HISTORIC PRESERVATION IN CONNECTICUT

VOLUME II

Eastern Uplands:
Historical and Architectural Overview
and
Management Guide

CONNECTICUT HISTORICAL COMMISSION
STATE HISTORIC PRESERVATION OFFICE

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Eastern Uplands: Historical and Architectural Overview and Management Guide

1993

Linda S. Spencer

Connecticut Historical Commission
State Historic Preservation Office
59 South Prospect Street
Hartford, Connecticut 06106
(203) 566-3005

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Author

Linda S. Spencer, Historian
Connecticut Historical Commission

Connecticut Historical Commission

Copy Editor

Dawn Maddox, Architectural Historian/Deputy
State Historic Preservation Officer

Reviewers

Susan Chandler, Historical Architect

Mary M. Donohue, Architectural Historian/
Survey and Grants Director

John Herzan, Historian/National and
State Register Coordinator

Paul Loether, Architectural Historian/
Certified Local Government and
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STATE OF CONNECTICUT

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LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

Since its establishment in 1955, the Connecticut Historical Commission has implemented state and federal programs to identify and protect the state's historic resources and to encourage greater awareness of historic preservation issues. The Connecticut Historical Commission is pleased to publish Historic Preservation in Connecticut, Volume II, Eastern Uplands: Historical and Architectural Overview and Management Guide, the second in a series of planning documents on the six culturally and geographically defined areas, or geographic historic contexts, in the state. Maintaining the two-part format established in volume one on the Western Coastal Slope Geographic Historic Context, the report consists of an analysis of the region's history and architecture and a management guide section which explains the legal tools that can be used to protect a community's historic resources. The remaining four geographic historic contexts - Central Valley, Western Uplands, Eastern Coastal Slope, and Northwest Highlands - will each be the subject of future volumes.

The Eastern Uplands Geographic Historic Context is the state's largest in terms of the geographical area and number of towns it encompasses - 42 of 169. In its synthesis of data from a wide range of sources, the Eastern Uplands report advances our understanding of changing patterns of historical development viewed from a regional perspective. Ms. Linda S. Spencer, staff Historian, researched and wrote the report. Reviewers included Connecticut Historical Commission staff, members of the governor-appointed Commission, the Planning Advisory Committee, and the State Historic Preservation Board.

The presence of historic buildings enriches our daily lives. They provide a chain of continuity between the past and the present and give a sense of identity to a community. Recognizing historic resources and planning for their protection are a part of the larger picture of defining the quality of life in our communities today and in the decades to come. By incorporating preservation goals in their overall planning, local officials and public agencies can help ensure a richer, more meaningful future for Connecticut's citizens.

John W. Shannahan
Director and State Historic
Preservation Officer

TEL: (203) 566-3005
59 SOUTH PROSPECT ST. - HARTFORD, CT 06106
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FOREWORD

The people of Connecticut have a proud history worthy of preservation: farmsteads, mill complexes, village centers, town greens, small town and city main streets, and suburban and urban residential neighborhoods. Our state's historic buildings and places give us permanence in a changing world, and refresh our spirit. They embody the heritage handed down from one generation to the next, contributing to the rich ethnic and religious diversity that is Connecticut.

For over a third of a century, the Connecticut Historical Commission has played a vital role in preserving the state's historic resources. In furthering that goal, the Commission's six-part series of planning reports - each a regionally based overview of history and architecture and a guide to protecting historic properties - help communities safeguard their past.

Publication of *Historic Preservation in Connecticut, Volume II, Eastern Uplands: Historical and Architectural Overview and Management Guide* promotes an awareness of that region's rich legacy, to the benefit of all the state's citizens. Author Linda S. Spencer, with scholarly research and great clarity of expression, has successfully addressed all 42 towns in the Eastern Uplands, the largest single area which will be targeted in the planning series.

The Connecticut we cherish today differs in countless ways from that experienced by our predecessors. Yet we are also united by many continuities linking a past rich in achievement with a bright present and an even more promising future. As we approach the 21st century, I urge all our citizens to join in preserving the remarkably varied heritage which is Connecticut's most valuable asset. We owe this effort to ourselves and those who came before us, and most of all, we owe it to those to come.

LOWELL P. WEICKER, JR.
Governor

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 Eastern Uplands is the second. 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.

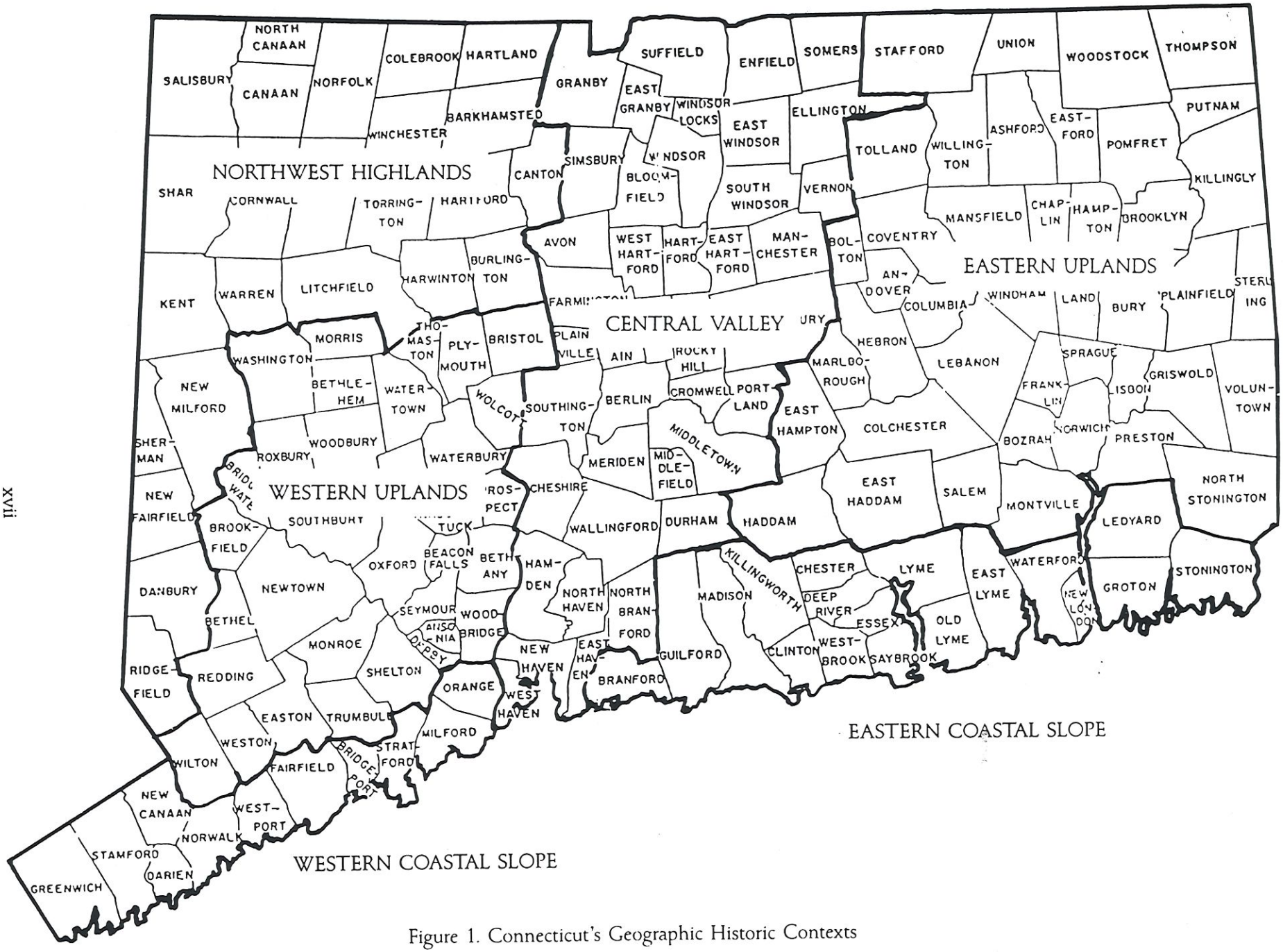


Figure 1. Connecticut's Geographic Historic Contexts

Part 1

Historical and Architectural Overview

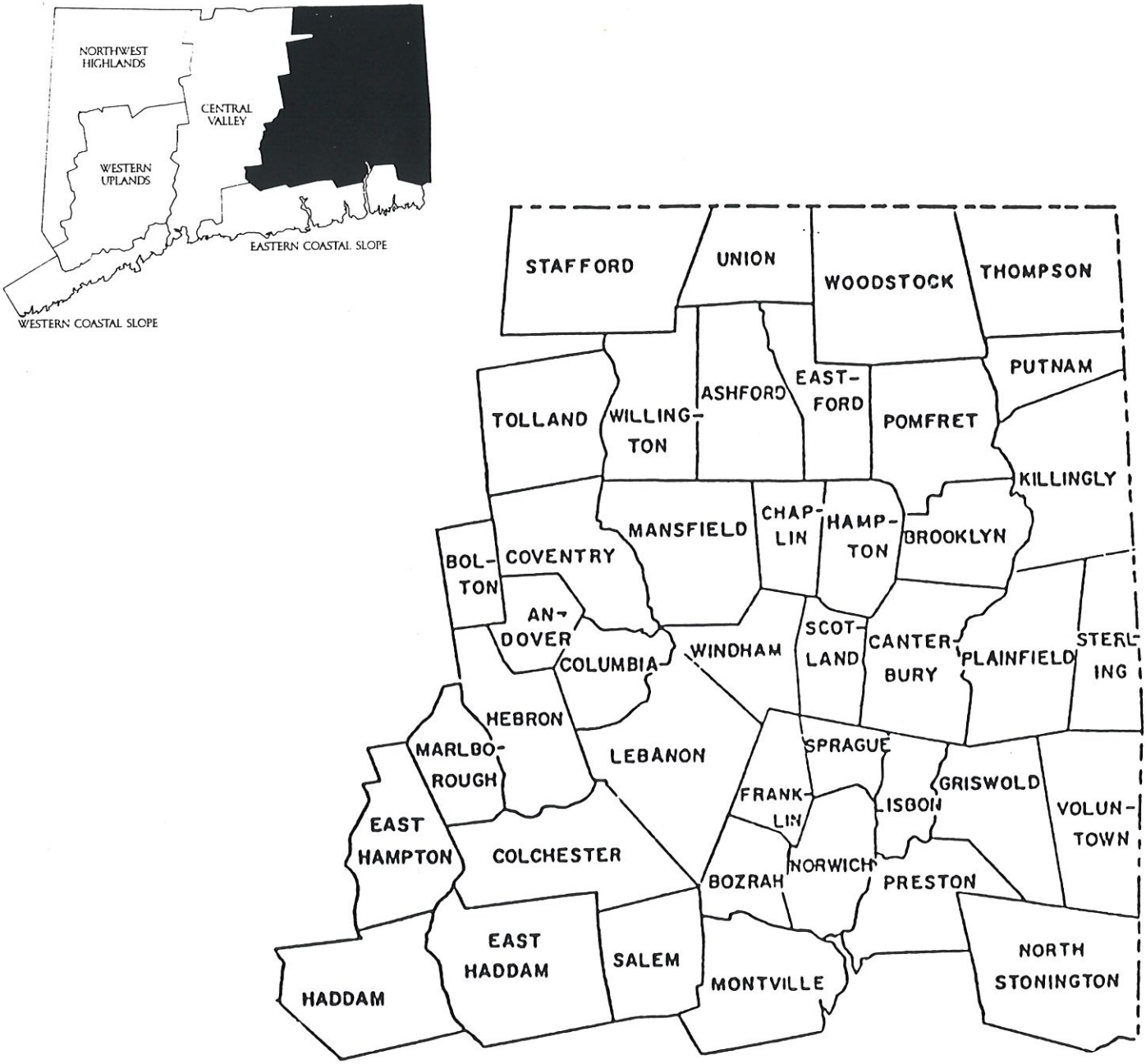


Figure 2. Town-based Map of Eastern Uplands Geographic Historic Context

Table 1: Eastern Uplands Geographic Historic Context:
Chronology of Town Establishment

Town	Date	
Andover	1848	(from Coventry and Hebron)
Ashford	1714	
Bolton	1720	
Bozrah	1786	(from Norwich)
Brooklyn	1786	(from Canterbury and Pomfret)
Canterbury	1703	(from Plainfield)
Chaplin	1822	(from Hampton, Mansfield, and Windham)
Colchester	1699	
Columbia	1804	(from Lebanon)
Coventry	1712	
Eastford	1847	(from Ashford)
East Haddam	1734	(from Haddam)
East Hampton	1767	(from Middletown; originally named Chatham; renamed in 1915)
Franklin	1786	(from Norwich)
Griswold	1815	(from Preston)
Haddam	1668	
Hampton	1786	(from Brooklyn, Canterbury, Pomfret, and Windham)
Hebron	1708	
Killingly	1708	
Lebanon	1700	
Lisbon	1786	(from Norwich)
Mansfield	1702	(from Windham)
Marlborough	1803	(from Colchester, Glastonbury, and Hebron)
Montville	1786	(from New London)
North Stonington	1807	(from Stonington)
Norwich	1662	(settled 1659)
Plainfield	1700	
Pomfret	1713	
Preston	1687	
Putnam	1855	(from Killingly, Pomfret, and Thompson)
Salem	1819	(from Colchester, Lyme, and Montville)
Scotland	1857	(from Windham)
Sprague	1861	(from Lisbon and Franklin)
Stafford	1719	

Sterling	1794	(from Voluntown)
Thompson	1785	(from Killingly)
Tolland	1715	
Union	1735	
Voluntown	1721	
Willington	1727	
Windham	1692	
Woodstock	1686	(settled as New Roxbury, Massachusetts; name changed to Woodstock in 1690; annexed to Connecticut in 1749)

I. CHARACTER OF THE LAND

The Eastern Uplands Geographic Historic Context, consisting of approximately one-third of the state's total area, lies entirely east of the Connecticut River, save for the Town of Haddam on the river's west bank. It includes 42 towns in five counties: Marlborough in Hartford County; East Haddam, East Hampton, and Haddam in Middlesex County; all the interior towns of New London County, except Ledyard; excepting Ellington, Somers, and Vernon, the remaining ten towns in Tolland County; and all 15 towns in Windham County.

Chains of hills, running north-south, characterize much of the region's topography. Starting at the Massachusetts border, the hilltop elevations can exceed 1,000 feet; elsewhere, much of the land is 500 feet or more above sea level. The land gradually descends in elevation at a rate of 10 to 20 feet per mile until just below Norwich, where it falls sharply in the Eastern Coastal Slope Geographic Historic Context to reach sea level. The region's most rugged terrain is located in the two ridges which define its boundaries: the Bolton Range to the west and the Mohegan Range to the east and the south. Gentler, rolling hills typify the landscape of the Eastern Uplands' central portion, which geographer Michael Bell calls the Windham Hills. Here, glacial action created streamlined hills – expanses of plateaus which often extend for miles. An area of lowlands stretches for 25 miles along the Quinebaug River. Numerous rivers wend their way through the region, emptying into either the Connecticut River along its western edge or the Thames River, which is centrally located. The Shetucket and Quinebaug Rivers and their many tributaries – for example, the Willimantic, Natchaug, and Still Rivers, and the Moosup, Five Mile, and French Rivers, respectively – and the Yantic River flow into the Thames, one of the state's three principal drainage basins, which has as its outlet Long Island Sound.

Ancient and complex geological forces created the land mass known today as Connecticut. Billions of years ago, the movements of continents, called plate tectonics, unleashed enormous energy. The resulting compression created the metamorphic bedrock of the Eastern Uplands, one of the state's three distinct geological areas. Schist and gneiss, both relatively resistant to erosion, predominate. The second major force shaping the landscape was erosion. Rivers whittled away at the softer bedrock areas to create valleys. While rivers tend to follow the path of least resistance and usually conform to bedrock geology, in the Eastern Uplands, rivers often cut across ranges of hard rock, forming fast-moving streams and waterfalls. The advance and retreat of glaciers left the harder metamorphic rock as hills in the region and deposited both a soil mixture known as glacial till (a combination of clay, silt, sand, pebbles, stones) and large boulders. The stony quality of the soil was the bane of farmers, and the stone walls surrounding fields stand in mute testament to their struggle. In the Windham Hills, the glacial till is thickly layered and underlies the area's agricultural productivity. The last retreat of the ice sheet, 18,000 years ago, created lakes and numerous swamps and other wetlands areas which help regulate the flow of streams and rivers.

The topography of the Eastern Uplands, its river systems, and the quality of its soils all affected the region's diverse development. The north-south orientation of the hills and the swift river currents and falls slowed down settlement in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, as did the inhospitable land along the Bolton Ridge. Colonists chose to found new communities on the streamlined hills with their richer and thicker soils, sufficient to sustain a farming population. In the nineteenth century, the potential for waterpower inherent in the region's rivers was a pivotal factor in the rise and growth of manufacturing. New development – mill villages and urban centers –

occurred in the river valleys. The alignment of the hills has always made east-west travel more difficult than north-south and as a consequence has influenced transportation routes. In the railroad era, the first lines followed the river banks. Even today, constructing modern east-west highways poses a challenge.

II. COLONIAL PERIOD 1614-1780

The early history of the Eastern Uplands in this period centers on the taming of the wilderness and the establishing of communities and a way of life rooted in the settlers' English traditions. Throughout the colonial period, agriculture was the basis of the economy, and land – its availability, ownership, and development – looms large in understanding the patterns that emerged. The settlers also brought with them their Puritan religious heritage, which would inform their definition of community and cultural institutions and influence how both would manifest themselves in the landscape. The Eastern Uplands was, however, already peopled before the arrival of English settlers and much of the story that unfolds in the first half-century of town formation concerns the interactions between Europeans and Native Americans.

By the time of the outbreak of the American Revolution, land disputes, religious dissension, the emergence of political factionalism, and the growth of a more complex economy and society all challenged the traditional Puritan concepts of the good order of society. While these factors were at work colony-wide, affecting each region and its towns differently, it was not without reason that a contemporary observer called the east an "uneasy part of the colony."[1] Easterners seemed quick to defend their interests, in matters both religious and secular.

Native Americans

Prior to English settlement in the Eastern Uplands, the land was inhabited by Native Americans of the Algonquian group, including the Pequots, the Mohegans, and the Nipmucks. As was true of other Native Americans in southern New England, these groups were semi-sedentary, engaging in multi-crop hoe horticulture as well as in hunting, fishing, and nut and berry gathering. Maize, kidney beans, squash, pumpkins, Jerusalem artichokes, and tobacco were basic crops. Fields were cleared by girdling trees about three feet off the ground; fallen dead limbs and trunks would later be burned. Planting occurred between the stumps. Multiple cropping was practiced: corn was hilled with bean and pumpkin seeds. Fields might lie fallow, but would be burned over when ready to be replanted. When the soil in an area lost its fertility, new agricultural villages were established elsewhere. There were also seasonal camps, their location dictated by the productive cycles of specific environments, such as the spring spawning areas where fish were caught to be consumed immediately or dried for future use. With the arrival of the winter season, Native Americans moved to the forests. Geographic mobility was an important feature of Native American culture. While more sedentary at certain times of the year than at others, even in those times small parties might move about to hunt.

Changes in Native American culture began to occur in the seventeenth century in response to European trade and settlement. The palisaded villages maintained by the Pequots at Mystic and the Mohegans at Fort Shantok in Montville may have been an early post-contact development as a settlement pattern. Archaeological research conducted at Fort Shantok indicates that subsistence and economic patterns were changing as well, as evidenced by the large quantities of wampum and wampum-producing tools and the skeletal remains of domesticated mammals. Although wampum had been used in trade between Native Americans before English colonization, in the post-contact period wampum became a form of currency.

In 1614, Dutch explorers recorded the presence of the "Pequatoos" and the "Morhicans" and established trade relationships with both groups. The Old World hostility between the Dutch and the English extended to the New World; in this case, each sought to control access to the Connecticut River. Their rival claims were based on titles obtained from different Native American groups, who also had their own interests at stake. After the departure of the Dutch, with whom the Pequots had had generally amicable relations, tensions between the tribe and the English settlers developed. A series of raids and counterraids occurred in 1636, and in the following year the General Court officially declared war against the Pequots. Aided by the Mohegans, who were rivals of the Pequots, the English attacked and burned the Pequot fort at Mystic. Fleeing westward, the survivors met defeat in Fairfield. The tribe was disbanded; captured Pequots were divided among the Native American groups who had been allies of the English and some were sold as slaves. In the war's aftermath, the Mohegans, led by their sachem Uncas, claimed jurisdiction over virtually all the land included in the Eastern Uplands region that had been in Pequot territory.

