAER
HYDE-ST. JOHN HOUSE, 25 Charter Oak Ave., 10/06/77
ISHAM-TERRY HOUSE, 211 High St., 02/11/82
JEFFERSON-SEYMOUR DISTRICT, Roughly bounded by Jefferson, Seymour, Wadsworth, and Buckingham Sts., 05.04.79
JOHNSON, WILFRED X., HOUSE, 206 Tower Ave., 07/31/94
JUDD AND ROOT BUILDING (DOWNTOWN HARTFORD MRA), 175-189 Allyn St., 12/23/84
KENEY TOWER, Main and Ely Sts., 03/30/78
LEWIS STREET DISTRICT, 1-33, 24-36 Lewis St., 8-28 Trumbull St., and 60 Gold St, 01/30/76

LINKE, WILLIAM L., HOUSE (ASYLUM HILL MRA), 174 Sigourney St., 02/24/83
LITTLE HOLLYWOOD HISTORIC DISTRICT, Farmington Ave., Owen, Frederick, and Dennison Sts., 04/29/82
LYMAN HOUSE (Town and Country Club), 22 Woodland St., 10/31/75
MAIN STREET HISTORIC DISTRICT NO. 2 (DOWNTOWN HARTFORD MRA), W. Main St., N. Central Row, E. Prospect St., and N. Atheneum Sq., 12/23/84
MATHER HOMESTEAD, 2 Mahl Ave., 04/29/82
METROPOLITAN AFRICAN METHODIST EPISCOPAL ZION CHURCH, 2051 Main St., 07/22/94
MUNICIPAL BUILDING, 550 Main St., 04/27/81
MYERS AND GROSS BUILDING (ASYLUM HILL MRA), 2 Fraser Pl., 03/31/83
NORTHRUP MEMORIAL CHAPEL AND GALLUP MEMORIAL GATEWAY, 453 Fairfield Ave., 06/29/82
THE OLD HARTFORD STATEHOUSE, 800 Main St., 10/15/66, NHL, HABS
PARKSIDE HISTORIC DISTRICT, 176-230 Wethersfield Ave., 05/31/84
PERKINS-CLARK HOUSE, 49 Woodland St., 12/14/78
POLISH NATIONAL HOME, 60 Charter Oak Ave., 10/20/83
POMEROY, ARTHUR G., HOUSE, 490 Ann St., 02/04/82
PRATT STREET HISTORIC DISTRICT, 31-101 and 32-110 Pratt St., 196-260 Trumbull St., 03/10/83
PROSPECT AVENUE HISTORIC DISTRICT (also in West Hartford), Roughly bounded by Albany Ave., N. Branch of Park River, Elizabeth and Fern Sts., Prospect and Asylum Aves., and Sycamore Rd., 08/29/85
HOUSES AT 140 AND 144 RETREAT AVENUE, 02/25/82
ROYAL TYPEWRITER COMPANY BUILDING, 150 New Park Ave., 02/23/89
SAINT ANTHONY HALL, 340 Summit St., 05/09/85
SAINT PAUL'S METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH, 1886-1906 Park St., 08/02/84
SAINTS CYRIL AND METHODIUS CHURCH, 63 Governor St., 06/30/83
SECOND CHURCH OF CHRIST, 307 Main St., 01/09/78
SIGOURNEY SQUARE HISTORIC DISTRICT, Sargeant, Ashley, and May Sts., 01/16/79
SIGOURNEY SQUARE HISTORIC DISTRICT (BOUNDARY INCREASE), 216-232 Garden St., 12/21/83
SIMPSON, DR. FRANK T., HOUSE, 27 Keney Ter., 12/02/93
SOUTH GREEN HISTORIC DISTRICT, Wethersfield Ave., Alden, Dean, Main, Morris, Stonington, and Wyllys Sts., 11/17/77
SPENCER HOUSE (ASYLUM HILL MRA), 1039 Asylum Ave., 02/24/83
STACKPOLE, MOORE, AND TRYON BUILDING, 105-115 Asylum St., 10/19/78
STOWE, HARRIET BEECHER, HOUSE, 73 Forest St., 10/06/70
STONE BRIDGE (DOWNTOWN HARTFORD MRA), 500 Main St., 03/28/85
TEMPLE BETH ISRAEL, 21 Charter Oak Ave., 12/01/78
TWAIN, MARK, HOUSE, 351 Farmington Ave., 12/01/78, NHL
U.S. POST OFFICE AND FEDERAL BUILDING, 135-149 High St., 10/19/81
UNION BAPTIST CHURCH (ST. THOMAS'S CHURCH), 1913 and 1921 Main St., 08/15/79
UPPER ALBANY HISTORIC DISTRICT, Roughly bounded by Holcomb and Vine Sts., Homestead Ave., and Woodland St., 09/29/86

WADSWORTH ATHENEUM, 25 Atheneum Sq. N., 10/06/70
WASHINGTON STREET SCHOOL, 461 Washington St., 02/19/82
WEBSTER MEMORIAL BUILDING, 36 Trumbull St., 03/12/82
WEST END NORTH HISTORIC DISTRICT (also in West Hartford), Roughly bounded by Farmington Ave., Lorraine, Elizabeth, and Highland Sts., 07/25/85
WEST END SOUTH HISTORIC DISTRICT (also in West Hartford), Roughly bounded by Farmington Ave., Whitney and S. Whitney Sts., West Blvd., and Prospect Ave., 04/11/85
WETHERSFIELD AVENUE CAR BARN, 331 Wethersfield Ave., 11/26/83
WIDOWS' HOMES, 1846-1860 N. Main St., 03/10/83
WINDSOR AVENUE CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH, 2030 Main St., 04/03/93