Relations between the Mohegans and the English were friendly. When the former were beseiged by the Narragansetts from Rhode Island in 1645, a contingent of Englishmen led by Thomas Leffingwell of Saybrook rallied to their assistance. The Mohegans fought as allies of the English during King Philip's War of 1675-1676. This conflict pitted King Philip, leader of the Pokanokets (or Wampanoags) of southeastern Massachusetts, as well as the Narragansett and other New England tribes, against the English troops of the United Colonies, a confederation which had been established in 1643. The war disrupted not only English settlements over a wide area of Massachusetts and portions of northern New England, but also those of various groups of Native Americans as well. The war ended with the virtual extinction of the Pokanokets and rendered the Narragansetts powerless as a result of the destruction of the Narragansett fort at Great Swamp near Kingston, Rhode Island, and the execution of their chief sachem. Although no battles were fought in Connecticut, some Native Americans, especially along the Connecticut-Massachusetts border, fled their villages, never to return. Others "surrendered" to seek English protection. Norwich, faced with the problem of the "surrenderers," established a reservation in 1678, possibly with the aim of Christianizing them. Within a few years' time, the reservation was abandoned.

In the Eastern Uplands, land transactions between the English colonists and the Mohegans began in 1659 when a group of proprietors from Saybrook paid Uncas £70 for a nine-square-mile tract of land which would become the Town of Norwich. After Uncas' death in the mid-1680s, Mohegan lands in the Eastern Uplands were subdivided between his sons Owaneco and Joshua, the more westerly lands and the northern tier, known as the Wabbaquasset country, going to the former and the more easterly lands to the latter. Virtually every town established in the region involved land transactions between the English and the Mohegans. No Englishman figured more prominently in this process than Captain James Fitch, Jr., of Norwich, to whom Owaneco deeded vast tracts of land, principally in the Quinebaug River Valley. The General Court attempted to govern these land transactions by requiring its assent to obtain title. The magnitude of these land transfers rapidly diminished the extent of Mohegan land holdings, so that by 1721 the Mohegans had title to only four to five thousand acres along the Thames River, and by 1790 to only 2,700. In the nineteenth century, their land holdings would continue to diminish in size and ultimately ceased to exist.

English land-use practices and land ownership concepts worked together to circumscribe traditional Native American subsistence and settlement patterns. In ecological terms, land clearing and lumbering activities adversely affected the habitats of wild animals, a staple in the Native American diet and also an important commodity of exchange. English views on the exclusivity of land ownership, fixed land boundaries, and improved land had the effect of forcing Native Americans to

be more sedentary and created denser settlement patterns. These attitudes manifested themselves in various ways. In its confirmation of the deed to the Norwich proprietors, the General Court noted that "Uncas . . . and (other) Indians and successors shall be supplied with sufficient planting ground at all times."[2] In 1669, Norwich set aside 300 acres as a "gift" to the Mohegans. In doing so, however, the town required the erection of fences and prohibited work on the Sabbath. Eventually, ownership of this parcel of land was transferred to the English. Although no official Mohegan reservation was ever established, the colony government did create one in 1683 for the Pequots on 280 acres in North Stonington.

English efforts to Christianize Native Americans represented one aspect of acculturation. In the period 1671-1674, there were a few short-lived attempts by English missionaries to establish praying towns in Nipmuck territory along the Massachusetts border. The Mohegans steadfastly resisted such efforts, but some were converted to Christianity during the Great Awakening in the middle of the eighteenth century. One such was Samson Occum, whose religious education was overseen by the Reverend Eleazar Wheelock, minister of the Congregational Church in Columbia. Heartened by his success, Wheelock established Moor's Indian Charity School in 1754 to train Native American students to become missionaries among their own people.[3] Occum toured Great Britain in 1765 to raise money for the school, and Lord Dartmouth became its principal benefactor. In 1769, the school moved to New Hampshire, changed its mission, and became Dartmouth College.

Town Formation and Settlement Patterns

Of the 42 towns in the Eastern Uplands, slightly more than half – 23 – were established in the first 100 years of English settlement in Connecticut. As was typical of early town formation, the first town in the Eastern Uplands, Norwich, was located along a major navigable waterway. Situated at the head of the Thames River, it was settled in 1659 and accepted by the General Court as a legal township in 1662. Along the Connecticut River, Haddam was established in 1668. Inland settlement was delayed by King Philip's War; in its aftermath the English colonists were hesitant to begin new communities. New town formation resumed after 1685 and proceeded rapidly in the next 25 years. In the Eastern Uplands, early settlements generally occurred along the streamlined hills, not in the river valleys. The availability of land suitable for cultivation, near meadow and woodland, rather than geographic centrality, dictated their location.

In the first period of town formation, prior to King Philip's War, the General Court typically granted title to the land and permission to settle to a group of proprietors – the founders and first settlers of towns – as a corporate body. The proprietors designated a portion of the town's lands for individual allotments and held the remaining lands in common for future divisions as the town's population increased. In addition to the homelot, every proprietor received plow land, woodlots, and meadow, the amount of acreage based in part on the proprietor's social standing. Some acreage was set aside for such communal purposes as the erection of a meetinghouse and establishment of a minister. Newcomers acquired land by permission of the town and, after being settled for a time, often acquired the right to share in subsequent land divisions. English rural tradition and the Puritan vision of a community in which individuals would "sitt down . . . close together," both for mutual protection and social control, influenced the form new communities assumed: the nucleated village. The village was laid out around the commons, or "town plot." The meetinghouse occupied a prominent position adjacent to the commons, and homelots for a house and garden were located nearby. Agricultural fields radiated outward.

Population growth, and with it the need to develop more land, made the concept of the nucleated village increasingly difficult to sustain. Land divisions, the desire to consolidate holdings, and the pattern of younger sons establishing new farmsteads in the "outlands" acted as centrifugal forces. New settlement areas arose distant from the original. Arguing that distance made meeting Sabbath requirements difficult, settlers often petitioned the General Court to establish new parishes. One historian describes this phenomenon as "epidemic" in the eighteenth century. Norwich, for example, had eight parishes by the 1740s; most towns had at least two. Although few outlying parishes acquired town status prior to 1783, East Haddam, East Hampton, and Mansfield were exceptions. A number of parishes ran across town lines; for example, Andover Society included residents of Coventry, Hebron, and Lebanon.

In the colonial period, virtually all Eastern Uplands towns were founded after 1685, in the second period of town formation. While the earlier-established pattern of town settlement was still a model to be emulated, it did not invariably prevail. In many towns the population was from the outset more dispersed as a result of larger land allotments. In Lebanon, for example, homelots were significantly larger – 42 acres – than those in earlier towns and subsequent land divisions were large as well. In Voluntown, where the General Court had granted land as a reward for military service to volunteers in King Philip's War, the entire town was divided into individual holdings; no common lands were set aside for future subdivisions. Except in the southern part of town, the proprietors of Coventry had to abandon their traditional town plan in favor of individual farmsteads. Instead of beginning with a single village, as was customary, Windham had three separate settlements.

From the 1680s and continuing well into the first half of the next century, land speculation played a role in how towns were created and settled. After 1685, two basic changes in the colony's land policy seem to have contributed to this trend. One altered the legal framework of proprietary rights and the other expanded the role of the colony government in land disposition. When England created the Dominion of New England in 1686 in order to assert more direct control over the colonies, Connecticut feared loss of its charter and its legal rights to ungranted lands. Should the Crown challenge the colony's authority to create corporations – technically, an exclusive prerogative of the Crown – title to lands held in common by proprietors might be called into question as well. To avert this danger, the colony government vested ownership of ungranted land within towns to the existing proprietors as patentees, which meant they owned the land and division rights as individuals in fee simple. Henceforth, this would be the legal instrument used in conveying land titles to the founders of new towns. In the early eighteenth century, the colony government began to auction off land, a policy which culminated in the sale of rights in townships in the northwest region of the colony in 1737. In the Eastern Uplands, both Stafford and Willington were established on land sold at auction. The General Court made grants to individuals in recognition of their military or other public services and, in a departure from its earlier policies of encouraging community development, recognized the claims of individuals to extensive tracts of land. Through an expansion of their boundaries, existing towns later incorporated these tracts. Such was the case with a 5,000-acre parcel of land obtained by Englishman John Blackwell, which was known as Mortlake and eventually became part of Pomfret. Four separate tracts were encompassed within the final boundaries of Lebanon.

Settlement – particularly in what would become Windham County – was not without difficulties. Woodstock (then known as New Roxbury) was the first new town in the region, settled in 1686 by families from Roxbury, Massachusetts. It was located, however, in territory disputed between Connecticut and Massachusetts. Massachusetts' claim to Connecticut land was based on a survey

done in 1642 which established as the border between the two colonies the Woodward-Safferty Line. south of Connecticut's present-day border. Named Woodstock in 1690, the town as such was not annexed to Connecticut until 1749. Conflicting land claims, often occasioned by the vague boundaries of land purchases from the Mohegans, if not outright duplication of titleship, could go unresolved for years. Such was the case in the settlement of Plainfield, where Captain James Fitch, Jr., and the heirs of former Governor John Winthrop bitterly contested each other's land titles. Settlers sometimes resorted to violence to secure their claims. The General Assembly attempted to end the controversy in 1703 by establishing the separate townships of Canterbury and Plainfield, a *de facto* acceptance of the validity of land purchases from Fitch in the former and the Winthrop faction in the latter. The question of who owned the undivided lands, however, required further government intervention to achieve a compromise. Although not a common occurrence in the Eastern Uplands. periodically, disputes arose between townspeople and absentee proprietors. In Ashford. for example, the issue over who controlled the undivided lands led to years of acrimonious debate.

Building on the Land

While the circumstances surrounding the settlement of each town may have differed, the tasks confronting the settlers were the same. Although some settlements were in areas where Native Americans had already put the land in cultivation or had cleared the forest of underbrush, for the most part land had to be cleared for cultivation, roads laid out, houses and the meetinghouse constructed. These were major undertakings, for the most part requiring communal effort which reinforced and objectified in the built environment the sense of community. Similarly, raising a house frame called upon not only the skills of a carpenter/housewright but also the brawn of able-bodied neighbors. No wonder completion was cause for much celebration.

Shelter was the first priority for a town's earliest settlers, but construction of the meetinghouse was of almost equal priority, although it might be delayed for several years after the formation of a church society. The meetinghouse was the cynosure of the community, physically and spiritually. It was the place of town government as well. Perhaps this is why its location was often the cause for heated disputes among the townspeople, sometimes requiring the intervention of the colony government or the arbitration of disinterested outsiders, even well into the nineteenth century. Although the town was a legal entity and a physical environment, it found its cultural expression in the meetinghouse.

Towns offered land to attract the settlement of millers whose skills were essential to every community. Gristmills, and to a lesser extent sawmills, were a ubiquitous feature in the pre-industrial landscape of colonial Connecticut. Although the use of waterpower in gristmills had become the custom in England, its use in sawmills had met with resistance; waterpowered sawmills were thus developed as a colonial technology.

Agriculture

Settlers relied upon Native American methods of horticulture in the early years of field cultivation. Corn was the first crop to be planted, and the colonists followed the Native American method of hilling. Other grains grown included wheat, barley, rye, and oats. Wooden plows were pulled by oxen; other basic tasks of cultivation, from seeding to harvesting, were done by hand. Farming

scale; since most required little horsepower, even the dams did not seriously reshape the land or affect farmland.

Shipbuilding and ironworks differed from other industries in the scale of labor employed and capital invested. Only in these industries was there much capital outlay and the employment of more than one or two artisans or apprentices. In the Eastern Uplands, both Norwich and East Haddam were centers of shipbuilding in the colonial period. In Norwich, for example, the first shipyard was established in 1717. The Backus and Huntington ironworks were located in Norwich; there were others in Griswold, Hebron, Killingly, Stafford, Voluntown, and Woodstock.

Prior to the Revolution, Norwich had become one of Connecticut's most important manufacturing towns. The numerous enterprises established by Christopher Leffingwell in the 1760s and 1770s, including the colony's first paper mill, helped boost Norwich into this position. Leffingwell's other business interests included the manufacture of silk stockings and the operation of several fulling mills, a chocolate mill, and a pottery works.

In addition to millers, a variety of artisans plied their trade in the region's towns, providing goods and services to agricultural communities and the growing centers of trade. Of paramount importance were the blacksmiths. Towns offered land and a house, and defrayed the cost of tools to attract individuals with the requisite skills. Coopers made barrels for shipping cured beef and pork. Joiners manufactured a wide range of household furniture. The work of tombstone carvers such as Obadiah Wheeler of Lebanon and Benjamin Collins of Columbia represents another facet of artisanal activity in the Eastern Uplands.

The Good Order of Society

The Puritan belief in the subordination of individual interest to that of the community as a whole underlay the colony's efforts to regulate behavior in many spheres of everyday life. Paramount among these were laws regarding religious observance and conformity. Congregationalism was the established church. Dissenting religious groups had to petition the General Assembly for the right not only to worship, but also to be exempt from the obligation to pay taxes for the support of the established church. With some reluctance, the General Assembly ultimately granted these rights, first to Anglicans and then to Baptists. Baptists and Quakers (and later Methodists), however, were subject to the certificate law which required proof of church membership and attendance. In their toleration of other religious sects, the colony's leaders were simply abiding by the letter of the English Toleration Act of 1689. Compared to other regions in the colony, the Eastern Uplands would not become a major area of Episcopalian sentiment. At the time of the Revolution there were Anglican churches only in Norwich, Hebron, and Brooklyn.

Beginning in the 1740s, Congregationalism itself was rent by dissent. The Great Awakening unleashed an outpouring of religious revivalism. In part a response to the perceived aridness of conventional preaching, and in part a protest against the accretion of changes which liberalized membership in the church (the Half-Way Covenant) and weakened local autonomy over church matters by creating consociational authority (the Saybrook Platform), the Great Awakening appealed to those who believed in a religion based on intense emotional feeling. It found great favor in Eastern Connecticut where the "New Lights" versus "Old Lights" controversy affected many parishes. While the "New Lights" endeavored to achieve reform within the established church, the more radical Separatists advocated new church formation as a distinct sect. The first Separatist

church in Connecticut was organized in Canterbury in 1743. In the face of the General Assembly's stiff resistance to granting dissenter status to the Separatists, some returned to their original parishes and others became Baptists.

The colony government defined social responsibilities through laws regulating education and care of society's unfortunates – the indigent, and the physically and mentally disabled. The ability to read the Bible was central to Puritan religion, and education was viewed as a means to foil "the old Deluder" Satan. From 1650 onward, the colony government required the establishment of schools to provide religious instruction and the rudiments of reading and writing. For much of the colonial period this responsibility devolved upon the church societies, which raised taxes and supervised the schools. The aged, infirm, or destitute were expected to look to their own families for support. In exceptional cases, however, towns would provide assistance by paying other families to take in those unable to take care of themselves. Lest strangers with no evident means of support become a burden, towns "warned" them out.

The Puritan concern to maintain social order was also exemplified in the various laws the General Court enacted beginning in 1690 with respect to the colony's African-American population, both slave and free. These laws sought to regulate the passage of persons and to define their legal status.

The census data of 1774 sheds some light on how large the colony's African-American population was on the eve of the American Revolution, although no distinction was made between free and slave. In general, the African-American population was centered in coastal towns with mercantile wealth derived from trade. Of the 15 towns colony-wide with the largest number of African-Americans, two were in the Eastern Uplands – Norwich and Colchester, with 234 and 173, respectively. These figures represented 3.2 percent of Norwich's population and 5.3 percent of Colchester's. Norwich, with the second-largest population in the colony, ranked fifth in terms of the number of African-Americans. Most free and slave African-Americans were servants or worked as farm labor; some – far fewer – practiced various crafts. Although much research remains to be done on African-American life in the Eastern Uplands, it is known that in Norwich members of the African-American community maintained a tradition of annually electing a "black governor," who was installed amidst pomp and circumstance. This custom was followed in the colony's other major towns and was common in other colonies with African slave populations.

In 1774, the General Assembly forbade the importation of African slaves. After the Revolution, several laws providing for gradual manumission were enacted, although slavery was not completely abolished until 1848, at which time there were only 17 slaves in Connecticut.

The American Revolution

Although no battles were fought in the Eastern Uplands, the region was involved in the War for Independence in a number of important ways. Lebanon was the home base of Governor Jonathan Trumbull and the location of the War Office where the Council of Safety – empowered to act as the state's government when the General Assembly was not in session – met. By the war's end, some 1,000 meetings of the Council had been held. It was in Lebanon that Trumbull received General George Washington and such eminent foreign military figures as the Marquis de Lafayette and Comte de Rochambeau. Other towns became the locus of intense activity to support the war effort. Colchester was a major supply depot during the war. Its leading citizen, Henry Champion, was a regional commissary, and teamsters brought in droves of cattle that he purchased for the

military. Norwich served as a major point of supply for American troops moving to and from Boston in the early years of the war. At various times, French troops in transit from one battle front to another encamped in Lebanon and other towns in the region. The Duke de Lauzun and his legendary Legion of Horse encamped in Lebanon in the winter of 1780-1781.

Prominent "Easterners" played an important role in military supply. In 1775, Joseph Trumbull, son of Governor Jonathan Trumbull, was appointed Commissary General by the General Assembly to provision Connecticut's regiments serving in Massachusetts. In addition, merchants from Pomfret, Windham, and Colchester acted as the region's commissaries, subordinate to Trumbull. When creation of a Continental Commissary Department in mid-1775 supplanted this state-directed effort, Trumbull was its first Commissary General, a position which he held for the next two years. Commissary Henry Champion of Colchester rescued Washington's troops from starvation when he and his son drove beef on the hoof to Valley Forge in the bitter winter of 1777-1778. Despite various reorganizations by Congress of the procurement system, including the imposition of state quotas after 1780, Champion continued to figure prominently in providing beeves to the army. Owing to its vital role in supplying the Continental Army, Connecticut earned the sobriquet "The Provisions State."

The region had its share of notable patriots, including General Israel Putnam of Brooklyn, who put down his plow to lead several Connecticut militia companies to aid patriots in Boston after the outbreak of British-American hostilities at Lexington and Concord in 1775; William Williams of Lebanon, a signer of the Declaration of Independence; and Nathan Hale of Coventry, who was executed by the British as a spy in 1776.

Wartime demand affected all sectors of the economy: agriculture, commerce, and industry. In the Eastern Uplands, where livestock raising was important, the great demand for fresh and barreled meat and rising food prices meant increased market opportunities for the region's larger farmers. Although the Northwest Highlands was the major center of Connecticut's iron industry, existing ironworks in Stafford and Norwich produced cannon and shot for the war effort. Gun carriages were made in Norwich as well. Black lead for bullets was mined in Union. The gunpowder mill and magazine in Windham was one of the state's most important, constantly guarded by the militia. Shipyards in Norwich and in East Haddam were engaged in building or outfitting privateers; two row-galleys were commissioned by the state. The need for army clothing placed unprecedented demands on domestic production and brought many women into the orbit of a market economy. The war made overseas trade uncertain. Some merchants were able to obtain army supply contracts; some turned to privateering. Norwich interests fared better than their counterparts in other major Connecticut port towns. The town's more inland location afforded a degree of protection against British raids.

In contrast to other parts of the state, the Loyalist issue seems to have occasioned relatively little discord in the Eastern Uplands. The most notable instance of seizure of a Loyalist estate was the action taken by the General Assembly in 1780, at the behest of the Town of Colchester, against William Browne, an absentee landowner from Salem, Massachusetts. Like some other colonists with pro-British sympathies, Browne had left Boston to take up residence in England in 1776. His estate included 10,000 acres and nine slaves and was valued at £170,000. Samuel Peters, who had been the Anglican minister in Hebron, became one of the more famous Loyalists by virtue of his *History of Connecticut*, which was a thinly veiled diatribe against the Puritan Standing Order.

Post-Medieval and Georgian Architecture

English traditions of housebuilding were transplanted to the New World by the first generation of New England settlers. Early houses were patterned after the prevailing styles and employed the common building practices of modest, English rural architecture of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. In East Anglia – a region from which many colonists emigrated – the typical small farmhouse plan was two rooms on the ground floor and two rooms above, situated next to a central chimney. The heavy-timber, post-and-beam frame was held together by pegged mortise-and-tenon joints. Although walls constructed of cob (clay and straw) were characteristic of English houses of the period, many of the colonists came from England's eastern counties, especially Essex, where clapboards were used as sheathing, a feature of early colonial houses that was long thought to be an indigenous response to New England's harsher climate. It is probable that the earliest roofs were thatched as in England and the use of wood shingles came later.

Other house plan forms existed in the seventeenth century. Service rooms were often located in a lean-to, which was either added along the rear wall or incorporated into the main block by extending the rear roof slope – the classic "saltbox" profile. The origin of these forms and their progression has sparked some scholarly controversy. Some historians have questioned the traditional idea that the added lean-to and the integral lean-to represent successive developments. Rejecting the concept of the organic evolution of the colonial house plan, the revisionist scholars argue that these variations are based on English prototypes and were contemporaneous.

By 1700, a new form had emerged: the two-rooms-deep, two-rooms-wide, two-and-a-half-stories-high house – what the modern reader thinks of when the term "Colonial" is used. Such houses were rectangular in form, with a gable roof and center chimney, a five-bay facade with central doorway, and symmetrically placed first and second-story windows, commonly in a six-over-nine glazing pattern. Double-hung windows replaced earlier casements; wood muntins rather than lead cames held the small panes of glass. This building type continued to be constructed for the next 100 years. Another common style was the one-and-a-half-story Cape, often with a gambrel roof and generally with three rather than five bays. This version also had a center chimney.

Although lower roof slopes, larger window openings, and emphasis on symmetry were early eighteenth-century modifications, style characteristics of seventeenth-century domestic architecture also persisted, most notably the absence of ornamentation. Less common but still occasionally used was the wall overhang (initially framed, but later hewn) at the second-floor level of the facade and at the attic level at the gable ends.

Eighteenth-century Georgian – as opposed to "Colonial" – was essentially a high-style tradition relying on pattern books. Most influential was James Gibbs' (1682-1754) *A Book of Architecture,* first published in London in 1728. Characteristic features included twin chimneys, hipped roofs – sometimes with dormers – and the use of classical details to emphasize entrances, windows, and cornices. Doorways were enframed by pilasters supporting an entablature or a pediment, windows were defined by architraves, and cornices were embellished with multiple moldings, dentils, or modillions. Quoins accentuated vertical edges. After 1750, some examples of the Georgian style displayed projecting two-story, pedimented pavilions, which gave the facade an almost monumental quality. In New England, this style was principally found in the region's centers of maritime trade and reflected the aspirations of the merchant class. In the Eastern Uplands, there are few examples of Georgian-style architecture and these are primarily located in Colchester, Lebanon, and Norwich. Most commonly, decorative features were applied to the traditional center-chimney house form.

In the colonial period, the meetinghouse form also underwent change. The term itself appears to have originated in New England, and the dual religious and secular function of the building is believed to be a uniquely colonial invention. In the seventeenth century, meetinghouses were either of the square and hipped-roof form or rectangular with gable roof and entrance along the long side. None of these buildings survive in the Eastern Uplands. The latter version continued to be built in the eighteenth century, but by the time of the American Revolution the addition of a side tower with belfry was common.

Colonial buildings were not designed by architects. Housewrights learned their trade through the apprenticeship system, a fact which may have contributed to the generally conservative nature of colonial architecture. The documented career of Isaac Fitch (1734-1791) of Lebanon provides a rare opportunity to examine the carpenter-builder tradition. Fitch was a cousin of Jonathan Trumbull, and much of Fitch's work resulted from that familial relationship. Fitch was employed to make alterations to Lebanon's second meetinghouse and did finish carpentry work at the third meetinghouse in Colchester. He was also responsible, however, for the design as well as the construction of several major houses: the Jonathan Deming House (1768) in Colchester and Redwood (1778-1779), the residence of David Trumbull – Jonathan's son – in Lebanon. In both cases, elements of Georgian design were incorporated: hipped roofs, quoins, and other classical details. The inventory of Fitch's estate at the time of his death provides a probable clue to his sources, for it includes a copy of "Gibbs Architecture," and a "Lecture on Architecture" – both suggesting familiarity with English architecture of the period.

III. AGRICULTURAL AND EARLY INDUSTRIAL PERIOD 1780-1850

Connecticut's transition from colony to state did not usher in major changes in its political order or economy. Over the next half-century, however, new forces would transform the economy and society. In the Eastern Uplands, the rise of textile manufacturing, and with it the introduction of the factory system and the mill village, would have a profound impact on the traditional values and landscape of an agricultural society. These developments were alternately looked upon with misgivings and enthusiasm. Agriculture would feel the effects of not only industrial growth but also the transportation revolution. Improvements in transportation, first the turnpikes and then the railroads, channeled the economy along new lines, creating challenges and opportunities which affected various sectors of the economy differently. Agriculture, industry, and innovations in transportation were intertwined in far more complex ways than in the colonial period. As Ellen Larned, the late-nineteenth-century historian of Windham County, commented: "The impulse given by the new industry was felt in every direction."[5] Factors external to the region and the state, such as the War of 1812, tariff policies, and periodic financial panics, also affected industry, agriculture, and commerce; fluctuations in the health of the larger economy and market conditions at times favored expansion and at other times forced contraction or adaptation.

One important consequence that the American Revolution did have for the region was the rapid creation of new towns at the war's end. Seven were incorporated in the years 1785-1786; in the ensuing decades, 11 more were added to the list. All grew out of previously established church societies and, in marked contrast to town formation in the pre-Revolutionary period, their creation did not entail proprietary action: titles to the land were already in place. In some cases, these new towns were formed by taking land from not one but several other towns. Such was the case with Brooklyn (in 1786 from Pomfret and Canterbury) and Salem (in 1819 from Colchester, Lyme, and Montville, the latter itself newly created as a town in 1786). The same forces which influenced the nature and pace of economic change shaped town development. From 1790 to 1850, some towns gained in population, some lost, and others remained essentially static. The largest increases occurred in Plainfield, Killingly, and Norwich, the population doubling in the first two towns and tripling in the last. Population growth within individual towns occurred unevenly as well.

Ebullient confidence in "progress" and belief in "improvement" not only underlay the launching of new industrial and transportation enterprises, but also propelled social reform movements, which were often fired by religious revivalism. Temperance, abolitionism, and the quality of public education became major issues of the day. The creation of lyceums, the founding of private academies, and the emphasis on "scientific" approaches to agriculture were all manifestations of the same idea of betterment.

The banner of reform was waved in the political arena as well. The rise of a two-party system, the Federalists and the Jeffersonians, on the national level had its counterpart in Connecticut. In 1818, a constitutional convention was called to deal with such issues as religious toleration, enfranchisement, and reform within the branches of government. One result, reflecting dissatisfaction with the "Standing Order," was the disestablishment of the Congregational Church. In its wake, Baptist, Methodist, and other Protestant denominations embarked upon new church-building programs. The separation of church and state also led to the construction of new town halls or town "houses" in the second quarter of the nineteenth century.

Transportation

Beginning in 1792, and continuing well into the first half of the nineteenth century, the General Assembly granted charters of incorporation for the purpose of turnpike construction. The "Mohegan Road" between New London and Norwich was the first turnpike, not only in the region but also in the state; it was the second in the nation. The turnpikes made possible the more efficient movement of goods, travel by stagecoach, and regular mail service. Statewide, by 1840, 60 companies were operating 1,600 miles of turnpikes, which literally criss-crossed the landscape. In the Eastern Uplands, their purpose was not just to facilitate inter-town travel but also to link the region to major cities and ports within the state and to out-of-state points north and east such as Boston and Providence. Turnpikes were of particular importance to farmers in the inland towns of the Eastern Uplands because they provided increased access to markets. One of the major north-south routes in the region was the Norwich and Woodstock turnpike established in 1801. The Hartford and New London turnpike, incorporated in 1800, was the major southeast route, passing through the towns of Marlborough, Colchester, and Salem. Various independently operated turnpikes were linked to create continuous through roads. Farmers who could take advantage prospered, as did merchants. Town centers located on major through routes or at their junctions flourished in the early decades of the nineteenth century. The attendant increase in traffic and trade was accompanied by economic growth; taverns and inns, blacksmiths, small craft and retail shops, and manufactories served an expanded market. Handsome Federal and Greek Revival residences built by successful merchants and farmers exemplified the new level of prosperity which the turnpikes engendered.

The turnpike era was soon supplanted by that of the railroad. Although the construction of turnpikes wrought changes in the landscape, they were still a familiarly scaled cultural artifact; their impact was dwarfed by that of the railroad. Building bridges and tunnels and laying miles and miles of track represented an unprecedented intrusion upon the countryside. By the mid-1850s, three major railroad lines were operating in the Eastern Uplands: the Norwich and Worcester, the New London, Willimantic and Palmer, and the Hartford, Providence and Fishkill. In each case, prominent businessmen with economic interests in the region spearheaded efforts to obtain incorporation and were among the principal investors.

The Norwich and Worcester, chartered in 1828 (and originally intended to reach to New London), was the first railroad constructed in the region. Work began in the mid-1830s and was completed in 1840. The line ran northward from Norwich, roughly paralleling the Quinebaug River Valley and passing through the towns of Griswold, Plainfield, Killingly, and Thompson, in areas where the new textile industry was located. The railroad's proponents boasted that there were 100 mills within five miles of the line. At the Norwich terminus, the railroad was linked by steamboat to New York City. One of the more spectacular engineering feats of this undertaking was the Lisbon Tunnel, some 292 feet long, 23 feet wide, and 18 feet high, that was cut through solid schist in 1837 on the first leg of the line from Norwich to Jewett City in Griswold. Within the City of Norwich, the railroad undertook an extensive building program, reshaping an area along the river by blasting a rocky promontory and filling in low-lying land to build a station and related yard facilities as well as a major new wharf. Since ice often hampered ship passage in the upper Thames River, in 1843 the line was extended farther south, to Allyn's Point in Ledyard, thus providing another point of departure and arrival.

Employing the same strategy as the Norwich and Worcester Railroad, the New London, Willimantic and Palmer chose a north-south route to take advantage of the freight traffic generated by industry. It served agricultural communities as well. Within Norwich, the New London, Willimantic and Palmer

followed a more westerly route than that of its competitor, beginning in Thamesville on the west bank of the Thames River and proceeding to Norwichtown; from there it ran through rural Franklin and Lebanon, to South Windham, Willimantic, Mansfield, Willington, and Stafford Springs. In 1855, track was laid to connect the separate stations of the Norwich and Worcester and the New London, Willmantic and Palmer in Norwich.

The Hartford, Providence and Fishkill Railroad ran east-west through Willimantic to Sprague, Plainfield, and Sterling. The first section from Hartford to Willimantic was built by 1849; that from Willimantic to Providence was completed in 1854.

The "iron horse" heralded a new age. The railroad shrank time and space. Rail connections made it possible to move bulk items faster and more cheaply, thus securing the region's manufacturers a more favorable market position. The predominantly rural areas of the Eastern Uplands, however, were largely by-passed by the railroad. Changes wrought by the coming of the railroad were not limited to the economy. The employment of Irish Catholic immigrants to do railroad construction work introduced a new element of religious and cultural diversity and a new class of wage earners.

Commerce

In the 1790s and early 1800s, Americans took advantage of their neutral status in the wars between England and France to ply the traditional West Indian trade. Foreign trade flourished in the early years of the new republic, but was sharply curtailed by the Embargo Act of 1807 and the Non-Intercourse Act of 1809. These measures caused great economic hardship and generated intense opposition in Connecticut, especially in port cities such as Norwich where the carrying trade was fundamental to the local economy. Nevertheless, in the half-dozen or so years before the War of 1812, intrepid sea captains and merchants were willing to risk harassment, particularly by the British. Many voyages were extremely risky, and it has been calculated that more than 1,000 Connecticut vessels were seized in this period. During the War of 1812, some ships managed to run the British blockade off Long Island Sound. While shipping resumed after the war, foreign trade never regained a major economic role in Connecticut.

Shipbuilding continued to expand after the Revolution, particularly in the region's Connecticut River towns. Middle Haddam in East Hampton emerged as a major center and the industry prospered through the 1820s. Numerous types of ships were built, from coastal schooners to ocean-going clipper ships. This industry gave rise to a complex economic network that embraced farmers, shopkeepers, merchants, craftsmen, and manufacturers engaged in such small-scale enterprises as ropewalks and sail lofts and the manufacture of oakum used for ship's caulking.

Agriculture

Throughout this period, agriculture remained the principal means of livelihood for the region's inhabitants. Hard times immediately following the Revolution prompted many farmers to strike out for the Western Reserve in Ohio, a trend that would continue for several decades. For those who remained behind, resumption of West Indian trade in the 1790s and the early years of the nineteenth century restored a measure of prosperity. Improved transportation networks provided by the turnpikes permitted easier and increased access to markets. The inter-regional distribution system made possible by the railroad, however, worked both to the advantage and disadvantage of the

farmer. On the one hand, it facilitated industrial development, which led, in turn, to a growing market for agricultural products in the region's manufacturing centers. At the same time, shipment of cheaper Western grain and livestock to Eastern cities began to erode the farmer's traditional means of livelihood.

There was no one typical farm or farmer in the Eastern Uplands during this period. Throughout the first half of the nineteenth century, the mixed husbandry – grains and livestock – of the earlier period continued. Corn remained the principal staple crop; hay production increased. Farmers raised beef cattle, sheep, and hogs, although livestock became less profitable by mid-century. At the same time, some farmers turned to specialized, one-crop production. This trend was reflected in the enthusiasm with which farmers embraced the raising of Merino sheep in the early nineteenth century and, later, cultivation of mulberry trees. In each case, however, success proved to be short-lived. Farmers found a more stable commodity in the production of dairy products, particularly cheese.

Many variables affected farm production: the type and fertility of the soil, the availability and use of improved agricultural implements and fertilizers, the market forces at work, and the ability of the farmer to organize farm operations for profit. Historian Howard S. Russell characterized this period as one in which "the alert ones gained, some doubtless lost, all had to alter with the times."[6]

Throughout this period, advocates of agricultural reform sought to educate the farmer about how to improve productivity by using fertilizers, better seeds, and purer strains of livestock. These efforts to encourage scientific farming underlay creation of county agricultural societies and spawned the publication of agricultural periodicals. Even the legendary *Farmer's Almanac* dates from 1793. Such attempts, however, encountered skepticism, if not outright rejection, by the more conservative farmers.

In agriculture, as in industry, the first half of the nineteenth century was a period of technological innovation: improvements in hand tools and plow design, and the invention of labor-saving machinery relying on horsepower to accomplish the basic agricultural tasks of soil preparation, seeding, cultivating, and harvesting. The time lag between introduction and adoption varied; the use of new machinery was delayed sometimes by the conservative attitudes or limited means of the farmer, sometimes by the need to modify equipment to suit particular soil and other growing conditions. To many a skeptical Yankee farmer, new inventions had to prove their utility and reliability. The iron plow, for example, was not widely used in New England until the 1840s. In corn growing, the amount of land the farmer could put into production was limited by the time-consuming and labor-intensive task of cultivation. It was not until after 1840 that the use of cultivators, first introduced in the 1820s, became more common. The development of a mechanical seed drill for planting corn, however, came only after 1850. Other labor-saving inventions of the period included the grain cradle, which replaced the sickle to cut wheat and hay, and the horse-drawn hay rake to gather cut hay.

Industry

From the embryonic attempts made in the late eighteenth century, the textile industry had become a major factor in Connecticut's economy by the mid-nineteenth century. No region of the state was as closely identified with this development as the Eastern Uplands. While the availability of abundant

waterpower was a necessary prerequisite, the ability to exploit this natural resource awaited the development of adequate technology, an infrastructure for the transport of goods, and an expanded consumer market. Some historians suggest that until manufacturing could produce a return on investment comparable to that on land or commerce, little development was likely to occur. One by one, these conditions were met.

Early efforts to establish a textile industry had been hampered by a lack of technological know-how. Although the Arkwright water frame (1769), Hargreaves' spinning jenny (1770), Crompton's mule for spinning thread (1779), and the Cartwright loom for weaving (1785) had already been invented, the British government prohibited export of such technology. The birth of both the cotton and woolen industries in New England was largely the result of transmission of this technology by skilled immigrant textile workers from England. Several individuals figured prominently: in the cotton industry, it was Samuel Slater, and in the woolen industry, it was the Scholfield brothers, John and Arthur. They are credited with the first successful American application of waterpower to one of the basic tasks in cloth manufacture: in Slater's case, spinning cotton yarn, and in the Scholfields', carding wool fibers (a process of making wool fibers more uniform to facilitate spinning).

The roots of Connecticut's cotton textile industry lay in developments in Rhode Island. In 1789, amidst the nationalistic surge of interest in manufacturing after the American Revolution, Moses Brown, one of the wealthiest merchants in Providence, established a cotton factory with jennies for spinning yarn and looms for hand weavers to produce cloth. Arkwright-type machinery was built by an inventive local blacksmith, Oziel Wilkinson, but its successful operation proved elusive. Like others interested in developing a textile industry, Brown sought to find someone with detailed knowledge of the British textile industry. Samuel Slater, a young Englishman who had been apprenticed to Jedidiah Strutt, Arkwright's former partner, and who was familiar with both the Arkwright water frame and mill construction, was hired by Brown immediately upon his arrival in the United States in 1789. Slater was able to make the necessary adjustments to the machinery, and in 1790 the firm of Almy and Brown commenced production of cotton yarn. A second mill was put into operation in 1797. While the first enterprise had been housed in a former fulling mill, the second involved construction of the first true factory building in the United States, a building type which the architectural historian William Pierson characterizes as the "first . . . of the modern world."[7]

Early textile mill construction relied on traditional technology and the use of familiar materials. In the typical mill building, the clapboarded, heavy-timber frame rested on a deep stone foundation to withstand the destructive forces of both machine vibrations and high waters. Its shape, overall dimensions, and height were largely determined by the limitations imposed by the use of natural lighting and the maximum distance permissible for effective power distribution. A narrow rectangular block several stories high became the standard mill design. The original Slater Mill had a gable roof surmounted by a cupola at the peak end over the entrance. The overall effect resembled the appearance of a meetinghouse. This arrangement later gave way to an entrance on the long side in a projecting stairtower, which terminated in a cupola. The addition of dormers or, more commonly, a roof monitor, introduced additional light to the upper story. Construction technology changed as well. Developing from a concern to make buildings more fire-resistant, heavy-timber floor framing replaced joisted floor construction. This system of double-layer plank flooring laid on beams, known as "slow-burning construction," was in use by the 1830s. Although by mid-century masonry construction had come into favor and larger mills were constructed – partly as a result of technological changes in mill wheel and millwork design – the basic mill form remained the same.

Most historians agree that Slater was instrumental in introducing not only the basic mill form but also the mill village, both of them influenced by English precedents. Continuing to rely on Providence capital, in 1806 Slater established another cotton mill in Rhode Island and with it a mill village, aptly named Slatersville. Several tenements to house workers and a company store were constructed. Slater was following the English practice of hiring entire families to work in the mills and housing them in company-owned, multi-family buildings. This aspect of the "Rhode Island system" became one of the distinguishing characteristics of the Eastern Uplands textile industry.

Slater, who married Oziel Wilkinson's daughter, his brothers-in-law and, ultimately, the skilled workers they employed played a major role in the diffusion of cotton-spinning technology. It was the Wilkinson family which established the first cotton textile mill in Connecticut, the Pomfret Manufacturing Company in Putnam in 1806. In an event imbued with nationalistic patriotism, the frame for the new factory was raised on July 4. The scarcity of goods resulting from the Embargo of 1807, the Non-Intercourse Act of 1809, and the War of 1812 itself gave impetus to domestic manufacturing and provided protection for the infant industry. Among the firms established prior to the war were the Danielson Manufacturing Company in Killingly in 1809, the Sterling Manufacturing Company in Sterling in 1809, and the Jewett City Manufacturing Company in Griswold in 1811. The rapid proliferation of cotton textile mills for spinning yarn was so great that in 1811 the *Windham Herald* queried: "Are not the people running mill mad?" The consumption of cotton skyrocked from 1,000 bales to 90,000 per annum. New companies continued to be founded during the war as well. The Sprague Manufacturing Company in Eastford, established in 1815, was but one of dozens.

In the early years of the cotton textile industry, weaving was generally "put out" on consignment, and as a consequence, home-based production thrived. The supply of yarn, however, exceeded the local capacity to weave cloth and, lacking a larger market, the industry faltered. It was rescued from failure by the successful introduction of waterpowered looms by the end of the War of 1812. This technology launched the industry into its second stage of development.

The development of the woolen industry followed a pattern somewhat similar to that of cotton. John and Arthur Scholfield had emigrated from Yorkshire, the center of the English woolen industry, in 1793 and soon established themselves in Newburyport, Massachusetts. Merchant capital enabled the brothers to start a mill to card wool using waterpower. In 1798, the Scholfields established the first of their several mills in Connecticut, located along the Oxoboxo River in Montville. As had been the case in the cotton industry, the interruption of overseas trade encouraged development of the industry. The Pease and Niles *Gazetteer,* published in 1819, reported 16 woolen "factories" in New London County, 4 in Tolland County, and 10 in Windham County. Early manufacturing efforts focused on the production of broadcloth. The raising of Merino sheep, prized for their finer fleece, became a veritable mania, fueled by the high prices both raw wool and woolen broadcloth goods commanded. At the same time, as carding machines became readily available, homespun production increased. With the cessation of the War of 1812 and the resumption of trade with England, however, domestic wool manufacturers lost their competitive advantage and faced a flood of cheaper, but better quality, English goods. Reduced demand and oversupply put an end to the speculative fever in Merino sheep.