MANCHESTER

BURNHAM, EDWARD L., FARM, 580 Burnham St., 04/12/82
CHENEY BROTHERS HISTORIC DISTRICT, Bounded by Hartford Rd., Laurel, Spruce, and Campfield Sts., 06/0278, NHL
PITKIN GLASSWORKS RUIN, 11 Parker St., 04/09/79
U.S. POST OFFICE-MANCHESTER MAIN, 479 Main St., 01/21/86

MERIDEN

ANDREWS, MOSES, HOUSE, 424 W, Main St., 12/01/78
CHARTER OAK FIREHOUSE, 105 Hanover St., 03/17/94
COLONY STREET-WEST MAIN STREET HISTORIC DISTRICT, 1-62 Colony, 55 Grove, 1-119 and 82-110 W. Main Sts., 09/04/87
CURTIS MEMORIAL LIBRARY, 175 E. Main St., 04/27/81
GOFFE, SOLOMON, HOUSE, 677 N. Colony St., 01/16/79
MERIDEN CURTAIN FIXTURE COMPANY FACTORY, 122 Charles St., 12/04/86
RED BRIDGE, Near Oregon Rd. over Quinnipiac River, 12/10/93
U.S. POST OFFICE-MERIDEN MAIN, 39 N. Colony St., 01/12/86

MIDDLEFIELD

LYMAN, DAVID, II, HOUSE, 5 Lyman Rd., 02/06/85
WARD, WILLIAM, JR., HOUSE, 137 Powder Hill Rd., 02/19/88

MIDDLETOWN

ALSOP HOUSE, 301 High St., 10/06/78, HABS
BROAD STREET HISTORIC DISTRICT, Roughly bounded by High, Washington, Broad, and Church Sts., 08/25/88
CHURCH OF THE HOLY TRINITY AND RECTORY, 381 Main St. and 144 Broad St., 08/14/79
COITE-HUBBARD HOUSE, 269 High St., 12/20/78
CONNECTICUT GENERAL HOSPITAL FOR THE INSANE, Silver St. E. of Eastern Dr., 08/29/85

HIGHLAND HISTORIC DISTRICT, Atkins St. and Country Club Rd., 06/28/82
HUBBARD, NEHEMIAH, HOUSE, Laurel Grove Rd. and Washington St., 05/11/82
MAIN STREET HISTORIC DISTRICT, Roughly Main St. between College and Hartford Aves., 06/30/83
METRO SOUTH HISTORIC DISTRICT, Main and College Sts., 01/24/80
MIDDLETOWN ALMS HOUSE, 53 Warwick St., 04/29/82
MIDDLETOWN SOUTH GREEN HISTORIC DISTRICT, Union Park area on S. Main, Crescent, Pleasant, and Church Sts., 08/12/75
OLD MIDDLETOWN HIGH SCHOOL, Pearl and Court Sts., 08/23/85
PLEDGER, JACOB, HOUSE, 717 Newfield St., 03/15/82
PLUMB HOUSE, 872 Westfield St., 12/01/78
RUSSELL COMPANY UPPER MILL, 475 E. Main St., 02/06/86
RUSSELL, EDWARD AUGUSTUS, HOUSE, 318 High St., 04/29/82
RUSSELL HOUSE, Corner of Washington and High Sts., 10/06/70, HABS
SAINT LUKE'S HOME FOR DESTITUTE AND AGED WOMEN, 135 Pearl St., 04/29/82
SANSEER MILL, 215 E. Main St, 07/31/86
STARR MILL, Middlefield St., at Beverly Hghts., 12/10/93
STARR MILL BRIDGE, Middlefield St. at Beverly Hghts., 12/10/93
TOWN FARMS INN, Spring St. at River Rd., 05/04/79
U.S. POST OFFICE, 291 Main St., 04/12/82
WASHINGTON STREET HISTORIC DISTRICT, Roughly bounded by Washington and Main Sts., Washington Ter., and Vine St., 05/09/85
WETMORE, SETH, HOUSE (Oak Hill), CT 66 and Camp Rd., 09/10/70
WILCOX, CRITTENDEN MILL HISTORIC DISTRICT, 234-215 Main St., Pameacha and Highland Aves., 12/03/86
WILLIAMS, CAPTAIN BENJAMIN, HOUSE, 27 Washington St., 07/14/77
WOODROW WILSON HIGH SCHOOL, Hunting Hill Ave. and Russell St., 08/06/86

NEW BRITAIN

BURRITT HOTEL, 67 W. Main St., 07/28/83
CITY HALL-MONUMENT DISTRICT, 13-35 W. Main St., Central Park, 02/28/73
HOLMES, FRANCIS H., HOUSE, 349 Rocky Hill Ave., 06/28/84
ST. MARY'S PAROCHIAL SCHOOL, Beaver St. S. of Broad St., 04/03/91
SOUTH CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH, 90 Main St., 04/06/90
WALNUT HILL DISTRICT, Irregular pattern bounded by Winthrup, Arch, and Lake Sts., and Walnut Hill Park, 09/02/75
TEPHERETH ISRAEL SYNAGOGUE (Historic Synagogues of Connecticut MPS), 76 Winter St., 05/11/95.
WALNUT HILL PARK, W. Main St., 11/30/82
WASHINGTON SCHOOL, High and Carmody Sts., 07/19/84

NEW HAVEN

AHAVAS SHOLEM SYNAGOGUE (Historic Synagogues of Connecticut MPS), 30 White St., 05/11/95
BEAVER HILLS HISTORIC DISTRICT, Roughly bounded by Crescent St., Goffe Ter. and Blvd., 07/31/86

BETH ISRAEL SYNAGOGUE (Historic Synagogues of Connecticut MPS), 05/11/95
BLACKMAN, ELISHA, BUILDING (York-Chapel Building), 176 York St., 12/20/78
CHAPEL STREET HISTORIC DISTRICT, Roughly bounded by Park, Chapel, Temple, George, and Crown Sts., 04/05/84
CHITTENDEN, RUSSELL HENRY, HOUSE (John C. Flanagan Law Office), 83 Trumbull St., 05/15/75, NHL
CONNECTICUT AGRICULTURAL EXPERIMENT STATION, 123 Huntington St., 10/15/66, NHL
CONNECTICUT HALL, YALE UNIVERSITY, Bounded by High, Chapel, Elm, and College Sts., 10/15/66, NHL, HABS
COOK, JOHN, HOUSE, 35 Elm St., 11/03/83
DANA, JAMES DWIGHT, HOUSE, 24 Hillhouse Ave., 10/15/66, NHL, HABS
DWIGHT STREET HISTORIC DISTRICT, Roughly bounded by Park, N. Frontage, Scranton, Sherman, and Elm Sts., 09/08/83
EDGERTON (Park) (also in Hamden), 840 Whitney Ave., 09/19/88
EDGEWOOD PARK HISTORIC DISTRICT, Roughly bounded by Boulevard, Derby, Sherman, W. Park, Whalley, and Yale Aves., and Elm St., 09/09/86
FIVE MILE POINT LIGHTHOUSE, Lighthouse Point Park, 08/10/90
FORT NATHAN HALE (Fort Hale Park, Black Rock), Woodward Ave., 10/28/70
GOFFE STREET SPECIAL SCHOOL FOR COLORED CHILDREN (Prince Hall Grand Lodge of Masons), 106 Goffe St., 08/17/79
HALL-BENEDICT DRUG COMPANY BUILDING, 763-767 Orange St., 06/05/86
HILLHOUSE AVENUE HISTORIC DISTRICT, Bounded by Sachem, Temple, Trumbull, and Prospect Sts., Whitney and Hillhouse Aves., and Railroad Tracks, 09/13/85
HOWARD AVENUE HISTORIC DISTRICT, properties along Howard Ave. between I-95 and Cassius St., 09/12/85
IMPERIAL GRANUM-JOSEPH PARKER BUILDINGS, 47 and 49-51 Elm St., 03/06/86
LIGHTHOUSE POINT CAROUSEL, Lighthouse Point Park, Lighthouse Ave., 12/15/83
LINCOLN THEATER, 1 Lincoln St., 03/01/84
MARSH, OTHNIEL C., HOUSE, 360 Prospect St., 10/15/66, NHL
MENDEL, LAFAYETTE B., HOUSE, 18 Trumbull St., 01/07/66
MORRIS HOUSE, 325 Lighthouse Rd., 12/04/72
NEW HAVEN CITY HALL AND COUNTY COURTHOUSE (annex), 161 Church St., 09/09/75
NEW HAVEN GREEN HISTORIC DISTRICT, Bounded by Chapel, College, Elm, and Church Sts., 12/3070/ NHL, HABS
NEW HAVEN JEWISH HOME FOR THE AGED, 169 Davenport Ave., 06/19/79
NEW HAVEN RAILROAD STATION (Union Station), Union Ave., 09/03/75
NICOLL, CAROLINE, HOUSE, 27 Elm St., 01/14/83
NINTH SQUARE HISTORIC DISTRICT, Roughly bounded by Church, State, George, and Court Sts., 05/03/84
ORANGE STREET HISTORIC DISTRICT, Roughly bounded by Whitney Ave., State, Eagle, and Trumbull Sts., 09/12/85
OYSTER POINT HISTORIC DISTRICT, Roughly bounded by I-95, S. Water St., Howard Ave., Sea St., and Greenwich Ave., 8/10/89
PINTO, WILLIAM, HOUSE, 275 Orange St., 09/12/85