As in cotton textiles, the woolen industry underwent a period of adjustment. Although efforts to improve the quality of the wool supply were not abandoned, the domestic clip remained of inferior grade compared to imported raw wool. American manufacturers turned to the production of lesser-quality goods, which broadened their market. Power looms for weaving were in use by 1820, a

technology which Americans had independently developed. The fabric made was satinet, a blend of cotton and wool with a cotton warp. One of the earliest mills in the region to produce satinet was the Mineral Springs Manufacturing Company, started in 1839 in Stafford. With the introduction of the Crompton loom after the 1840s, it became possible to weave an all-wool fabric known as fancy cassimere. Satinet, however, remained the mainstay of the industry prior to 1850.

Silk had long been a precious commodity in Europe and its cultivation in the New World had been encouraged in the colonial period. In Connecticut, two individuals figured importantly in the early phase of the silk industry: Dr. Nathaniel Aspinwall, who is credited with introducing the raising of mulberry trees and silk worms in the 1760s, and Ezra Stiles, prolific diarist and president of Yale College from 1778 to 1795, who conducted experiments in silk cultivation. In 1784, the state offered bounties for the growing of mulberry trees and the production of raw silk. A Connecticut Silk Society was formed in 1785. Although early silk cultivation proved successful in both New Haven and Mansfield, it was the latter town that took the lead in the production of raw silk. Production rose from 200 pounds in 1789 to 2,500 pounds 20 years later and continued to expand through the 1830s. Connecticut's success drew national attention in an 1832 Congressional report which touted the feasibility of silk cultivation in the United States. In the 1830s, a new faster-growing variety of mulberry tree was introduced and a period of wild speculation ensued, with mulberry trees commanding inflated prices. In the wake of the Panic of 1837, the "silk bubble" burst. The harsh winter of 1843, which dramatically demonstrated that the mulberry tree was unsuited to the New England climate, and a devastating blight in 1844 effectively put an end to silk cultivation. Farmers and manufacturers alike were swept up in the frenzy and later in the collapse. Thereafter, the industry relied exclusively on imported silk.

Meanwhile, the foundations had been laid for the silk manufacturing industry. The first such venture was a thread mill established in Mansfield in 1810 by Rodney Hanks and his nephew Horatio Hanks, who made the machinery for spinning silk by waterpower. Confronting technological problems, the industry proceeded by fits and starts for the next several decades. Its full-fledged development, like that of the cotton and woolen industries, depended on the technological innovation necessary for an integrated process of production. In the case of silk, the key breakthrough was the application of waterpower to reeling, pioneered by the Mansfield Silk Company, which was established in 1828.

Early manufacturing was not for the timid; the risks were considerable. The success or failure of these industrial enterprises was influenced not only by the general economic climate and the ability of the manufacturer to gauge market conditions correctly, but also by disasters: floods which washed away dams and fires which destroyed buildings. As a consequence, business ownerships changed often. For example, in 1826 Samuel Slater and his son John F. Slater acquired the Jewett City Manufacturing Company. Despite periodic setbacks, the textile industry continued to expand, sometimes as a result of reorganization, sometimes through formation of new firms. Indicative is the response Smith Wilkinson sent to Secretary of the Treasury Louis McLane in connection with the latter's 1832 report on manufactures. Wilkinson described the Pomfret Manufacturing Company as having two mills, one built in 1806 and the other in 1824. The firm, capitalized at $100,000, operated 3,000 spindles and 76 looms, employed nearly 150 workers, and produced a half million yards of cloth annually.

In 1819, 67 cotton and 66 woolen mills were operating in New London, Tolland, and Windham Counties; by 1845, the number had increased to 136 and 119, respectively. In 1845, Killingly ranked first with 16 cotton mills, 23,310 spindles, and 650 workers; Thompson was second with 9 cotton

mills, 21,698 spindles, and 445 employed. In that 26-year interval, among the new companies formed were the Windham Cotton Manufacturing Company (1822) in Willimantic, the Masonville Company (1826) in Thompson, and the Rhodes Mill (1830) in Putnam. Moreover, there was a greater diversity of goods produced in 1845.

By 1850, dozens of industrial villages, often named after the founding entrepreneurs, dotted the landscape all along the rivers of the Eastern Uplands, principally the Quinebaug and its major tributaries, the Five Mile and French Rivers, and the Willimantic, Shetucket, and Yantic Rivers. Examples included Ballouville, Danielsonville, Dayville, and Williamsville in Killingly; Almyville in Plainfield; Masonville in Thompson; Greeneville in Norwich; Fitchville in Bozrah; and Gurleyville in Mansfield. While many mill villages were located at sites where existing water privileges were already being used, these were not "settled" areas. Indeed, an earlier generation would have looked with dismay upon the often-rugged wilderness setting of many of these new villages. The typical mill village before 1850 might consist of one or two mill buildings, several two-family tenements to house workers and their families, a boardinghouse, dwellings for supervisory personnel, the mill owner's residence, a school, and the company store. The company might own a farm, allowing the workers to have pasturage rights. "For sale" advertisements of manufacturing establishments were very specific in this regard. For example, the Bozrah Manufacturing Company was described in 1824 as having "Five large double houses with three smaller ones . . . containing good tenements for more than twenty families" and "a large well finished store, where the Company have kept a general assortment of Goods . . ." The property included "an excellent farm of about 84 acres . . . well proportioned with wood, pasturing, plough land and mowing . . ."[8] This environment would have been familiar to the farm families who provided much of the workforce in the mills. Prior to the 1840s, the overwhelming majority of textile workers were native born and, as was the case in Killingly, Pomfret, and Thompson, many came from the towns in which the mills were located.

Although mill villages were built primarily to meet the need for worker housing in often-remote locations, they were also intended to attract and maintain a stable workforce. Motivated by both self-interest and a paternalistic attitude, millowners sought to regulate the lives of their employees. Moreover, employers believed that the factory system itself inculcated personal discipline. Many early mill villages resembled the ideal nucleated village of the colonial period, but the distinctions were as significant as the similarities. The identical design and ordered relationship of worker housing represented a departure from earlier architecture. While residential buildings of the colonial period were stylistically related, no two were exactly alike, each being an individual expression of the owner. Worker housing was clustered and close together, the buildings evenly spaced from one another. The concept of overall community planning and the hierarchical ordering of space, however, seem to have been more associated with a later phase of the textile industry's development. Topography or pre-existing road patterns influenced building location rather than a preconceived grid pattern.

While on the whole, the development of waterpowered industry in the Eastern Uplands followed the "Rhode Island" pattern of individual, geographically dispersed water privileges, in Norwich the establishment of Greeneville was modeled after the "Lowell System" of an integrated sequence of multiple water privileges along a power canal. In 1828, William Greene of Boston, who with partner William Gilman had earlier founded the Thames Manufacturing Company at Yantic Falls, created the Norwich Water Company to develop waterpower along the Shetucket River. In 1828, a dam and a canal some 45 feet wide, 9 feet deep, and almost a mile in length were built. As had been the case with the textile mills established by the Boston Associates at Lowell and elsewhere, the intention was to create a comprehensive plan for the development of worker housing. In 1833,

land owned by the company was surveyed and the major north-south and east-west streets were laid out in a rectangular grid. Greeneville soon rivaled Yantic Falls as a location for textile mills and was also the site of major paper manufacturing and fabric finishing firms.

Although cotton, woolen, and silk textiles were predominant in the Eastern Uplands, other major industries got their start in the first half of the nineteenth century as well. Norwich and Sterling became centers of fabric finishing. The region's industrial growth benefitted from legendary "Yankee ingenuity," that open-minded curiosity about and ability to invent and "tinker" with machinery. Some blacksmiths in such towns as Stafford became machinists, providing the growing textile industry with its own indigenous technological resources. Machine shops were located in Norwich and other industrial towns as well. Paper manufacturing was another important component of the region's expanding industrial base, especially in Norwich and Montville. In this industry local machine shops also played an important role. In South Windham in 1828-1829, the first American-made Fourdrinier paper-making machine was built. Smith and Winchester, as the company was later known, continued to produce paper-making machinery for a national market throughout the century. Technological inventiveness and entrepreneurial skills, qualities often found in single individuals, were also important factors in such industries as bell manufacturing in East Hampton, twine and fish netting in the Moodus section of East Haddam, and leather machine belting in Tolland. These towns would continue to remain identified with these specialized industries.

In the Eastern Uplands, quarrying became a locally important industry as well. Granite quarries were operated in Bolton, Haddam, and Sterling. Until the deposits were exhausted in the 1830s, local bog iron sustained ironworks in Stafford.

In his famous travel account in the 1830s, Alexis de Toqueville commented that "what most astonishes one in the United States is not so much the marvelous grandeur of some undertakings as the innumerable multitude of small ones."[9] In the Eastern Uplands, the truth of de Toqueville's observation was reflected in the diverse range of small-scale manufacturing enterprises, some of them still domestic in nature: eyeglasses in Brooklyn; gun cartridges in South Coventry; hats in Willington; and shoes in Woodstock. The Coventry Glass Company was one of a handful of Connecticut glass manufacturers that became known for commemorative portrait flasks.

Town Development

At the start of this period, towns were more alike than not alike: basically agrarian with scattered, small-scale enterprises. The rise of the textile industry, however, marked the beginning of the process whereby some towns became more closely identified with manufacturing while others remained essentially agricultural. Moreover, during the first half of the nineteenth century, separate areas of settlement within towns acquired more distinct and different characters as a result of successive changes wrought by the economy. Changes in the form of government were one manifestation of this economic differentiation; status as a city or a borough brought a degree of political autonomy and with it the authority to levy taxes for services not provided by the town as a whole. Norwich, which was already a growing urban center before the Revolutionary War, was one of five cities incorporated by the General Assembly in 1784. Colchester, which had been a hub of activity during the Revolution and continued to develop as an inland center of trade and small businesses, was chartered as the first borough in the region in 1824. When Willimantic became a borough within the Town of Windham in 1833, it already had a population of 2,000 – more than that of some entire towns in the region – a circumstance attributable to the new industry and the consequent

location of businesses and services along its Main Street.

The twin factors of improved transportation networks and industrial growth assured continuance of Norwich's position as the region's major entrepôt in the first half of the nineteenth century. Political power followed in the wake of economic dominance. The location of town government was shifted from Norwichtown, which was the original town settlement, to "Chelsea" – as the city was then known – in 1829, and the jail and county court proceedings were transferred there in 1834. Warehouses, wharves, shops, banks, and other institutional buildings all jostled for space in the city. Commercial buildings lined the river-facing streets, with residences located nearby. Buildings hugged the steep terraces rising above the river. In the 1830s and 1840s, rapid economic growth spurred new residential development "up the hill," on land north of the commercial center, where nascent neighborhoods emerged to house the city's middle and working class and ethnic populations. The city's African-American population, for example, was located in Jail Hill.

County status also affected town development. In 1785, Tolland became the seat of the newly formed county of that name, encompassing some towns previously included in Windham and Hartford Counties. In 1819, Brooklyn became the new seat of Windham County. In the early nineteenth century, Brooklyn was a growing center of trade and small-scale manufacturing, and the presence of the court generated additional custom. In both cases handsome new courthouses were constructed in the then-popular Federal style.

Education and Social Reform

In 1784, the first private academy in Connecticut to provide educational instruction beyond that of the district school was established in Plainfield. Such institutions proliferated during the first half of the nineteenth century. Often financed by local subscription or endowed by private benefactors, these academies taught classical subjects such as philosophy and Latin both to prepare students for college and to provide general enrichment. Some, such as the Woodstock Academy, founded in 1802, accepted female as well as male students. The Norwich Female Academy was opened in 1828. Other examples in the Eastern Uplands included Ashford Academy (1825) and Brainerd Academy in Haddam (1839). Many of these institutions were disbanded after a few years; some ultimately became the public high school for local residents. One of the more specialized educational institutions founded prior to 1850 was the Music Vale Seminary for young women, opened by Oramel Whittlesey in 1835 in Salem. Whittlesey and his brothers were manufacturers of highly regarded pianos. It is said that the school was the first in the United States to offer a normal (teaching) degree.

In the early nineteenth century, concern over social injustices led to efforts to provide better educational opportunities for African-Americans. When the Bacon Academy was founded in Colchester in 1803, the fund and by-laws called for "Negroes and persons of color" to be educated in a separate building. While segregation by race is unacceptable by modern standards, this effort represented a well-intentioned response to the virtually total lack of educational opportunities for African-Americans. Religious organizations played a role as well. For example, in Norwich, the Congregational and Episcopal churches supported the Union Sabbath School Society to teach reading skills, as well as provide religious instruction, to African-Americans. A similar impulse underlay the organization of a school for the Mohegans in Montville in 1830.

One of the more short-lived but historically significant educational institutions founded in this

period was the Prudence Crandall School in Canterbury. Crandall, a Quaker schoolmistress from Rhode Island, opened a school for young ladies in Canterbury in 1831. When, propelled by her sense of social justice, she admitted a young African-American, Sarah Harris, to the school, the parents of white students objected and threatened to withdraw their children. Rather than dismiss Harris, Crandall closed the school. Crandall had become aware of the injustices confronting free African-Americans from her reading of the *Liberator*, the broadsheet published by the ardent abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison. She obtained copies of the paper from Ann Marcia Davis, an African-American in her employ, who was engaged to Charles F. Harris, Sarah's brother. Both he and his father, William M. Harris, were agents for the paper. Ensuing events briefly brought together the forces of educational reform and abolitionism.

With the encouragement of prominent abolitionists, including Samuel May, minister of the Unitarian Church in Brooklyn, and after traveling to other states to recruit students, Crandall in 1833 established a school for "young ladies and little misses of color." This action created even greater local outrage. In 1833, the General Assembly passed what became known as the "Black Law," which made it a criminal offense, punishable by fine, to establish schools for African-Americans from out of state without the consent of the local governing body. Despite continual harrassment and isolation imposed by the community, Crandall held fast. She was arrested, briefly imprisoned, and then brought to trial in Brooklyn. At issue was whether the "Black Law" violated the constitutional provision (Article IV, Section 2) that citizens of each state shall have the privileges and immunities of citizens in the several states. At her second trial, Crandall was found guilty. The case then moved to the Connecticut Supreme Court of Errors, which overturned her conviction on technical grounds of insufficient evidence, while side-stepping the constitutional question. Acts of vandalism escalated, forcing Crandall to close her school in 1834.

Concern about the status of African-Americans also found expression in the creation of anti-slavery societies. In the Eastern Uplands, Windham County was a center of abolitionist sentiment in the 1830s. Members of the Burleigh family in Plainfield were among its leading proponents, although the Windham County Anti-Slavery Society had supporters in Killingly, Thompson, and Pomfret as well. While organized anti-slavery petered out in the 1840s, some individuals sought to assist escaped slaves by providing them safehouses on their route to freedom in Canada. Passage of the Fugitive Slave Act in 1850 gave further impetus to these efforts. The "underground railroad" evidently operated on a "route" from New London through Norwich to Lebanon and on to Willimantic, Hampton, and Killingly, and thence to Massachusetts.

Neo-Classical and Romantic Architecture

In the early years of the new republic, the emergence of a more style-conscious domestic architecture corresponded with the growing prosperity and increasingly cosmopolitan tastes of merchants, shipbuilders, and farmers with mercantile interests, all of whom sought to emulate English precedents. In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the Federal style drew its inspiration from the work of the brothers Robert and James Adam in Great Britain. Their use of classical details was based on firsthand study of early Greek and Roman architecture, a manifestation of the growing contemporary interest in ancient culture as a result of archaeological investigations undertaken from the mid-eighteenth century onward. In contrast to Georgian design, the proportions and ornamental details of the Federal style were more refined. Building forms remained rectangular and symmetrical, though in three-story as well as two-story versions. Palladian windows, denticulated cornices, and modillions were characteristics that the Federal style shared with the

Georgian. Occasionally, when the styles were combined, quoins or two-story pilasters, and a centered gable (or pediment) at the facade were used. Typically, the entrance featured slender pilasters supporting a broken pediment and a semi-circular or elliptical fanlight, with delicate leaded tracery, above the door – the latter a hallmark of the style. Windows often had splayed lintels, sometimes with keystones. In rural areas, where the use of the center chimney continued, many houses closely resembled those of the colonial period, except for Federal-style door surrounds and denticulated cornices.

In the Eastern Uplands, Federal-style houses were commonly built in the region's expanding centers of commerce. While the centered gable or projecting pedimented pavilion was the least common type of Federal house, its use seems to have been popular in the Eastern Uplands; and a unique sub-type – the gable on hip roof – made its appearance in Canterbury, Eastford, and Pomfret. The Prudence Crandall House in Canterbury (Photograph 5) is an excellent example, which also illustrates the persistence of the Georgian style past the Revolution. Two of the region's outstanding late Georgian houses, the General Ephaphroditus Champion House (1794) in East Haddam and the Henry Champion House (1790) in Colchester, were designed and built by William Sprat, a British Revolutionary War prisoner who chose to remain in the United States after the war's end. Bacon Academy (1803) in Colchester and rare surviving examples of mill worker housing in Yantic Falls in Norwich and in Thompson (associated with the early Masonville Mill) illustrate the more austere quality of the Federal style.

The Greek Revival style flourished in the United States during the 1830s and 1840s. The struggle for Greek independence from Turkey captured the imagination of Americans in a period of swelling pride in their own national identity. Greece was seen as the spiritual forerunner of American democracy. This sentiment was evident in the names of many newly established towns: Sparta, Athens, and Ithaca, for example. The Greek Revival style was viewed as the appropriate expression for virtually any type of building. In 1842, architect Alexander Jackson Davis (1803-1892) complained that it was difficult for strangers in American towns "to distinguish between a church, a bank and a hall of justice."

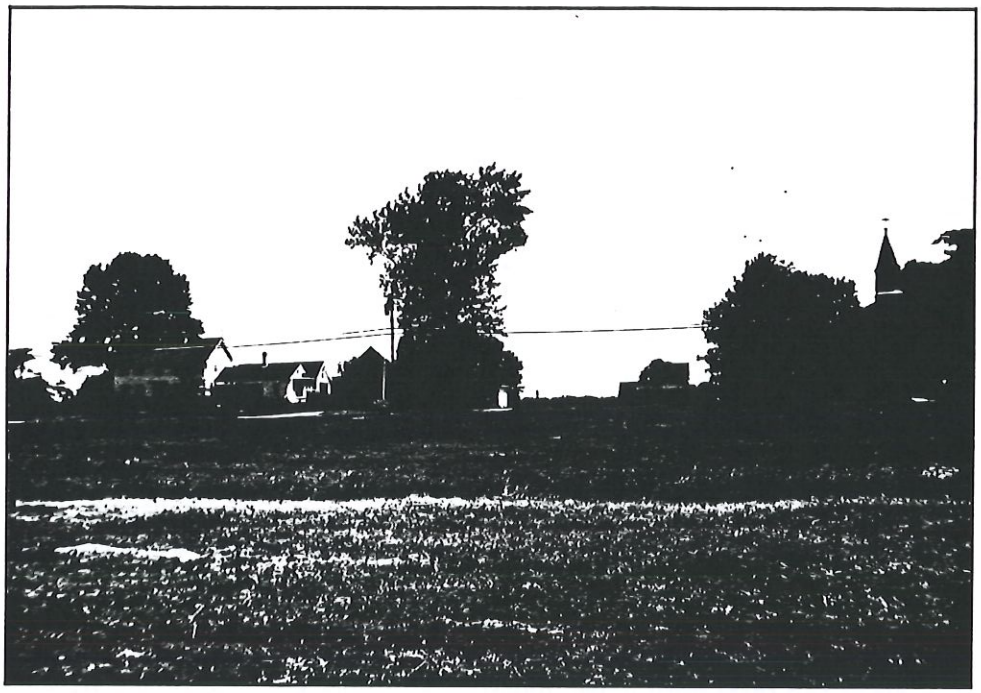
Often called the "National style," the Greek Revival was patterned after the Greek temple form: a gabled pediment resting on Ionic columns. In domestic architecture, the side gable was reoriented towards the street and the pediment effect was created by a continuous boxed cornice. A variation was the addition of a one-story side wing. The colonial house form, however, continued to be built during the Greek Revival period. It featured corner pilasters and wide cornice frieze boards, mimicking the classical entablature. In one-story versions, small windows punctutated the frieze. Post and lintel or trabeated door surrounds were a distinguishing element. One-story columned porticoes were more common than the two-story, although both were characteristic of the style. Decorative details derived from Greek architecture included triglyphs and metopes, fret work, and egg-and-dart molding. The Fitch Mansion in Mansfield, the work of local carpenter-builder Colonel Edwin Fitch, and the former Congregational Church parsonage in Haddam, shown in Photographs 6 and 7, are representative examples of Greek Revival-style domestic architecture.