PLYMOUTH CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH, 1469 Chapel St., 07/28/83
PROSPECT HILL HISTORIC DISTRICT, Off CT 10, 11/02/79
QUINNIPIAC BREWERY, 19-13 River St., 07/15/83
QUINNIPIAC RIVER HISTORIC DISTRICT, Roughly bounded by Quinnipiac Ave., Lexington, Chapel, Ferry, Pine, Front, and Lombard Sts., 06/28/84, LHD
RAYNHAM (Kneeland Townsend House), 709 Townsend Ave., 07/11/80
RIVER STREET HISTORIC DISTRICT, Roughly bounded by Chapel St., Blatchley Ave., New Haven Harbor, and James St., 01/26/89
SOUTHWEST LEDGE LIGHTHOUSE (OPERATING LIGHTHOUSES IN CONNECTICUT MPS), SW end of east breakwater at entrance to New Haven Harbor, 05/29/90
STRATFORD SHOAL LIGHTHOUSE (OPERATING LIGHTHOUSES IN CONNECTICUT MPS), SW end of east breakwater entrance to New Haven Harbor, 05/29/90
TROWBRIDGE SQUARE HISTORIC DISTRICT, Roughly bounded by Columbus and Howard Aves., Loop Rd., Liberty St., and Railroad Tracks
UPPER STATE STREET HISTORIC DISTRICT, Roughly State St. from Bradley St. to Mill River St., 09/07/84
WELCH TRAINING SCHOOL, 495 Congress St., 04/21/83
WHITNEY AVENUE HISTORIC DISTRICT, Roughly bounded by Burns, Livingston, Cold Spring, Orange, and Bradley Sts., and Whitney Ave., 02/0289
WINCHESTER REPEATING ARMS COMPANY HISTORIC DISTRICT, Roughly bounded by Sherman Pkwy., Ivy, Mansfield, Admiral, and Sachem Sts., 01/28/88
WOOSTER SQUARE HISTORIC DISTRICT, Wooster Square Park, 08/05/71, LHD
YALE BOWL, SW. of the intersection of Chapel St. and Yale Ave., 02/27/87, NHL

NEWINGTON

KELLOGG, GENERAL MARTIN, HOUSE, 679 Willard Ave., 10/01/87
KELSEY, ENOCH, HOUSE, 1702 Main St., 06/28/82
NEWINGTON JUNCTION NORTH HISTORIC DISTRICT (NEWINGTON JUNCTION MRA), 55-108 Willard Ave., 06/02/87
NEWINGTON JUNCTION RAILROAD DEPOT (NEWINGTON JUNCTION MRA), 160 Willard Ave. and 200 Francis St., 12/22/86
NEWINGTON JUNCTION SOUTH HISTORIC DISTRICT (NEWINGTON JUNCTION MRA), 268-319 Willard Ave., 06/02/87
NEWINGTON JUNCTION WEST HISTORIC DISTRICT (NEWINGTON JUNCTION MRA), 269-303 West Hill Rd. and 2-4 Chapman St., 06/02/87
WILLARD HOMESTEAD (NEWINGTON JUNCTION MRA), 372 Willard Ave., 12/22/86

NORTH BRANFORD

BALDWIN, GEORGE, HOUSE, 530 Foxon Rd., 09/15/77, HABS
FOURTH DISTRICT SCHOOL, Old Post Rd., 08/29/85
HOWD-LINSLEY HOUSE, 1795 Middletown Ave., 12/10/86

NORTH HAVEN

PINES BRIDGE HISTORIC DISTRICT, 3-17 Bishop St., 70-99 Old Broadway, 2-10 Phillips Pl., 9-56 State St., 05/27/88
RISING SUN TAVERN (Half Mile House, Todd's), Old Tavern Ln., 08/21/79

PLAINVILLE

NEW HAVEN DISTRICT CAMPGROUND, Off CT 177, 05/19/80
NORTON, CHARLES H., HOUSE, 132 Redstone Hill, 05/11/76, NHL

PORTLAND

INDIAN HILL AVENUE HISTORIC DISTRICT, Main St. and Indian Hill Ave. to Connecticut River
LEE, DANIEL AND MARY, HOUSE, Pepperidge Rd. E. of Jobs Pond Rd., 04/03/91
WILLIAMS AND STANCLIFF OCTAGON HOUSES, 26 and 28 Marlborough St., 04/22/76

ROCKY HILL

ACADEMY HALL, 785 Old Main St., 10/07/77
ROBBINS, JOHN, HOUSE, 262 Old Main St., 09/20/88
ROCKY HILL CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH, 805-817 Old Main St., 05/07/82

SIMSBURY

BELDEN, HORACE, SCHOOL AND CENTRAL GRAMMAR SCHOOL, 933 Hopmeadow St. and 29 Massaco St., 03/25/93
DARLING, ROBERT AND JULIA, HOUSE, 720 Hopmeadow St., 01/03/91
DRAKE HILL ROAD BRIDGE, Drake Hill Rd. at Farmington Ave., 07/19/84
EAST WEATOGUE HISTORIC DISTRICT, Roughly properties on E. Weatogue St. from just N. of Riverside Dr. to Hartford Rd., and Folly Farm property, 07/19/90, LHD
ENO, AMOS, HOUSE, Off US 202 on Hopmeadow Rd., 04/03/75
ENO MEMORIAL HALL, 754 Hopmeadow St., 04/02/93
HEUBLEIN TOWER, Talcott Mountain State Park, 06/30/83
HUMPHREY, JOHN, HOUSE, 115 E. Weatogue St., 11/15/90
MASSACOE FOREST PAVILION (CONNECTICUT STATE PARK AND FOREST DEPRESSION-ERA FEDERAL WORK RELIEF PROGRAMS STRUCTURES TR), Off Old Farms Rd. in Stratton Brook State Park, 09/04/86
PHELPS, CAPTAIN ELISHA, HOUSE, 800 Hopmeadow St., 9/22/72
SIMSBURY BANK AND TRUST COMPANY BUILDING, 760-762 Hopmeadow St., 11/20/86
SIMSBURY RAILROAD DEPOT, Railroad Ave. at Station St., 03/26/76
SIMSBURY TOWNHOUSE, 695 Hopmeadow St., 04/02/93
TARIFFVILLE HISTORIC DISTRICT, Roughly bounded by Winthrop St., Main St., Mountain Rd., Laurel Hill Rd., and Elm St., 04/02/93

TERRY'S PLAIN HISTORIC DISTRICT, Roughly bounded by Pharos, Quarry, and Terry's Plain Rds. and Farmington River, 12/10/93

SOMERS

SOMERS HISTORIC DISTRICT, Bugby Ln. and Springfield Rd., 09/23/82

SOUTHINGTON

ANDREWS, LUMAN, HOUSE (COLONIAL HOUSES OF SOUTHINGTON TR), 469 Andrews St., 01/19/89
ATWATER MANUFACTURING COMPANY (HISTORIC INDUSTRIAL COMPLEXES OF SOUTHINGTON TR), 335 Atwater St., 12/08/88
BARNES, SELAH, HOUSE (COLONIAL HOUSE OF SOUTHINGTON TR), 282 Prospect St., 01/19/89
BARNES-FROST HOUSE (COLONIAL HOUSES OF SOUTHINGTON TR), 1177 Marion Ave., 01/19/89
BLAKESLEE FORGING COMPANY (HISTORIC INDUSTRIAL COMPLEXES OF SOUTHINGTON TR), 100 W. Main St., 12/08/89
BRADLEY, ICHABOD, HOUSE (COLONIAL HOUSES OF SOUTHINGTON TR), 537 Shuttle Meadow Rd., 01/19/88
CARTER, JOHN, HOUSE (COLONIAL HOUSES OF SOUTHINGTON TR), 1096 West St., 01/19/89
CLARK, AVERY, HOUSE (COLONIAL HOUSES OF SOUTHINGTON TR), 1460 Meriden Ave., 01/19/89
CLARK BROTHERS FACTORY (HISTORIC INDUSTRIAL COMPLEXES OF SOUTHINGTON TR), 409 Canal St., 12/08/88
COLONIAL HOUSES OF SOUTHINGTON TR, 01/19/89
COWLES, CAPTAIN JOSIAH, HOUSE (COLONIAL HOUSES OF SOUTHINGTON TR), 184 Marion Ave., 01/19/89
EVANS, EBENEZER, HOUSE (COLONIAL HOUSES OF SOUTHINGTON TR), 17 Long Bottom Rd., 01/19/89
GRANNIS, STEPHEN, HOUSE (COLONIAL HOUSES OF SOUTHINGTON TR), 1193 West St., 01/19/89
HART, TIMOTHY, HOUSE (COLONIAL HOUSES OF SOUTHINGTON TR), 521 Flanders Rd., 01/19/89
HISTORIC INDUSTRIAL COMPLEXES OF SOUTHINGTON TR, 12/08/88
HOUSE AT 1010 SHUTTLE MEADOW ROAD (COLONIAL HOUSES OF SOUTHINGTON TR), 1010 Shuttle Meadow Rd., 01/19/89
HOUSE AT 590 WEST STREET (COLONIAL HOUSES OF SOUTHINGTON TR), 590 West St., 01/19/89
HURWOOD COMPANY (HISTORIC INDUSTRIAL COMPLEXES OF SOUTHINGTON TR), 379 Summer St., 12/08/88
LAKE COMPOUNCE CAROUSEL, W. of Southington on Lake Ave., 12/12/78
MARION HISTORIC DISTRICT (also in Cheshire), Along Marion Ave. and Meriden-Waterbury Tpke., 12/21/88
MERIDEN AVENUE/OAKLAND ROAD HISTORIC DISTRICT, Roughly Oakland Rd. between Meriden and Berlin Aves., and Meriden Ave. between Oakland Rd. and Dulhanty Dr., 05/25/88