The Gothic Revival, which came to the fore in the 1840s, was part of the larger trend toward "romanticism" evident in American popular and high culture during the ante-bellum decades. In the broadest terms, Romanticism represented a reaction against Enlightenment values, exalting intuition over intellect, imagination over reason. In architectural terms, it meant rejection of the self-contained and ordered geometry of the classical in favor of complex and varied forms, and irregularity – in short, the picturesque. Roof lines were broken by steep gables and tall chimneys. The use of

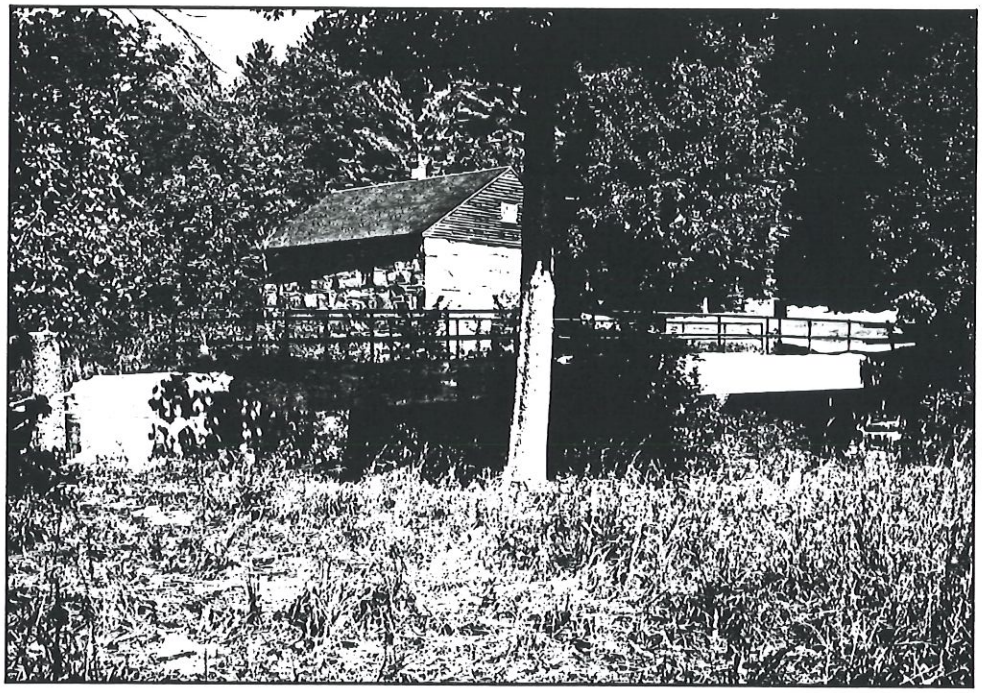
diamond-paned and lancet-shaped windows, and finials and pendants was modelled after English fifteenth-century architecture. Lacey bargeboards, which created patterns of light and shadow, were also typical of the Gothic Revival style. All of these features are evident in the Henry C. Bowen House ("Roseland Cottage") in Woodstock (Photograph 8).

While Alexander Jackson Davis was one of the originators of the style, its most important spokesman was Andrew Jackson Downing (1815-1852), whose pattern books advocated and illustrated the style, beginning with the publication in 1842 of *Cottage Residences*. Downing was a landscape designer and his emphasis on the need to relate buildings to their natural setting reflected both a typically romantic appreciation of nature and a new understanding of the purpose of architectural design. House plans should provide interesting and changing vistas of the landscape; hence the importance of inglenooks to frame one's view and porches to act as intermediary between the built and natural environments. Downing decried the use of white paint and instead preferred earth tones, which he felt would blend in, rather than jar, with those of nature.

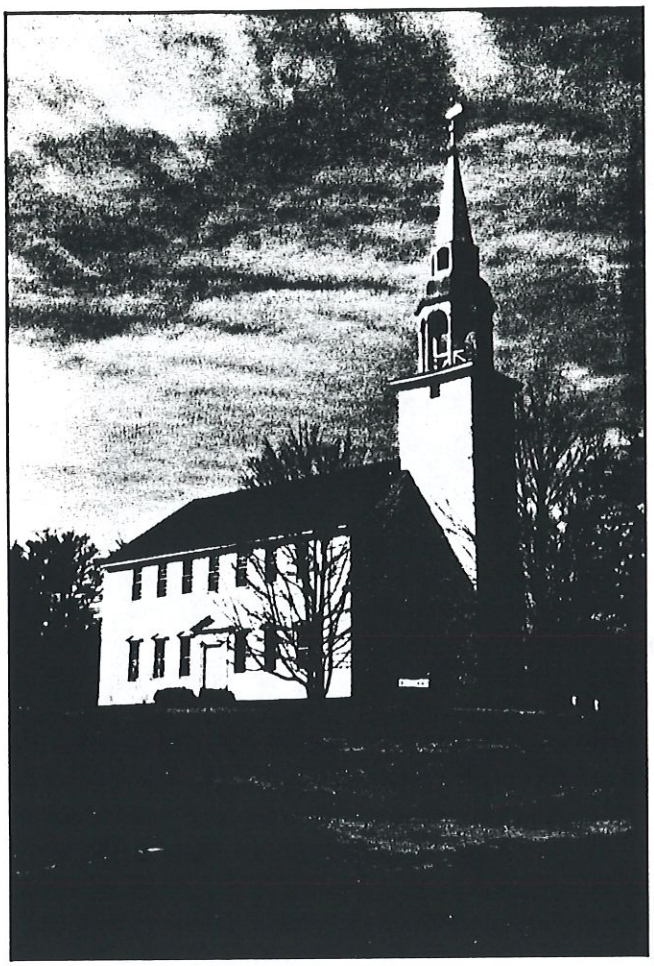
Downing was also a proponent of the other romantic style of the period, the Italianate. The most dramatic feature of the villa form was the campanile-like tower, often offset to create picturesque asymmetry. Wide overhanging eaves with brackets and elaborately detailed window and door surrounds appealed to the romantic sensibility of the era, while the use of classically derived elements and the ordered organization of the wall plane lent Italianate buildings a suitable dignity. The two-story main block and three-story tower, robustly carved brackets, and ornate window hoods of the Laura Huntington House in Windham (Photograph 9) are illustrative. In other versions of the style, such typical Italianate details as bay windows, arched windows, and entry porches with chamfered posts were often added to the front-gabled form popular in the Greek Revival period. In vernacular examples, only the presence of a round-headed window in the gable end conveyed the Italianate style.



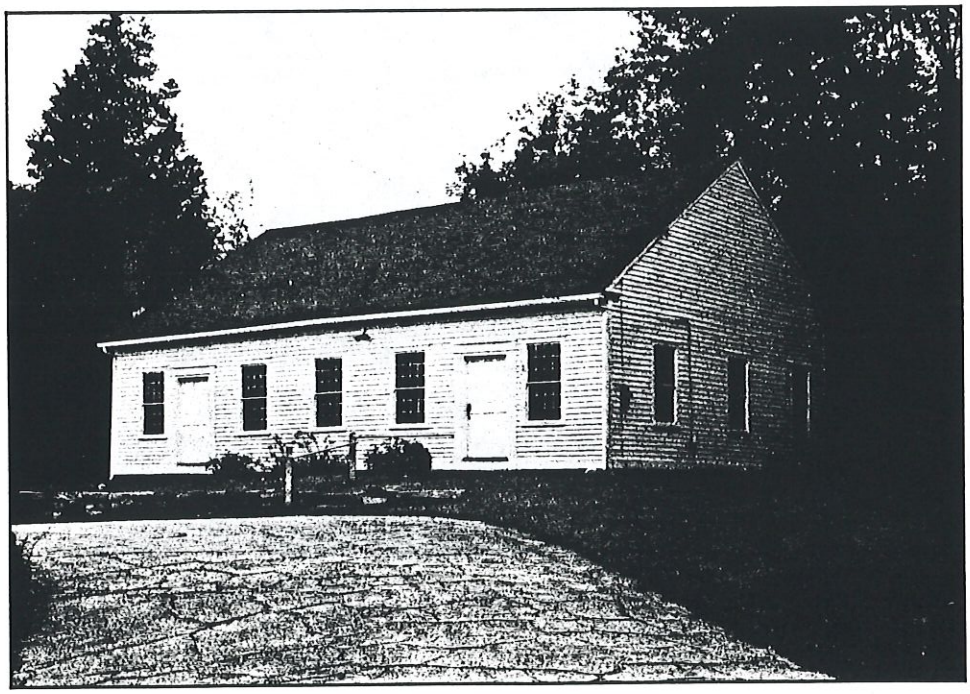
1. Town Green, Lebanon Green Historic District, Lebanon. View southeast.



2. Gurleyville Grist Mill, Gurleyville Historic District, Mansfield, c. 1750. View northeast.



3. Unitarian Church, Brooklyn, 1771-1774. View northwest.

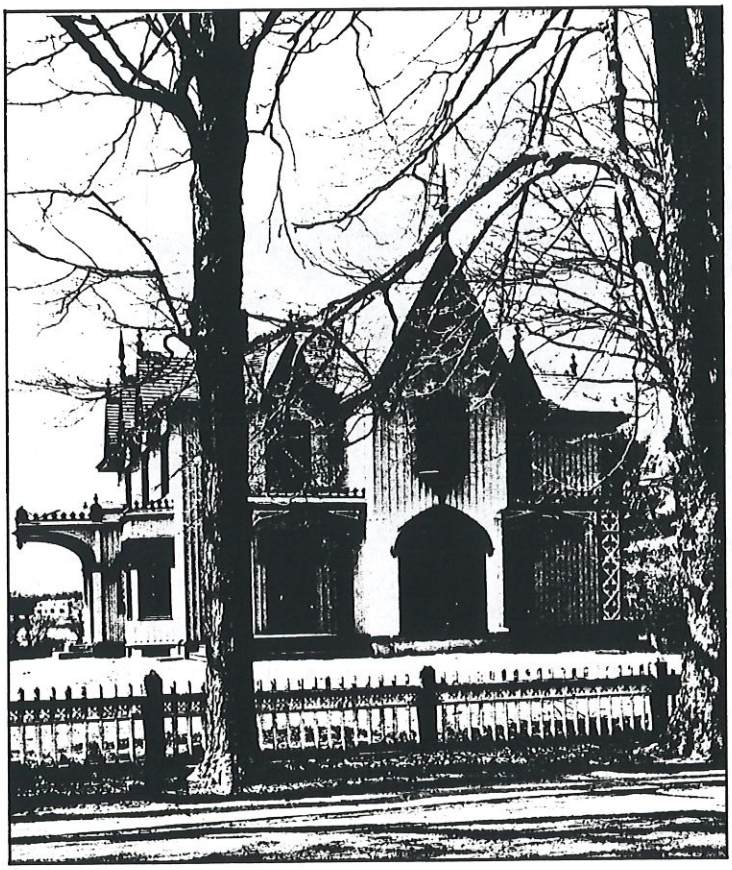


4. Town House, Pomfret, 1841. South elevation.

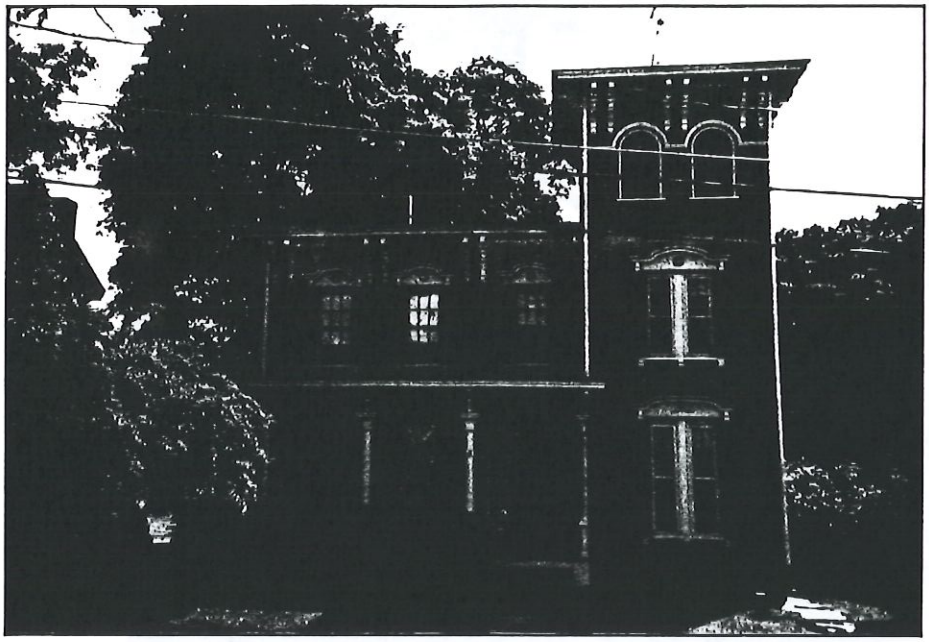
5. Prudence Crandall House, Canterbury. Late Georgian style, c. 1795. View northwest.

6. Fitch Mansion, Mansfield Center Historic District, Mansfield. Greek Revival style, 1846. View northwest.

7. Former Congregational Church Parsonage, Haddam Center Historic District, Haddam. Greek Revival style, 1845. View west.

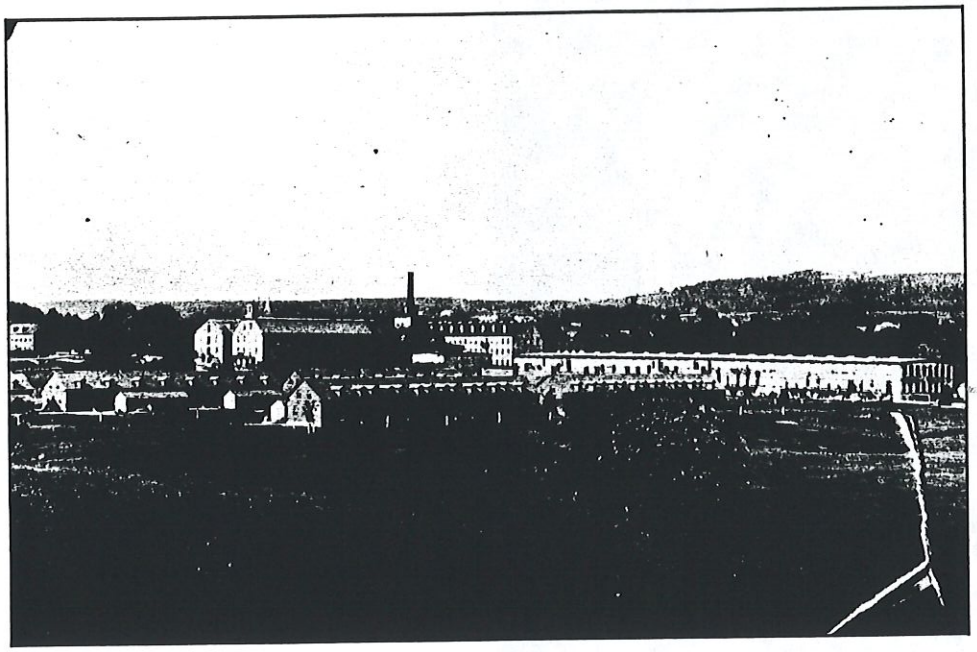


8. Henry C. Bowen House ("Roseland Cottage"), Woodstock. Gothic Revival style, 1846. View northwest.

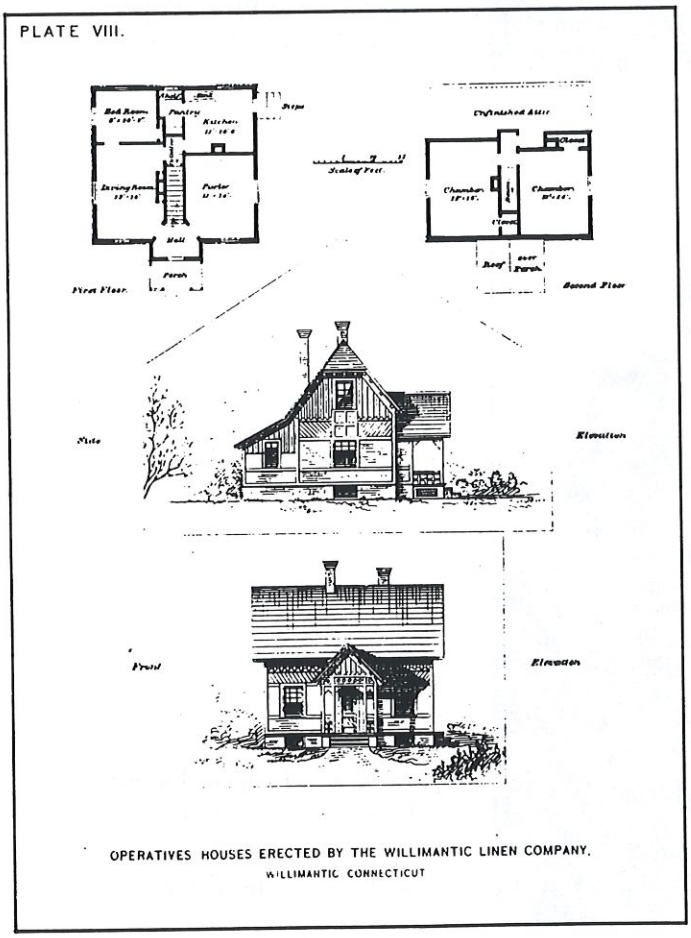


9. Laura Huntington House, Windham Center Historic District, Windham. Italian Villa style, c. 1860. View east.

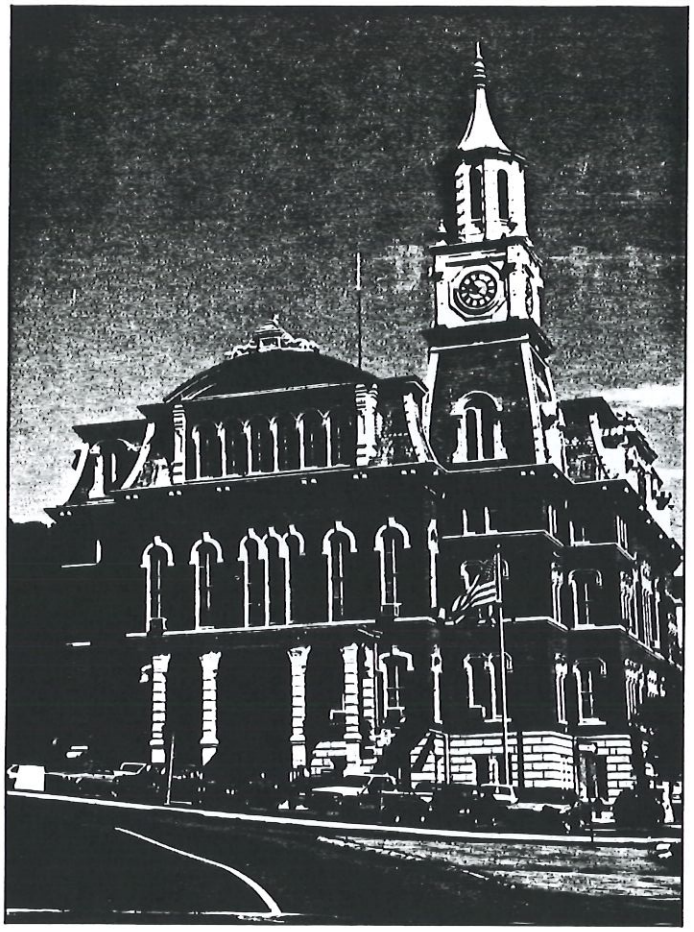
10. Ponemah Mills, Taftville (Ponemah Mill District), Norwich. Mill #1, 1866-1871. View southeast.



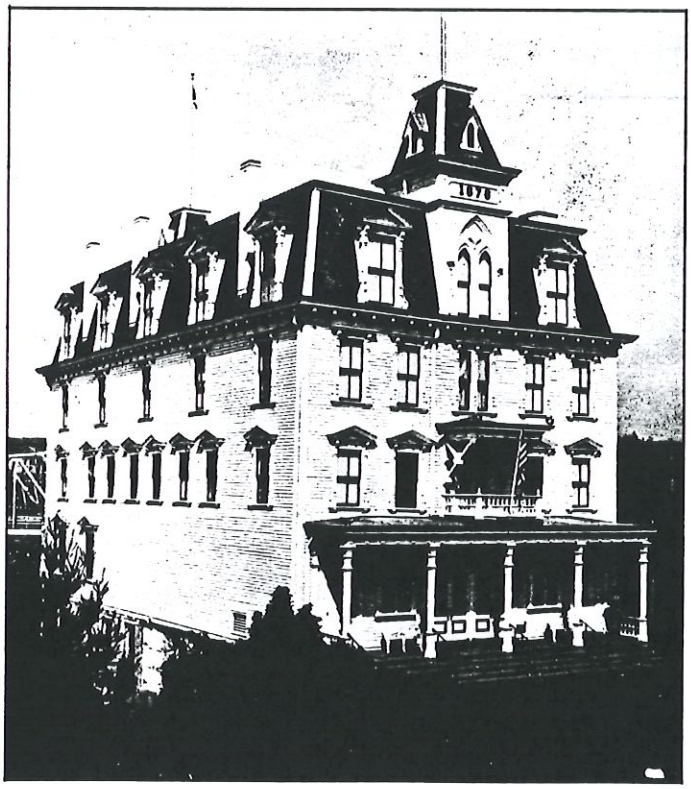
11. Quinebaug Company, Mills and Quebec Square, Quinebaug Mill-Quebec Square Historic District, Brooklyn. Historic view, 1901. View northeast.