PECK, STOW, AND WILCOX FACTORY (HISTORIC INDUSTRIAL COMPLEXES OF SOUTHINGTON TR), 217 Center St., 12/08/88
PLANTSVILLE HISTORIC DISTRICT, Roughly bounded by Prospect and Summer Sts., Quinnipiac River, and Grove, S. Main, W. Main, and West Sts., 12/01/88
PORTER, DR. J., HOUSE (COLONIAL HOUSES OF SOUTHINGTON TR), 391 Bellevue Ave., 01/19/89
PUTZ & WALKLEY COMPANY (HISTORIC INDUSTRIAL COMPLEXES OF SOUTHINGTON TR), 120 W. Main St., 12/08/88
ROOT, JONATHAN, HOUSE (COLONIAL HOUSES OF SOUTHINGTON TR), 140-142 N. Main St., 01/19/89
SKELTON, DR. HENRY, HOUSE, (COLONIAL HOUSES OF SOUTHINGTON TR), 889 S. Main St., 01/19/89
SMITH, H. D. COMPANY BUILDING, 24 West St., 09/19/77
SOUTHINGTON CENTER HISTORIC DISTRICT, Roughly N. Main St. N. from Vermont Ave., and Berlin St. from Main St. to Academy Ln., 05/08/89
SOUTHINGTON PUBLIC LIBRARY, 239 Main St., 02/09/89
WEBSTER, HORACE, FARMHOUSE, S. of Southington at 577 S. End Rd., 08/24/77
WEST STREET SCHOOL, 1432 West St., 12/01/88
WIGHTMAN, REVEREND JOHN, HOUSE (COLONIAL HOUSES OF SOUTHINGTON TR), 1024 Mount Vernon Rd., 01/19/89
WIGHTMAN, VALENTINE, HOUSE (COLONIAL HOUSES OF SOUTHINGTON TR), 1112 Mount Vernon Rd., 01/19/89
WOODRUFF HOUSE (COLONIAL HOUSES OF SOUTHINGTON TR), 377 Berlin St. 01/19/89
WOODRUFF, EZEKIEL, HOUSE (COLONIAL HOUSES OF SOUTHINGTON TR), 1152 East St., 01/19/89
WOODRUFF, JOTHAM, HOUSE (COLONIAL HOUSES OF SOUTHINGTON TR), 137-139 Woodruff St., 01/19/89
WOODRUFF, CAPTAIN SAMUEL, HOUSE, 23 Old State Rd., 05/05/89
WOODRUFF, URBANA, HOUSE (COLONIAL HOUSES OF SOUTHINGTON TR), 1096 East St., 01/19/89

SOUTH WINDSOR

EAST WINDSOR HILL HISTORIC DISTRICT, Roughly bounded by Scantic River, John Fitch Blvd., Sullivan Ave., and Connecticut River, 05/30/86 LHD
ELMORE HOUSES, 78 and 87 Long Hill Rd., 08/23/85
MEMORIAL HALL, Jct. of S. Main and Elm Sts., 06/02/87
WINDSOR FARMS HISTORIC DISTRICT, Roughly Main St. bounded by Strong Rd., US 5, I-291, and Connecticut River, 04/11/86

SUFFIELD

FULLER, JOHN, HOUSE, 463 Halladay Ave., 03/15/82
GOTHIC COTTAGE, 1425 Mapleton Ave., 02/25/82
HASTINGS HILL HISTORIC DISTRICT, 987-1308 Hill St., 1242 Spruce St., and 1085-1162 Russell Ave., 09/14/79, LHD
HATHEWAY HOUSE, 55 S. Main St., 08/06/75

KING, ALEXANDER, HOUSE, 232 S. Main St., 04/26/76, HABS
KING'S FIELD HOUSE, 827 North St., 03/11/82
LEWIS-ZUKOWSKI HOUSE, 1095 S. Grand St., 01/21/90
SUFFIELD HISTORIC DISTRICT, Vicinity of N. and S. Main, Suffield, and South Sts., Russell and Mapleton Aves., 09/25/79, LHD

VERNON

FLORENCE MILL, 121 W. Main St., 07/18/78
MINTERBURN MILL, 215 E. Main St., 02/16/84
OLD ROCKVILLE HIGH SCHOOL AND EAST SCHOOL, School and Park Sts., 04/27/81
ROCKVILLE HISTORIC DISTRICT, Roughly bounded by Snipsic St., Davis Ave., and West and South Sts., 09/13/84
SAXONY MILL, 66 West St., 11/10/83
TALCOTTVILE HISTORIC DISTRICT, 13-44 Elm Hill Rd. and 11-132 Main St., 01/05/89

WALLINGFORD

BARKER, JOHN, HOUSE, 898 Clintonville Rd., 08/03/74
JONES, THEOPHILUS, HOUSE, 40 Jones Rd., 01/30/92
PARSONS, SAMUEL, HOUSE, 180 S. Main St., 04/12/82
SIMPSON, SAMUEL, HOUSE, 216 N. Main St., 06/18/86
WALLINGFORD CENTER HISTORIC DISTRICT, Roughly Main St. from Ward St. to Church St., 12/02/93
WALLINGFORD RAILROAD STATION, 51 Quinnipiac St., 11/19/93

WEST HARTFORD

BEACH, CHARLES E., HOUSE, 18 Brightwood Ln., 08/23/90
BEARDSLEY-MIX HOUSE (EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY HOUSES OF WEST HARTFORD TR), 81 Rockledge Dr., 09/10/86
BRACE, MOSES-URIAH CALDWELL HOUSE (EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY HOUSES OF WEST HARTFORD TR), 11 Flagg Rd., 09/10/86
BUTLER, JAMES, HOUSE (EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY HOUSES OF WEST HARTFORD TR), 239 N. Main St., 09/10/86
COLTON, BENJAMIN, HOUSE (EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY HOUSES OF WEST HARTFORD TR), 25 Sedgwick Rd., 09/10/86
EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY HOUSES OF WEST HARTFORD TR, 09/10/86
ELIZABETH PARK, Asylum Ave., 03/10/86
FARNSWORTH, SAMUEL, HOUSE (EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY HOUSES OF WEST HARTFORD TR), 537 Mountain Rd., 09/10/86
GILLETT, ASA, HOUSE (EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY HOUSES OF WEST HARTFORD TR), 202 S. Main St., 09/10/86
GOODMAN, TIMOTHY, HOUSE (EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY HOUSES OF WEST HARTFORD TR), 567 Quaker Ln. S., 09/10/86

HARTFORD GOLF CLUB HISTORIC DISTRICT (also in Hartford), Simsbury Rd., Bloomfield and Albany Aves., Norwood Rd., Mohawk and Mohegan Drs., 06/26/86
HOOKER, SARAH WHITMAN, HOUSE, 1237 New Britain Ave., 11/01/79
HOSMER, DANIEL, HOUSE (EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY HOUSES OF WEST HARTFORD TR), 253 N. Main St., 09/10/86
HOUSE AT 847 MAIN STREET, NORTH (EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY HOUSES OF WEST HARTFORD TR), 847 N. Main St., 09/10/86
MORLEY, EDWARD W., HOUSE, 26 Westland Ave., 05/15/75, NHL
MOUNT ST. JOSEPH ACADEMY, 235 Fern St., 12/22/83
PROSPECT AVENUE HISTORIC DISTRICT (also in Hartford), Roughly bounded by Albany Ave., N. Branch of Park River, Elizabeth and Fern Sts., Prospect and Asylum Aves., and Sycamore Rd., 08/29/85
REVOLUTIONARY WAR CAMPSITE, US 44, 04/24/86
SEYMOUR, ELISHA, JR., HOUSE (EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY HOUSES OF WEST HARTFORD TR), 410 and 412 Park Rd., 09/10/86
SPANISH HOUSE, THE (Grace M. Spear Lincoln House), 46 Fernwood Rd., 06/14/79
STANLEY-WOODRUFF-ALLEN HOUSE (EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY HOUSES OF WEST HARTFORD TR), 37 Buena Vista Rd., 09/10/86
STEELE, ALLYN, HOUSE (EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY HOUSES OF WEST HARTFORD TR), 114 N. Main St., 09/10/86
WEBSTER, NOAH, BIRTHPLACE, 227 S. Main St., 10/15/66, NHL
WEBSTER, NOAH, MEMORIAL LIBRARY, 7 N. Main St., 07/30/81
WELLS, JOHN, JR., HOUSE (EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY HOUSES OF WEST HARTFORD TR), 505 Mountain Rd., 09/10/86
WEST END NORTH HISTORIC DISTRICT (also in Hartford), Roughly bounded by Farmington Ave., and Lorraine, Elizabeth, and Highland Sts., 07/25/85
WHITING HOMESTEAD, 291 N. Main St., 08/03/87
WHITMAN HOUSE (EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY HOUSES OF WEST HARTFORD TR), 208 N. Main St., 09/10/86

WEST HAVEN

AMERICAN MILLS WEB SHOP, 114-152 Orange Ave., 03/10/83
OLD WEST HAVEN HIGH SCHOOL, 278 Main St., 10/24/85
UNION SCHOOL, 174 Center St., 11/13/87

WETHERSFIELD

BUTTOLPH-WILLIAMS HOUSE, 249 Broad St., 11/24/68, NHL
DEANE, SILAS, HOUSE, 203 Main St., 10/06/70, NHL
OLD WETHERSFIELD HISTORIC DISTRICT, Bounded by Hartford, Railroad Tracks, I-91, and Rocky Hill, 12/29/70, HABS, LHD
WEBB, JOSEPH, HOUSE, 211 Main St., 10/15/66, NHL