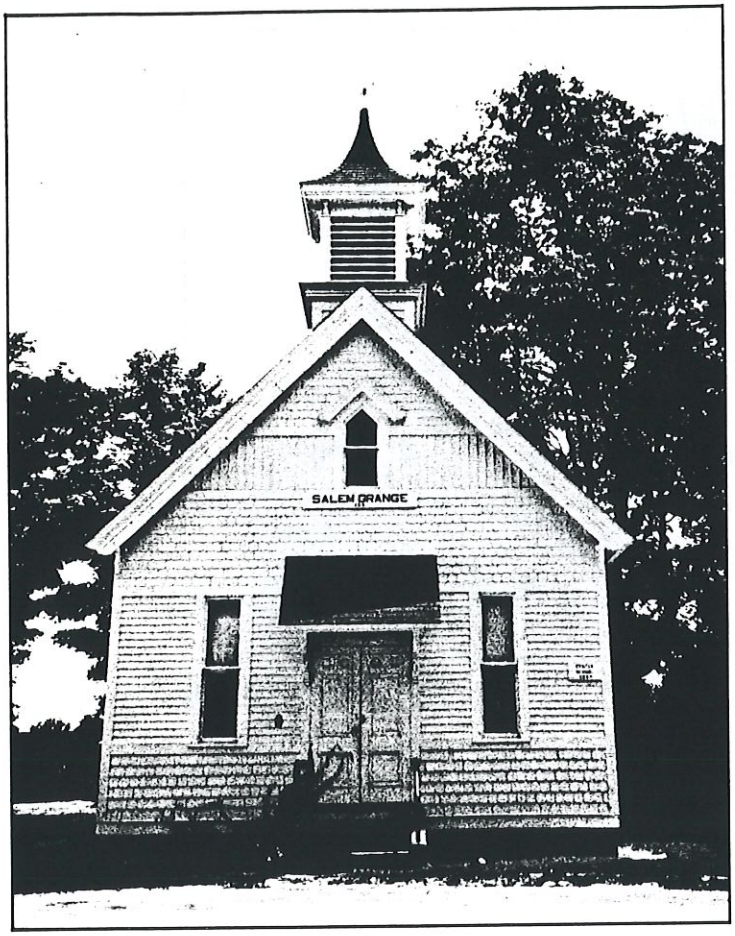
12. Operatives Houses Erected by the Willimantic Linen Company, Windham. Plan and elevations.



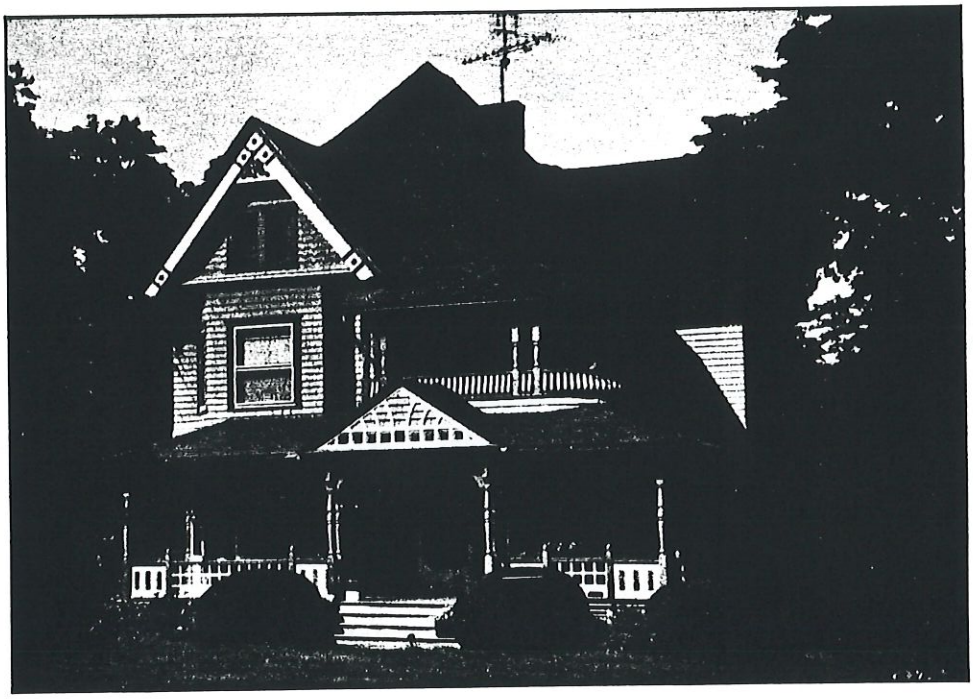
13. Town Hall, Norwich. French Second Empire style, 1873. View north.



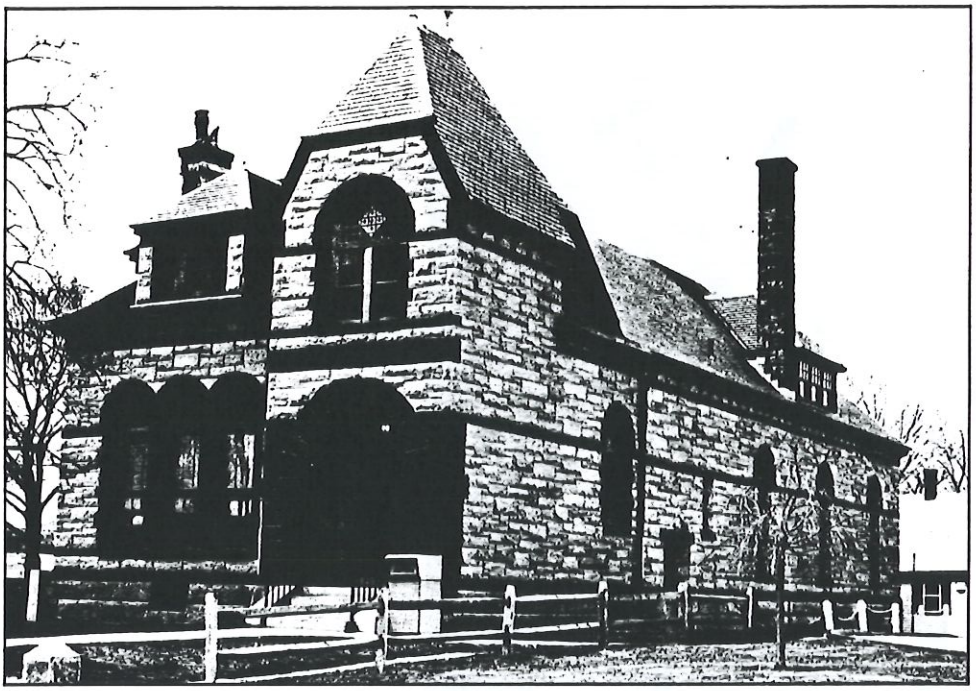
14. Goodspeed Opera House, East Haddam. French Second Empire style, 1876. View northwest.



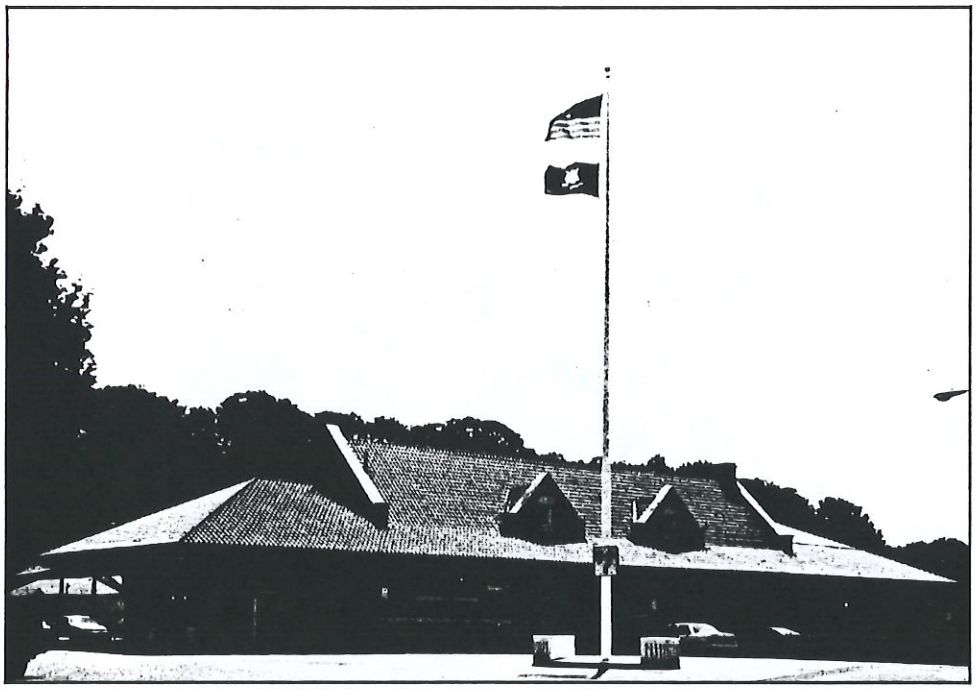
15. Central District School, Salem Historic District, Salem, Queen Anne style, 1885. View east.



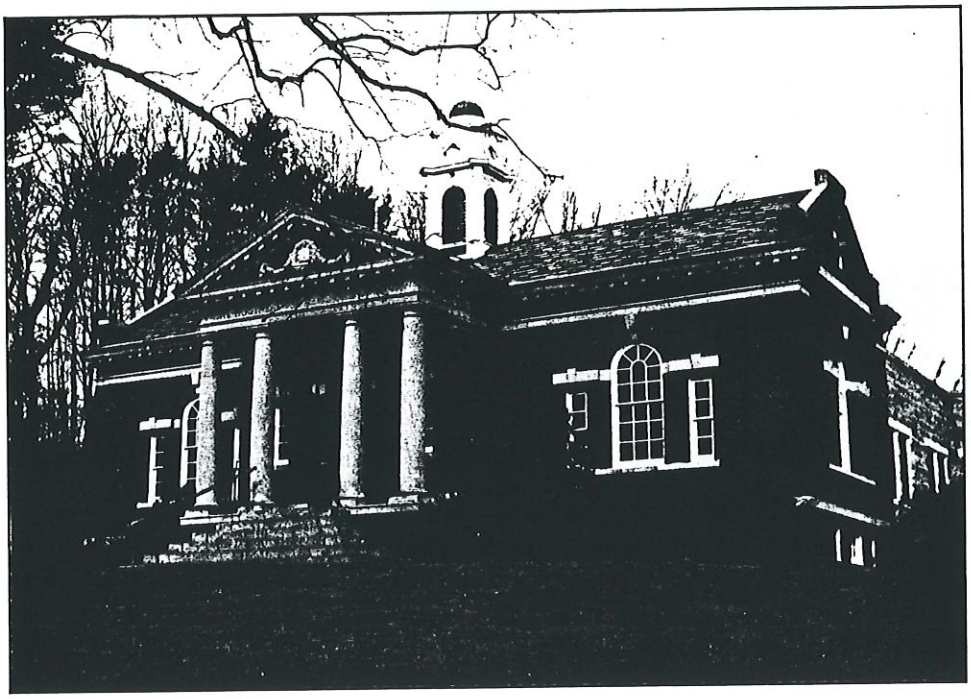
16. Yeomans House, Columbia Green Historic District, Columbia. Queen Anne style, c. 1880. View west.



17. Slater Memorial Library, Jewett City (Griswold). Richardsonian Romanesque style, 1886. View southwest.



18. Former New York, New Haven and Hartford Railroad Station, Putnam, c. 1905. West elevation.



19. Booth and Dimock Memorial Library, South Coventry Historic District, Coventry. Colonial Revival style, 1912. Modern rear wing, 1989. View north.

20. Gray Gables, Middle Haddam Historic District, East Hampton. Tudor Revival style, 1928.

21. Whitney and Sprague Halls, University of Connecticut, Storrs (Mansfield). Respectively, 1942 and 1939. View southeast.

22. Agudas Achim Synagogue, Hebron, 1940. View northwest.

IV. INDUSTRIAL AND URBAN GROWTH PERIOD 1850-1930

The processes of change already at work in the Eastern Uplands in the first half of the nineteenth century accelerated sharply during the period 1850 to 1930. Led by the textile industry, manufacturing expanded rapidly and technology spawned new industries. Prompted by increased Western competition, farmers shifted from mixed agriculture to more specialized production in a quest for economic survival. While in 1850 the vast majority of wage earners were engaged in agriculture, by 1930 that ratio had dramatically changed. Most towns with an agriculturally based economy experienced marked decreases in population. So great was this decline that in some cases towns had fewer residents in 1930 than in 1790. Population growth decisively shifted to the region's industrial centers: Danielson in Killingly, Norwich, Plainfield, Putnam, and Willimantic in Windham. Successive waves of immigration – from French Canada, Scandinavia, Russia, and Eastern Europe – brought new elements of religious and ethnic diversity. Urbanization, which was altering so much of American life in these years, affected the region's towns, albeit selectively.

Improvements in rail transportation continued to play an important role in the growth of the region's economy. Both the Norwich and Worcester and the New London, Willimantic and Palmer added spur lines to serve major manufacturers. By the mid-1870s, two new railroads had been built: the Boston and New York Air Line from Middletown to Willimantic, and the Boston, Hartford and Erie from Willimantic to Putnam. The Norwich and Worcester enlarged its rail facilities in the City of Norwich. When the New York, New Haven and Hartford, the huge railroad conglomerate created at the turn of the twentieth century, acquired the Norwich and Worcester and the New York and New England (itself the result of a major consolidation), it undertook an extensive program of modernization, including bridge replacement to carry heavier trains.

In the early twentieth century, the state initiated two programs to aid highway construction: the Trunk Line system of major through routes and the State Aid roads to serve more local traffic between or within towns. The former were financed, constructed, and maintained by the state; the latter were initially funded on a matching basis with only state supervision. The impetus behind the state's involvement was to "get the farmers out of the mud." Two of the first 14 Trunk Line roads authorized by the legislature in 1913 ran through the Eastern Uplands: one extended from New London to Thompson; the other was part of a route from Danbury to the Rhode Island line via Hartford, Willimantic, and Putnam. By the 1930s, many of the numbered routes that exist today had been built and two US routes were in place, namely 6 and 44.

Political boundaries also changed. Three new towns were incorporated: Putnam in 1855, created from land located in the towns of Thompson, Pomfret, and Killingly; Scotland in 1857 from Windham; and Sprague in 1861 from Lisbon and Franklin. Putnam and Willimantic became cities in 1893; Danielson in Killingly (1854), Stafford Springs in Stafford (1873), and Jewett City in Griswold (1895) were added to the list of boroughs.

Industry

The second half of the nineteenth century was a period of dynamic growth in the Eastern Uplands' cotton textile industry. In the decade preceding the Civil War, new investment inaugurated the mature phase in the industry's development. Like mills established in the early period of

industrialization, the companies created in this and the next several decades were often dependent on Rhode Island capital. From the outset, however, they operated on a vastly different scale from that of their predecessors. The industry's expansion in this period relied in part on increasing horsepower capacity by constructing new dams at existing mill privileges or by exploiting previously undeveloped sites. These two patterns are exemplified by the Quinebaug Company in Brooklyn and the Baltic Mills in Sprague. The former was started by Amos and Moses Lockwood and other Rhode Island investors who purchased the water privileges and small mill village on the Quinebaug River that Comfort and Ebenezer Tiffany had developed beginning in 1827. The company immediately embarked on an ambitious construction program, building a new dam, stone mill, and extensive mill worker housing. The firm of A. & W. Sprague, which was involved in textiles and finance in Cranston, Rhode Island, founded the Baltic Mills in Sprague. These entrepreneurs purchased a huge tract of land on the Shetucket River in Lisbon near the Franklin line and water rights all the way upstream to Willimantic. By 1857, the dam, power system, and a five-story granite mill were in place, and within the next four years some 130 workers' dwellings were built. The mill was enormous by the standards of the day: 954 feet long, powered by six waterwheels, each 31 feet in diameter, that could produce a total of 950 horsepower. By 1860, 250 men and 400 women were making cotton yarn.

The Civil War put a halt to such expansion, albeit only a temporary one. Although manufacturers had stockpiled supplies of Southern raw cotton as war loomed on the horizon, by 1862 these supplies had been exhausted, further crippling an industry already hurt by loss of its Southern market. The exorbitant price of raw cotton, federal excise taxes on the production and sale of textiles (Revenue Act of 1862), and war-born inflation priced cotton textiles out of the market. Plants initially sought to sustain themselves by operating part time, but ultimately many were forced to shut down completely. In the meantime, the demand for woolen textiles increased dramatically, in part because of the need for uniforms to clothe the Union Army. Demand for the better grade of woolen goods quickly outstripped supply, and a number of woolen manufacturers turned to the production of shoddy, a material created from worn-out fabrics. Manufacturers reaped huge profits during the war. However, few, if any, of the cotton textile companies attempted to convert to woolen production.

Other sectors of the region's economy turned to military production. One of the Union Army's principal suppliers of rubber blankets, ponchos, and boots was the Hayward Rubber Company of Colchester. Established in 1848 with financial backing from Norwich businessmen, prior to the war the company had been producing more than a million dollars worth of goods per annum. The region's shipbuilding industry also benefitted from the war. Along the Connecticut River, where shipbuilding had declined in the 1830s, existing yards, such as that at Goodspeed Landing in East Haddam, were refurbished. The Thamesville shipyards and rolling mills in Norwich turned out steam-powered vessels for the Union Navy. The virtual shutdown of the cotton textile industry in the early years of the Civil War led to one of the area's most remarkable enterprising ventures: the development of the Norwich Arms Company. It was started in 1862 by James D. Mowry, a former cotton textile manufacturer in Greeneville who had been forced to close his plant when the supply of raw cotton ran out. Mowry took advantage of the exisiting machine shops and skilled machinists – now largely idled – and subcontracted with them for various gun parts which were later assembled in his factory. Within a year's time, production had reached 1,000 muskets a week. The Civil War gave the firearms industry its start in Norwich. Three other companies – Bacon Arms, Union Machine Company, and Eagle Arms Company – were begun. Although the Norwich Arms Company and the Eagle Arms Company ceased operation when the war was over, firearms manufacturing continued to be an important factor in Norwich's economy for the rest of the century.

Even before the war's end, the cotton textile industry began to rebound. Favorable tariff policies, enactment of a general flowage law by the General Assembly, and anticipation of renewed civilian demand for cotton goods created a favorable climate for investment. For example, the Ashland Cotton Company in Jewett City (Griswold) was founded in 1864 by a group of Norwich investors (including Governor William Buckingham, who also had been an investor in the Hayward Rubber Company). It is estimated that approximately 300,000 new spindles were installed in the last two years of the war. Between then and the mid-1870s, large quantities of capital poured into the industry, positioning it to dominate the region's economy for the remainder of the century, and beyond.

Foremost among the new firms was the Ponemah Mills in Norwich, which was by far the largest cotton textile mill ever constructed in the Eastern Uplands. It originated in 1865, when Cyrus and Edward Taft, Providence, Rhode Island, investors, purchased from the newly formed Occum Power Company some 600 acres of land and a previously undeveloped water privilege with 30-foot head and 1500-horsepower capacity along the Shetucket River. Financial difficulties necessitated a reorganization of ownership to include prominent Norwich investors: John F. Slater, Edward Chappell, and Lorenzo Blackstone. Construction of the dam, mill, and worker housing took five years. Quickly expanded, the mill reached 1,400 feet in length, making it the longest mill in Connecticut. In 1880, it had 108,000 spindles – more than one-tenth of the total statewide – and a workforce of over 1,000.

The Grosvenor-Dale Company in Thompson also figured prominently in the industry in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Although not incorporated until 1868, the Grosvenor-Dale Company was an outgrowth of the development and acquisition activities undertaken by William Grosvenor prior to and during the Civil War. In 1848, Grosvenor, a physician and wealthy businessman from Providence, Rhode Island, had assumed direction of the Masonville Mills after the death of his father-in-law, Amasa Mason. In the early 1860s, a major new mill had been constructed. Then, in 1864, Grosvenor purchased the entire village of Fisherville, upstream from Masonville. Masonville was renamed Grosvenordale; Fisherville became North Grosvenordale. In the early 1870s, Grosvenor undertook at North Grosvenordale the company's most ambitious building project, the construction of a four-story, 464x75-foot mill, one of the region's largest, containing 65,000 spindles, and 100 workers' houses. By 1882, the workforce numbered 850, by 1890, 1,100, and by 1900, 1,750.