WINDSOR

ALLYN, CAPTAIN BENJAMIN, II, HOUSE, 119 Deerfield Rd., 06/26/7

BARBER, GILES, HOUSE (18TH AND 19TH CENTURY BRICK ARCHITECTURE OF WINDSOR TR), 411-413 Windsor Ave., 09/15/88
BISSELL TAVERN (Bissell's Stage House), 1022 Palisado Ave., 08/23/85
CASE, BENOMI, HOUSE (18TH AND 19TH CENTURY BRICK ARCHITECTURE OF WINDSOR TR), 436 Rainbow Rd., 09/15/88
CHAFFEE, HEZEKIAH, HOUSE, Meadow Ln. off Palisado Green, 07/31/72
CHAPMAN, TAYLOR, HOUSE (18TH AND 19TH CENTURY BRICK ARCHITECTURE OF WINDSOR TR), 407 Palisado Ave., 09/15/88
18TH AND 19TH CENTURY BRICK ARCHITECTURE OF WINDSOR TR, 09/15/88
ELLSWORTH, HORACE H., HOUSE (18TH AND 19TH CENTURY BRICK ARCHITECTURE OF WINDSOR TR), 316 Palisado Ave., 09/15/88
ELLSWORTH, OLIVER, HOMESTEAD (Elmwood), 778 Palisado Ave., 10/06/70, NHL
FARMINGTON RIVER RAILROAD BRIDGE, Spans Farmington River and Pleasant St. W. of Palisado Ave., 08/25/72
FIRST CHURCH PARSONAGE (18TH AND 19TH CENTURY BRICK ARCHITECTURE OF WINDSOR TR), 160 Palisado Ave., 09/15/88
FITCH, JOHN, SCHOOL, 156 Bloomfield Ave., 12/02/86
FORMER FIRE STATION (18TH AND 19TH CENTURY BRICK ARCHITECTURE OF WINDSOR TR), 14 Maple Ave., 09/15/88
GRACE CHURCH RECTORY (18TH AND 19TH CENTURY BRICK ARCHITECTURE OF WINDSOR TR), 301 Broad St., 09/15/88
HARTFORD AND NEW HAVEN RAILROAD-FREIGHT DEPOT (18TH AND 19TH CENTURY BRICK ARCHITECTURE OF WINDSOR TR), Central St., 09/15/88
HARVEY, WILLIAM H., HOUSE (18TH AND 19TH CENTURY BRICK ARCHITECTURE OF WINDSOR TR), 1173 Windsor Ave., 09/15/88
HATHAWAYS STORE (18TH AND 19TH CENTURY BRICK ARCHITECTURE OF WINDSOR TR), 32 East St., 09/15/88
HAYDEN, CAPTAIN NATHANIEL, HOUSE (18TH AND 19TH CENTURY BRICK ARCHITECTURE OF WINDSOR TR), 128 Hayden Station Rd., 09/15/88
HOUSE AT 111 MAPLE AVENUE (18TH AND 19TH CENTURY BRICK ARCHITECTURE OF WINDSOR TR), 111 Maple Ave., 09/15/88
HOUSE AT 130 HAYDEN STATION ROAD (18TH AND 19TH CENTURY BRICK ARCHITECTURE OF WINDSOR TR), 130 Hayden Station Rd., 09/15/88
HOUSE AT 44 COURT STREET (18TH AND 19TH CENTURY BRICK ARCHITECTURE OF WINDSOR TR), 44 Court St., 09/15/88
HOUSE AT 736 PALISADO AVENUE (18TH AND 19TH CENTURY BRICK ARCHITECTURE OF WINDSOR TR), 736 Palisado Ave., 09/15/88
LOOMIS, CAPT. JAMES, HOUSE (18TH AND 19TH CENTURY BRICK ARCHITECTURE OF WINDSOR TR), 881 Windsor Ave., 09/15/88
LOOMIS, GEORGE G., HOUSE (18TH AND 19TH CENTURY BRICK ARCHITECTURE OF WINDSOR TR), 1003 Windsor Ave., 09/15/88
LOOMIS, GORDON, HOUSE, (18TH AND 19TH CENTURY BRICK ARCHITECTURE OF WINDSOR TR), 1021 Windsor Ave., 09/15/88
LOOMIS, IRA, JR., HOUSE, (18TH AND 19TH CENTURY BRICK ARCHITECTURE OF WINDSOR TR), 1053 Windsor Ave., 09/15/88
MAGILL, HENRY, HOUSE, (18TH AND 19TH CENTURY BRICK

ARCHITECTURE OF WINDSOR TR), 390 Palisado Ave., 09/15/88
MILLS, ELIJAH, HOUSE, 45 Deerfield Rd., 08/23/82
MILLS, OLIVER W., HOUSE, 148 Deerfield Rd., 02/19/82
MILLS, TIMOTHY DWIGHT, HOUSE (18TH AND 19TH CENTURY BRICK ARCHITECTURE OF WINDSOR TR), 184 Deerfield Rd., 09/15/88
MOORE, DEACON JOHN, HOUSE, 37 Elm St., 07/29/77
MOORE, EDWARD AND ANN, HOUSE (18TH AND 19TH CENTURY BRICK ARCHITECTURE OF WINDSOR TR), 464 Broad St., 09/15/88
MURPHY, PATRICK, HOUSE (18TH AND 19TH CENTURY BRICK ARCHITECTURE OF WINDSOR TR), 345 Palisado Ave., 09/15/88
PALISADO AVENUE HISTORIC DISTRICT, Palisado Ave. between Farmington River and Bissell Ferry Rd., 08/25/87, LHD
PAYNE, DANIEL, HOUSE (18TH AND 19TH CENTURY BRICK ARCHITECTURE OF WINDSOR TR), 27 Park Ave., 09/15/88
PHELPS, ELI, HOUSE (18TH AND 19TH CENTURY BRICK ARCHITECTURE OF WINDSOR TR), 18 Marshall Phelps Rd., 09/15/88
SHELTON, WILLIAM, HOUSE (18TH AND 19TH CENTURY BRICK ARCHITECTURE OF WINDSOR TR), 40 Pleasant St., 09/15/88
STONY HILL SCHOOL (18TH AND 19TH CENTURY BRICK ARCHITECTURE OF WINDSOR TR), 1195 Windsor Ave., 09/15/88
SWEETLAND, SOPHIA, HOUSE (18TH AND 19TH CENTURY BRICK ARCHITECTURE OF WINDSOR TR), 458 Palisado Ave., 09/15/88

WINDSOR LOCKS

ENFIELD CANAL, Along Connecticut River from Windsor Locks to Thompsonville, 04/22/70
MEMORIAL HALL, Jct. of S. Main and Elm Sts., 06/02/87
PINNEY, DAVID, HOUSE AND BARN, 58 West St., 07/25/77
WINDSOR LOCKS PASSENGER STATION, Main St., 09/02/75

MULTITOWN

FARMINGTON CANAL (New Haven and Northampton Canal TR), Roughly from New Haven in New Haven County to Suffield in Hartford County, 09/12/85 (See also Cheshire and Hamden.)