The Wauregan Mills in Plainfield, one of the companies started by Rhode Island investors in the 1850s, also became a giant in the cotton textile industry. Built in several stages between 1853 and 1868, the completed mill, an "H"-shaped structure spanning the power canal, had a combined total length of 1,250 feet. In the 1880s, the company was running 55,000 spindles and 1,400 looms and employed 700-800 workers. The size of the workforce continued to increase over the next decades, reaching 1,750 by 1900.

By the late nineteenth century, nearly three quarters of the cotton mills in the state centered in just six towns: Killingly, Norwich, Plainfield, Putnam, Thompson, and Windham. Along closely clustered water privileges on the Quinebaug River in Putnam were the Morse, Rhodes, and Nightingale Mills, controlled by interlocking partnerships, and the Powhattan Mills. Killingly was the home of the Attawaugan Company. At the time of its establishment in 1859, it had purchased three water privileges in close proximity on the Five Mile River that were already in use for cotton textile production. To augment the existing facilities, the company built new mills at two of the

three sites shortly thereafter and at the third in 1865. By the mid-1880s, the company ran 36,000 spindles and over 800 looms and employed 500 workers.

These enterprises were truly vast undertakings involving not only huge capital outlays but hundreds of workers to construct the mills, dams, and worker housing. At the Ponemah Mills, for example, 2,000 workers were hired and tracks were laid to connect the mill to the railroad for the transport of building supplies. The dam was 418 feet long and 24 feet high, and the water wheel pit was 61 feet wide and 42 feet deep, blasted out of solid rock.

Between 1850 and 1900, Connecticut's cotton textile industry, like that of other New England states, showed a pronounced trend toward fewer but larger, more capital-intensive firms with much-expanded labor forces. Whereas the 1850 Census found 128 cotton textile establishments in the state, with an average capitalization of $33,000 and an average of 48 employees, in 1900, there were only 57 firms, but their average capitalization was $479,000 and they employed an average of 232 wage earners. These figures point up the industry's growing consolidation and its pursuit of economies of scale. The most intense period of expansion was between 1850 and 1880, when the number of spindles tripled and the workforce grew by approximately 250 percent. Thereafter, some companies continued to add workers and to increase the number of spindles and looms. But much of the industry's increased output in the last two decades of the nineteenth century resulted from technological innovation: the installation of more efficient spinning and weaving machinery. Some companies used steam and electric power to supplement waterpower in order to increase horsepower capacity. By most important measures (capital invested, number of spindles, value of product), Connecticut consistently ranked fourth among the leading cotton textile states from 1850 through 1890, being surpassed only by Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and New Hampshire.

In the mature period of industrial growth, the new scale of the cotton textile industry was matched by that of the mill villages. The region's largest companies constructed block after block of housing for hundreds of workers on a scale scarcely conceivable to an earlier generation. The Grosvenor-Dale Company and the Baltic Mills each built over 100 tenements. The Ponemah Mills built more than 200. The mill villages were planned communities: the streets were laid out in a geometric grid and the two, four, and sometimes larger multi-family houses were closely and regularly spaced. The villages' spatial organization and social geography reflected hierarchical values. The workers lived closest to the mills. The mill agent's house stood apart from the others. Architectural style and the degree of ornamentation also expressed socio-economic status. The plainly detailed vernacular worker houses with multiple entries contrasted sharply with the often highly embellished versions of late Victorian styles employed in the design of the company agent's or the owner's house.

In a rare departure from the general use of wood construction, the Quinebaug Company built most of its worker housing of brick. Also unusual was the row house form and its arrangement around an open square. Another notable exception was the group of single-family houses built by the Willimantic Linen Company c. 1880, which harked back to the cottages of the Romantic Era. In a conscious attempt to introduce variety, three different designs were alternated. The 1880 Census singled them out for inclusion in its special report on the factory system. Although fewer companies built worker housing in the early twentieth century, the Connecticut Mills in Killingly, which was established in 1909, chose the then-popular Colonial and Tudor Revival styles for its mill village. The company also strove to create a visually interesting environment by varying the placement of its buildings. The centerpiece of the village was the multi-story, L-shaped building with multiple apartment units. The use of stone, stucco, and half-timbering, the building's irregular massing, the steeply pitched gables, and prominent chimneys epitomized the period's nostalgia for the medieval.

As yardage production increased, the cloth finishing industry in the Eastern Uplands also underwent expansion. The Norwich Bleaching, Dyeing and Printing Company was formed in the 1880s as an outgrowth of the Norwich Bleaching, Dyeing and Calendaring Company, founded in 1840 to process basic greige goods into colored and printed fabrics. In the late nineteenth century, the company owned 20 buildings in the Greeneville industrial district. In keeping with the trend towards consolidation at the turn of the century, the company was absorbed in 1900 by the U.S. Finishing Company, which also acquired the Sterling Dyeing and Finishing Company in Sterling. In Griswold, the Aspinook Company, capitalized at $500,000, was incorporated in 1893. Its workforce, numbering 500, approached that of the larger cotton textile mills. In the ten-year period 1890-1900, although the number of establishments in the cloth finishing industry remained constant at five, capitalization quadrupled and the number of employees nearly tripled. This growth is partially explained by the concomitant growth of the South's cotton textile industry, which sent its greige goods to New England plants for finishing.

Throughout this period, Connecticut was also a leading producer of woolen textiles. In the Eastern Uplands, where approximately half of the state's industry was located, Stafford, more than any other town, was the center of woolen manufacturing. As was often the case in the cotton textile industry, a single individual played a major role. In Stafford it was Cyril Johnson. He began his career in the industry as superintendent of the Phoenix Woolen Company, which had been founded in 1868. He then organized his own company, the Riverside Woolen Company, in 1881 and acquired an interest in the Central Woolen Company, begun in 1888. He bought that company outright in 1907 and renamed it the Cyril Johnson Woolen Company. The company became well known in the market for its "Tivol Kersey." The Warren Woolen Company, founded by Rhode Island interests in 1879, was one of the region's earliest worsted mills. Worsteds were a separate branch of the woolen industry that had only begun to assume importance in the United States. Worsteds were all-wool fabrics, using long-staple wool which was combed rather than carded. The Warren Woolen Company produced high-quality men's suitings. The woolen industry had always been more influenced by style than the cotton industry, and the weave and lighter weight of worsteds proved increasingly popular. In the early twentieth century, the Rhode Island Worsted Company relocated from Massachusetts to Stafford in order to increase its production facilities.

Elsewhere in the region, woolen mills were located in the same towns as were cotton mills. As a rule, woolen textile companies were not as heavily capitalized as those in cotton textiles, nor as large in terms of production and workforce. Major companies included the Williams Flannel Mill in Norwich, which ran 10 sets of cards and employed 150 workers in the 1880s, the King Woolen Company at Versailles in Sprague, the Dayville Mills in Killingly, with 10 sets of cards and a workforce of 250, and the Putnam Woolen and the Waterman Worsted Companies in Putnam.

The Willimantic Linen Company, formed in 1854 by local investors, would become in the sewing thread industry as much a giant as the Ponemah Mills was in the cotton textile industry. In fact, Willimantic became known as "Thread City." This industry resulted from the invention and widespread adoption of the sewing machine. The company originally produced linen towels, but when the Crimean War disrupted the supply of flax, it turned to the production of sewing thread. Prior to 1850, three-cord thread, called glace, was imported from England. The Willington Thread Company in Willington had pioneered its fabrication in New England, and the Willimantic Linen Company hired skilled workers from Willington when it converted to the production of cotton thread. In the mid-1860s, the company began production of 6-cord thread suitable for sewing machine use. Throughout the remainder of the nineteenth century and into the early twentieth century, Willimantic Linen continued to expand its physical plant. In 1898, it was absorbed by

American Thread, which, through the acquisition of numerous firms – such as the National Thread Mill in Mansfield – continued to consolidate its position in the industry. Other thread manufacturing concerns of importance were the Hall Thread Mill in Willington, founded in the 1860s, and the Summit Thread Mills established in East Hampton in the 1880s.

Although there were prolonged periods of expansive development in the textile industry in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, there were also periods of business reversals, especially the depressions of 1873-1878 and 1893-1897. As in other parts of the country, banks failed and businesses shut down or had to sharply curtail production and costs. One of the most spectacular collapses in the Eastern Uplands was that of the Baltic Mills in Sprague in 1873. In the hard-hit regions of the heavily industrialized Mid-West and Mid-Atlantic states, where workers faced reduced wages or were unemployed by the thousands, there was widespread labor unrest. The Eastern Uplands was not immune. In 1875 the entire workforce of 1,200 went on strike at the Ponemah Mills. This was virtually without precedent in the industry in Connecticut. Whatever the men, women, and children may have thought about the long hours of work, low wages, monotony of routinized tasks, and omnipresence of the company in their daily lives, their discontent rarely took the form of organized protest. Although wage cuts triggered the strike at the Ponemah Mills, the underlying cause appears to have been the workers' resentment that so little of their wages remained after paying the company rent and the bill at the company store. The strikers were unsuccessful; other workers took their place. The ethnic composition of the workforce changed from predominantly Irish to French-Canadian.

Wartime usually stimulates economic growth and World War I was no exception. The Eastern Uplands textile industry geared up for military production, making cloth for uniforms and blankets, gauze for surgical dressings, and even fabric for balloons and airplanes. In cotton textiles, wartime demand served to reverse temporarily the downward trend in this sector of the economy in New England as a whole. Connecticut manufacturers were perhaps in a better position than those in the industrial cities of Lawrence and Lowell to compete with the South, because their production lines were more varied and included the finer grades of cotton fabrics. Nevertheless, the effects of this competition were beginning to be felt. Proximity to raw materials, lower power costs and an abundant supply of cheap labor, and the advantage of utilizing new technology from the outset, which later entry into the industry made possible, were factors advantageous to the South.

In the period 1919-1929, Connecticut lost 14 of its 47 cotton mills and one third of its workforce; the value of finished goods declined by half. Companies in the Eastern Uplands responded in various ways to the challenge. Some firms turned to manufacturing fabric for automobile tires; others, such as the Connecticut Mills Company in Danielson in Killingly, entered the new market from the start. It wove duck specifically for use as a laminating material in automobile tires. In 1913, the Goodyear Tire and Rubber Company acquired the Williamsville Manufacturing Company, a cotton textile company in Killingly, to become the first tire company to produce its own cloth laminating material. The census data indicate that while yarn production increased, woven fabrics decreased, showing a significant shift in the industry. The new yarn, however, was silk and rayon. By 1920, the period of sustained growth and expansion in the industry had long ended. The major exception in the region was the Ponemah Mills, which in the 1920s produced 20 million yards of fabric at a value of $5.5 million – equal to 20 percent of the total value of all manufacturing production in Norwich.

Immigration

The economic growth of the Eastern Uplands would not have occurred without the sizeable labor force provided by newly arrived immigrants. Prior to 1850, the Irish were the only immigrants to settle in large numbers in the region (and elsewhere in the state). They were employed in railroad and textile mill construction and as unskilled operatives in the mills themselves. In the second half of the nineteenth century, and especially after the Civil War, large numbers of French-Canadians, impelled by poor economic conditions, emigrated from small rural communities in Quebec Province to work in the textile mills of the Quinebaug River Valley, part of a larger exodus to New England as a whole. Immigration statistics tell the story. In 1860, the number of French-Canadians in Connecticut was 1,980; by 1900, it was 39,000. Often recruited by agents of the textile mills, French-Canadians constituted the major workforce of the Grosvenor-Dale Company in Thompson, the Quinebaug Company in Brooklyn, and the Lawton Mills in Plainfield, among others. "Little Canada" and "Quebec Square," names of worker housing complexes in North Grosvenordale and Brooklyn, reflected this pattern. In many of the mill towns French-Canadians constituted a major segment of the population; in 1900, 64 percent of Danielson's population and 58 percent of Plainfield's were of French-Canadian origin.

Other ethnic groups were often recruited to work at the mills. At the Grosvenor-Dale Company, for example, there were Swedish operatives. Immigrants in the Eastern Uplands, however, did not migrate solely to the mill villages, or even to the major cities of the region. Many moved to agricultural towns. Among the latter were German Lutherans from the Ukraine in Lebanon, Hungarians in Ashford, and Finns in Canterbury and Brooklyn. Woodstock became a center for Swedish immigrants. As was so often the case, happenstance accounted for their settlement. In 1871, Dr. George Bowen, a Woodstock native who had returned from a career in New York City, hired three newly arrived Swedish men at Castle Garden in New York to help in his new undertaking to raise cranberries. Subsequently, he assisted the relocation of other Swedish individuals and families. The Swedish population of Windham County jumped rapidly in the 1870s and 1880s, from one in 1870 (a farm laborer in Woodstock) to 683 in 1890.

Beginning in the 1890s, Russian Jewish immigrants began to settle on farmland in the region – part of a massive migration of some 3.2 million Jews who fled Tsarist Russia in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries to escape persecution and the denial of political and economic rights. Some of those who came to the Eastern Uplands were assisted by the Baron de Hirsch Fund, which had been established in 1891 by Baron Maurice de Hirsch de Gereuth, a wealthy German-Jewish financier and railroad tycoon who believed that only through emigration could his Russian co-religionists improve their lot. The Fund's aim was to enable immigrant Jews to acquire land and skills in the mechanic arts as a means of assimilating more easily into the larger community. In the United States, the first major relocation effort assisted by the Baron de Hirsch Fund was in New Jersey in 1891 where 5,300 acres of land were acquired in Woodbine to establish a new community. In Connecticut, the first settlement was in the Chesterfield section of Montville where newcomers purchased farmsteads with mortgages secured by loans from the Fund and established dairy farms. The Fund subsidized construction of both a synagogue and a creamery. Attracted to the region by the availability of low-priced farms, Russian Jews also settled in Colchester and in such surrounding towns as Columbia, Hebron, Lebanon, and Salem. In Colchester, where 50 percent of the town's population of 2,000 was Jewish by 1915, a lively summer boarder and resort trade developed, catering to Jewish vacationers seeking a respite from city life.

Whatever the ethnic group, the pattern of recreating familiar cultural institutions was the same. First and foremost, it was the establishment of churches and synagogues and then religious schools. In the mill towns and villages where there were large numbers of Irish and French-Canadians, Roman Catholic missions were established. Subsequently, as the number of worshippers increased, parishes were organized and chapels and churches were built. The first Roman Catholic parish in the Eastern Uplands was in the Greeneville section of Norwich, where in 1851 St. Mary's was established to serve the growing Irish immigrant population. In a similar pattern, Jewish services at first were often held in private homes or in rented spaces. Later, when the resources became available, synagogues were built. In Colchester, the first synagogue, Ahavath Achim Upische Tshuvoh, was constructed in 1913.

Feeling the isolation of non-English speaking newcomers, the French-Canadians sought to establish separate Franco-American Roman Catholic parishes with French-speaking priests from their homeland. These efforts met resistance from the predominantly Irish Roman Catholic hierarchy, which looked with disfavor upon separate ethnic churches. The Church attempted to forestall these difficulties by appointing bi-lingual priests from French-speaking orders in Belgium. Nevertheless, disputes arose in the mill village communities in the Taftville section of Norwich and in Danielson in Killingly. It was not until 1905 that the the first French parish was formed – in Willimantic.

Mutual aid societies provided sickness and death benefits for the immigrants. In French-Canadian communities, chapters of the St. Jean de Baptiste Society, an organization founded in Montreal in 1834, were established. In Putnam, one of the major centers of French-Canadian immigrants, a chapter was formed in 1871.

Agriculture

The second half of the nineteenth century was a difficult period of adjustment for New England agriculture. Although Connecticut farmers, like those throughout New England, had felt the effects of Western competition prior to 1850, in the ensuing decades this competition broadened so that virtually all of the staple crops of the mixed farming economy – cereals and livestock – were affected adversely. Sheep farming was already on the decline; woolen textile manufacturers were purchasing their clip from farmers west of the Hudson. After C. F. and E. C. Swift of Chicago began shipping Western beef to the East by refrigerated rail cars, New England farmers could not compete. Cheese production was similarly eclipsed by that of the Western states.

The challenge farmers faced was to find new products and new markets. The growing industrial centers in the state and the rest of southern New England represented a large potential market for farmers in the Eastern Uplands. They sought to tap this market by concentrating on perishable commodities: fruits, vegetables, and especially butter and milk. Poultry farming assumed considerable importance in the agricultural economy of the region as well. Rail provided cheap and ready transport. While in 1850 most farms were substantially alike, by the end of this period, they were more clearly differentiated as either dairy or poultry farms.

Initial efforts to expand dairy production focused on butter. The formation of creameries became a fairly common phenomenon: in Lebanon, a creamery was established in 1884 to purchase and process milk from farmers in that town, Bozrah, Franklin, and Sprague; the Pomfret creamery, founded in 1888, served both local dairy farmers and those in Killingly, Putnam, and Thompson. Other creameries were located in Andover, Bozrah, Colchester, and Eastford. In 1902, the Lebanon

Creamery was the largest in the state, processing 1.3 million pounds of cream. With the growth of Western competition in butter production, however, farmers shifted to fresh milk production to capitalize on the ever-increasing demand in the state's more urbanized centers and in such out-of-state cities as Boston. Growth of this aspect of the dairy industry, which would ultimately come to dominate the region's agriculture, was facilitated by four developments in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries: (1) the silo, which made possible a year-round supply of green corn as feed; (2) the gasoline-powered milking machine; (3) the corn harvester, corn cutter, and binder; and (4) the Babcock test, developed in 1890, to determine the butter fat content of milk as the standard basis for the pricing of milk.

Farmers also looked to organization and cooperation as a solution to their problems. A number of creameries were run as cooperatives, and in 1889, the Connecticut Dairymen's Association was formed. In the late nineteenth century, local chapters of the Grange, which had been established in 1867 as a national institution and in 1875 as a statewide institution in Connecticut to promote farmers' interests, were chartered in numerous communities throughout the state, including in such Eastern Uplands towns as Lebanon (1884), Eastford (1887), Columbia (1892), and Bozrah (1909). In part a political organization, the Grange lobbied, for example, for establishment of a state agricultural college and improved rural roads. On the local level, the Grange provided a forum for discussion of pressing issues of the day and sponsored social activities. Farmers also showed an interest in improving breeds of livestock and poultry, a cause that various country fairs, including the Tolland County Agricultural Fair, established in 1853, helped to promote.

Throughout this period, federal and state efforts were undertaken to promote agriculture. The United States Department of Agriculture was established in 1862. In that same year, Congress passed the Morrill Act, which allocated proceeds from the sale of federal lands for distribution to the states, which were to invest the funds and use the interest to establish schools of agriculture and the mechanic arts. The Second Morrill Act of 1890 authorized an annual appropriation for instructional purposes for these institutions. Under the Hatch Act of 1887, $15,000 per year from the sale of federal lands was to be given to each state for an agricultural experiment station. Recognizing the special needs of farmers, Connecticut created its Board of Agriculture in 1866, established the first agricultural experiment station in New Haven in 1875, and opened the Storrs Agricultural School in Mansfield in 1881. The school owed its inception to Charles and Augustus Storrs of Mansfield, who gave the state $5,000 and 170 acres of land to foster agricultural education. An experiment station at Storrs was founded in 1888 and in 1893 the Storrs Agricultural College, as it was then called, was designated as the state's land grant institution to receive federal funds. In 1914, the federal government expanded its efforts to assist farmers in the Smith-Lever Act, which established county extension services.

Writers of the day often commented on the phenomenon of either the abandonment of farms or the decrease in cultivated land at the end of the nineteenth century. In a market-driven economy, marginally productive farmers who were unable to compete sought out economic opportunities elsewhere. Many towns in the Eastern Uplands whose economic base relied largely on agriculture experienced depopulation. In fact, the population of many of these communities was stabilized only by the arrival of immigrants from Eastern Europe, Russia, and Scandinavia who purchased farms at cheap prices. Statewide, by 1910, one out of every four farmers in Connecticut was foreign-born white; by 1920, that figure was one of every three.

It would probably not be inaccurate to say that for some farmers, abandonment of family farms, and with it a way of life, must have been a wrenching experience. Steeped in the myth of agrarian

virtue, which posited the moral superiority of farm over city life, tradition-minded farmers must have found it equally disheartening to see young people look to the growing urban centers for employment. In a sense, the Grange was partly a moral uplift organization, advocating preservation of a lifestyle and set of values increasingly at variance with those of industrial America. At the same time, however, the enterprising and resilient Yankee spirit did not die. For every farmer who clung to tradition, many more sought "progress." Such farmers looked to scientific information to increase soil yields, took advantage of improved breeds of livestock and grain seeds, and purchased modern labor-saving equipment. There were, however, some obstacles besides those of attitude. Some changes required capital investment often beyond the means of the average farmer. Farmers were still milking cows manually in the 1920s. Even the shift from oxen to horses as draft animals came slowly on some farms. Labor-saving machinery such as mechanical harvesters was effective only if there were sufficient crops to harvest or fields of sufficient size. The traditional subdivision of cultivated land into small fields defined by stone walls worked against mechanization. In fact, farmers of the Eastern Uplands often could not take advantage of new technology for the very reason that it was not compatible with soil conditions. For example, prior to the 1930s tractors were equipped with spiked metal wheels which were ill-suited to the hilly terrain and thin layer of top soil.

Much of the region's abandoned farmland returned to forest. In some cases this trend may have been a more likely use of the land. As a consequence, in some towns at the turn of the century there was an increase in lumbering. At the same time, some individuals concerned about deforestation purchased abandoned farmsteads to establish forest preserves. In 1913, George Meyers, who was in the first graduating class of the Yale School of Forestry, bought thousands of acres of land in the adjoining towns of Ashford, Eastford, Union, and Woodstock to set aside as a forest preserve, which he later donated to Yale. (It is estimated that in 1850, fully two-thirds of this land had been in cultivation or used as pasture.) The Connecticut Forestry Association, a citizens' advocacy organization which had been formed in 1895, played a crucial role in the establishment of the position of State Forester in 1901. One of the early acquisitions of forest land by the state was the purchase in 1905 of 250 acres in Union, which were planted with white pine seedlings.

Changing Communities

Intra-regional differences among the towns of the Eastern Uplands became more pronounced in the period 1850-1930 since the effects of industrialization and urbanization on their economic, demographic, and physical development varied widely. While never approaching the size of a Hartford or New Haven, the cities of Norwich, Putnam, and Willimantic grew steadily. In 1930, their populations were 32,000, 8,000, and 13,000, respectively. Other towns, for instance Killingly, Plainfield, and Stafford, also experienced significant population growth and economic change. But others felt the impact of industrialization and urbanization only minimally. The populations of 16 of the region's 42 towns remained below 1,000 throughout these eight decades; and in the 1930 *State of Connecticut Register and Manual*, about one-third of Eastern Uplands towns were characterized as purely "agricultural" (although some of these had earlier been home to one or more relatively small-scale industrial enterprises).

Massive industrial expansion after the Civil War and the concentration of transportation facilities spurred the rapid urbanization of Norwich, Willimantic, and Putnam. Norwich was already an important railroad hub in 1850. Its position was further enhanced when the Norwich and Worcester enlarged its railyards in 1868 by building a roundhouse and machine shops for the repair and manufacture of locomotives. Wharf improvements facilitated cargo handling and passenger service

with connecting steamship lines. The arrival of new rail lines made Willimantic a major freight transfer point and for the remainder of the nineteenth century it was a regional freight distribution center. In the northeast corner of the state, Putnam also emerged as a regional transportation center.

The combined effect of the railroad, industrial growth, and a rapidly growing population transformed Main Street into the modern central business district. Although the process of urbanization occurred earliest in Norwich, the concentration of financial, commercial, and civic institutions later characterized the cities of Willimantic and Putnam as well. In each case, urban growth entailed construction of multi-story brick commercial blocks, with retail space on the ground floor and office space on the upper floors. Ellen Larned, the nineteenth-century historian of Windham County, observed that in Willimantic "plate glass windows and marble fronts are coming into fashion. . . ."[10] Prosperous local businessmen invested their profits in real estate development and proudly lent their names to the new buildings which they had constructed. Typical of the period was the construction of the Carroll Building in Norwich, which was financed by Lucius W. Carroll, a commission merchant dealing in wool, cotton, manufacturer's supplies, and dye stuffs, owner of a cotton mill, and a founder of the Occum Water Power Company. Similarly, Hugh C. Murray, who was in the dry goods business and founded the Boston Store, the first large-scale department store in Willimantic, built the Murray Block to house his emporium. In all three cities, growth of the banking industry found expression in handsome new edifices. The railroads moved people as well as goods, and hotels were constructed to serve the needs of travellers. At the turn of the twentieth century, construction of electric trolley car lines brought new commerce. Opera houses and, later, movie theaters added a new cultural dimension to downtown.

The formation of businessmen's organizations was part of the boosterism of the day to promote industry and commerce. In Putnam, the Businessmen's Association was formed in 1884; in Willimantic, the Board of Trade was created in 1887. One of the accomplishments of the latter was the construction of the Willimantic footbridge, spanning the Willimantic River and linking Main Street to the residential areas on the opposite bank. In Norwich, several businessmen's organizations merged in 1910 to form the Chamber of Commerce. The relocation of the American Thermos Bottle Company from Brooklyn, New York, to Norwich in 1913 was in part owing to the Chamber's efforts. In Norwich and Willimantic, civic pride manifested itself in the construction of architect-designed town halls in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. In both cities, new monumental-scale post office buildings, constructed by the federal government in the early years of the twentieth century, added to their self-confident image.

The population of all three cities grew rapidly, resulting in burgeoning demand for new housing, particularly for the expanding working and middle classes, which were attracted to these communities by the growth and diversity of employment opportunities in industry and commerce. There was a need for working-class housing beyond that provided by the mills. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, speculative developers built multi-family houses – often indistinguishable from company-built housing – in neighborhoods immediately adjacent to the factories and on scattered sites elsewhere.

In such areas as the Hill Section in Willimantic, wealthy businessmen built stylish and commodious houses commensurate with their socio-economic status. In Norwich, captains of industry resided in the Chelsea Parade district, just north of the downtown, where veritable mansions in estate-like settings were constructed in the second half of the nineteenth century. In the early twentieth century, these estates were often subdivided; Fairlawn was a planned development on the former John Fox Slater estate.

Norwich was the only one of the three to expand its physical boundaries after incorporation as a city, a phenomenon experienced, however, by other major cities in the state in this era. It annexed Laurel Hill in 1859 and Greeneville in 1876. Laurel Hill, located across the Shetucket River from the city's central business district, was undeveloped land until 1850, when it was purchased and developed by local investors. Its hilly terrain afforded fine views of the city, and its wooded areas, with abundant laurel and wildflowers, must have seemed the perfect picturesque setting for an early suburban development, which attracted the city's growing middle class. On the other hand, Greeneville had become one of the major centers of diversified industry, with a sizeable working-class population which supported local small businesses.

Urban growth created the need for new municipal services. Cities made provision for public water supply, sewers, and improved fire protection. New technologies also altered the form of urban life and spawned new building types. First gas and then electric light companies were formed. In Norwich, as the demand for telephone service increased, the Southern New England Telephone Company (SNETCO) constructed its first telephone exchange building in the city in 1906. The growing urban population taxed the capacity of existing schools, and municipalities undertook new educational building programs in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The progressive ideals of the period were reflected in the construction of graded elementary schools and high schools and in improvements in the school curriculum, a concern that was not limited to the region's major cities. The desire to upgrade the quality of instruction underlay the state's establishment of a normal (teaching) school in Willimantic in 1889. In 1910, it built the Willimantic Model School to serve as a practical facility for student teachers. Beginning in 1906 with construction of Storrs Hall, the state also embarked upon an ambitious building program and expansion of the curriculum at Storrs Agricultural College. Horticultural Hall opened in 1908 and the Mechanic Arts Building in 1910. In the latter year, a master plan for the campus's development was adopted, and it guided the college's growth for the next several decades.

Public and private institutions also addressed the problems of social welfare. Orphanages and homes for the aged were built. Increased specialization of institutional functions was reflected in the state's expanded role in care of the sick and disabled. In the early twentieth century, the state constructed in rapid succession Norwich State Hospital for the mentally ill, Mansfield Training School for the physically and learning disabled, and Uncas-on-Thames Hospital for tuberculosis patients. In several of the region's towns, private benefactors helped fund hospitals, such as Day Kimball in Putnam and Johnson Memorial in Stafford.

In Eastern Uplands cities and small towns, the philanthropy of wealthy industrialists also made possible the construction of schools, libraries, and other institutions for public benefit. The Slater family, long associated with the region's textile industry, donated money for the Slater Memorial Museum in Norwich and the Slater Memorial Library in Jewett City in Griswold. In Montville, where the Palmer Brothers Company had one of its quilt-manufacturing plants, the family helped underwrite the cost of two new schools.

The boroughs of Danielson, Jewett City, and Stafford Springs experienced growth similar to that of the region's cities. Industrial prosperity generated commercial development along their Main Streets. New buildings of brick and stone construction imparted a more urban character. In Stafford Springs, the Fire Company was organized in 1871 and the Stafford Springs Electric Light and Gas Company was organized in 1892.

Some of the political boundary changes which occurred in this period reveal the influence of industrial interests. Emblematic of the importance of textile manufacturing and the railroad is the fact that the Town of Putnam, which was to assume a major role as an urban center in the region, was incorporated in 1855 by combining the textile manufacturing villages of Wilkinsonville, Rhodesville, Ballou's Village, and Morse's Village, and the village of Pomfret Depot, which had sprung up around the railroad station of the Norwich and Worcester line. Likewise, following establishment of the Baltic Mills complex, Sprague was created as a separate town when the need for public services such as schools and fire protection went unmet by the largely agricultural towns of Franklin and Lisbon. When the Borough of Danielson was created, it included part of Brooklyn as well as part of Killingly in order to encompass the Quinebaug Company mills in east Brooklyn. A half century earlier the formation of a new political entity across town lines would have been occasioned by the need to accommodate a long-established parish. The change is a compelling one.

The fortunes of many a community were linked with the viscissitudes of the textile industry. Plainfield Village, the original village center of the Town of Plainfield, had seen its economic development curtailed when the railroad located at Plainfield Junction to the south. By the end of the nineteenth century, the area had become principally residential. Construction of the Lawton Mills in 1905, however, gave the village new life. In addition to company-built worker housing, speculative housing was constructed on side streets adjacent to the old village center. The existing small commercial district expanded and diversified to include a bank and an opera house. The erection of Roman Catholic and Episcopal churches and the company-owned Community Building added a new institutional dimension to the community. When the company built the Lawton Inn, a tasteful Colonial Revival-style building in 1919, Plainfield Village could boast traveller accommodations as well as cultural amenities characteristic of a much larger community. Bozrahville was the equivalent of a ghost town when Nathan Gilman from New York City acquired it in 1905. The mattress felt factory he established breathed new life into this community.

The presence of the textile industry affected town development in other ways as well. Companies such as the Ponemah Mills were in the vanguard in generating hydroelectric power not only for their own use but also for neighboring towns. In 1921, the Gilman Brothers Company in Bozrah obtained a charter from the General Assembly to establish the Bozrah Light and Power Company to buy and sell electric power when Norwich's construction of a reservoir in part of the company's watershed threatened to curtail water supply to its mills. The company purchased power from Norwich for its factory and extended service to residents of Bozrah and Lebanon as well. Today, the Bozrah Light and Power Company is one of only a handful of independently owned and operated electric companies in the state. There were times, however, when the needs of the company and those of the larger community would conflict. In larger mill villages, the company would often have its own fire department and thus opposed establishment of a municipal service. Town and company also might find themselves competing for access to the same water supply.

As the focus of growth shifted in the Eastern Uplands from the older-settled areas of an agricultural economy to the large mill villages and cities of the industrial era, the contrast between old and new became more dramatic. In Thompson, for example, the twin mill villages of the Grosvenor-Dale Company soon eclipsed the hill section around the town green. As in an earlier period, the transfer of government functions signaled the changing fortunes of towns. Brooklyn lost its position as county seat in 1897 when these functions were relocated to Willimantic. Similarly symbolic of the new era was the move of the Windham National Bank, established in 1832 and the oldest bank in the county, from Windham Center to Main Street in Willimantic in 1879. Historian Ellen Larned described Windham Center in the 1880s as follows:

> Though shorn of its ancient honors and business prosperity, Windham Green is a well-preserved and attractive village, a pleasant home for public spirited citizens, and a favorite summer resort for many of its wandering children, who enjoy its pure air and historic associations.[11]

In the late nineteenth century and into the early twentieth, some of the region's towns witnessed an influx of summer residents attracted by the appearance and nostalgic charm of the small New England village. The *State of Connecticut Register and Manual* of 1890 lists "the taking of summer boarders" as Pomfret's major industry apart from agriculture. In some cases, old farmsteads were purchased by city dwellers. In others, such as in Pomfret, wealthy businessmen commissioned architects to design expansive estates.

In many towns, however, the distinction between rural and industrial landscapes was more blurred. In his autobiography, former Governor Wilbur Cross recalled his youth in the village of Gurleyville in Mansfield:

> All through my boyhood Gurleyville flourished almost as a community sufficient unto itself. The farm and the silk mill were held in almost equal balance. Farmers exchanged their products at the two stores for what they did not grow themselves . . . . In turn workers in the mills, then called "help," bought . . . the immediate products of the farms such as butter, eggs, cheese, fruits, potatoes, turnips, and other vegetables.[12]

Young Wilbur Cross's experience was hardly unique: throughout the Eastern Uplands, agriculture, commerce, and industry, the forces of tradition and of innovation, steady habits and new modes of life, coexisted in an ever-changing balance.

Recreation and Leisure Time

As work time and non-work time became increasingly differentiated, a new concept of leisure time arose. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the Eastern Uplands' many scenic lakes and the picturesque countryside attracted a growing summertime population. Campgrounds with cabin facilities, resort hotels, and lakeside cottages all made their appearance. Summer colonies developed around natural lakes such as Pocotopaug Lake in East Hampton and Wangumbaug Lake in Coventry. Compensating reservoirs built by some of the region's major textile companies became popular sites as well. One of the largest was Columbia Lake, covering some 375 acres and measuring four miles in circumference, which was built by the American Thread Company in Willimantic. In Union, where seasonal fishing and hunting opportunities existed, several hotels and private residences were located on Lake Mashapaug, in a rustic setting that was Connecticut's version of the Adirondacks. As industry waned in the Connecticut River town of East Haddam, its livelihood increasingly came to rely on the summer resort trade. Several hotels were built and the Goodspeed Opera House (Photograph 14), constructed in 1876 in grand style, drew patrons from Connecticut and elsewhere. Perched high above the river and straddling the towns of East Haddam and Lyme, Gillette's Castle was built in 1914-1919 for the actor William Gillette, famous for his stage portrayal of Sherlock Holmes. The 122-acre estate was later acquired by the state and opened to the public. Less worldly in character were two religious camp meeting grounds that were established in the region, one in Haddam, the other in Willimantic. By offering a combination of evangelical revivalism and wholesome, outdoor recreational activities for children and adults alike, these facilities served devout, largely middle-class families who wished to spend their leisure time in an

environment consistent with their moral and spiritual values.

Municipal parks and establishment of the state park system in 1913 resulted in part from a concern to provide recreational opportunities to a broad spectrum of the populace. In Norwich, for example, Mohegan Park was developed from land deeded to the city by private citizens between 1906 and 1923. Although the state's first priority was to acquire land along Long Island Sound, it established five inland parks in the period prior to 1930, including Hurd Park in East Hampton and others in Bolton, East Haddam, Montville, and Pomfret.

Victorian and Early Twentieth-Century Revival Architecture

In the second half of the nineteenth and early decades of the twentieth centuries, the dynamism of the age found expression in the unprecedented pace, diversity, and scale of new construction. In expanding urban centers, streets were laid out, building lots platted, and residential neighborhoods rapidly developed. One after another, commercial buildings filled in the gaps along Main Streets in large cities and smaller town centers to create continuous rows. The proliferation of new building types and the reinterpretation of familiar ones reflected the era's profound economic and social changes. Impressive city and town halls, religious edifices, and educational and financial institutions were constructed in the most up-to-date styles.

The years 1850-1930 encompass a period of great architectural richness in residential, commercial, and institutional building. Loosely grouped under the heading "Picturesque Eclecticism," such High Victorian styles as French Second Empire, Stick, and Queen Anne gave way to more academic period revivals at the turn of the twentieth century. Some of these styles, such as the Colonial and the Tudor Revivals, remained popular through the 1930s, although often in increasingly attenuated form. For every architectural style, there were countless variations, from examples in the grand manner at one extreme to vernacular interpretations at the other. New styles were quickly adopted – and adapted – by both architects and builders to suit the pocketbook and tastes of the client or potential buyer. In residential architecture, beginning in the 1870s, mail-order house plans made these styles readily accessible to the growing middle class. Catalog descriptions were accompanied by illustrations of floor plans and building elevations, and cost estimates. Improved technology in printing and photographic reproduction enhanced their appeal. In the early twentieth century, pre-cut houses could be ordered by catalog from companies such as Sears Roebuck and Company, Montgomery Ward, and Alladin Home Company, which were based in the Midwest. Each piece of lumber was factory cut and numbered for easy assembly.

Technological changes affected building construction as well. The building boom itself was made possible in part by the availability of mass-produced components, including cast-iron facades and pressed brick. The seemingly infinite variety of cut and turned millwork produced by the steampower-driven jigsaw and lathe also contributed to the individuality of mid- to late-nineteenth-century architecture. Greater complexity in overall building form as well as greater elaboration of applied ornamentation were hallmarks of the period's styles. Balloon framing – a technique which used smaller-dimensioned, standard-sized lumber held together by machine-made nails – replaced heavy-timber framing, which freed houses from their traditional box-like shapes, facilitating the construction of multiple corners, wall extensions, overhangs, and asymmetrical floor plans. The development of veneered construction in brick and stone in the early decades of the twentieth century also broadened stylistic possibilities.

For a relatively brief period after the Civil War, the French Second Empire style became popular. Differing little from the Italianate in architectural details, its distinguishing characteristic was the mansard roof, so named for the seventeenth-century French architect François Mansart. This form had been revived in France during the Second Empire (1852-1870) and was considered quite "modern" at the time. Norwich's Town Hall (Photograph 13), built during the years 1870-1873, is undoubtedly one of the state's finest institutional examples of this style.

The Stick style, which flourished in the 1860s and 1870s, drew upon the picturesque ideals of the Gothic Revival and reflected Andrew Jackson Downing's emphasis on "truthfulness" in construction. Highly decorative, the Stick style had as its principal characteristic the exterior arrangement of diagonal, horizontal, and vertical wood boards to expose the building's framing system. In reality, however, these features were applied rather than structural. The use of king-post trusses in the gable peak was of similar intention.

Of all the High Victorian residential styles, the Queen Anne found the greatest favor, its popularity lasting from the 1880s to c. 1910. The style originated in England in the mid-nineteenth century, a combination of late-medieval forms and classsical motifs borrowed from architecture of the late-sixteenth- and early-seventeenth-century Elizabethan and Jacobean eras (rather than that of the later Queen Anne – a misnomer). In England, the Queen Anne style was used for both residential and commercial construction, but in the United States, it was principally residential. Although the earliest American examples were studied versions of English half-timbered designs, an inventive, indigenous interpretation of the Queen Anne soon prevailed, relying on the decorative possibilities of mass-produced millwork. Asymmetrical in massing, with complex multi-gabled roofs and projecting bays and round or polygonal towers, Queen Anne buildings carried on the romantic tradition of picturesque irregularity. Porches – full-facade, L-shaped, wraparound, and in the grander versions, the porte cochere – with their turned posts and decorative spindlework were a hallmark of the style. Like the Stick style, the Queen Anne emphasized the wall as a principal decorative element, although in this case, through the textural contrast of materials. Typically, brick or clapboard was used on the lower story, while plain or imbricated shingles clad the upper stories. In all-brick buildings, surface relief was achieved by the use of corbelling, dog-tooth courses, or decorative terra cotta panels. Multi-color paint schemes further accentuated the rich diversity of individual stylistic elements. The Yeomans House in Columbia (Photograph 16) is representative of the many Queen Anne-style houses in the region.

A contemporaneous style was the Richardsonian Romanesque, named after the American architect Henry Hobson Richardson (1838-1886), whose influence was far-reaching despite his short career. It was principally an institutional style, favored for religious, educational, and governmental buildings alike. As the Slater Memorial Library in Jewett City (Photograph 17) exemplifies, the Richardsonian Romanesque style exploited the textural and tonal qualities of masonry materials to achieve boldly dramatic effects. Walls were of rough-faced masonry. Typically, stone that contrasted in color and finish was used for arches, lintels, and other structural features. In its use of load-bearing masonry construction, which created deep window reveals, emphasis upon the horizontal, and sculpted shapes, the Richardsonian Romanesque style conveyed the image of weight, massiveness, and solidity. Round arches resting on low, heavy columns, which were based on early Christian precedents, reinforced this impression.

Although sharing some of the features of the Queen Anne style – verandahs, towers, and projecting bays – the Shingle style, which made its appearance in the 1880s, melded these elements into a more harmonious whole by enveloping them in a uniform building material. The Shingle style

smoothed the angular edges of the Queen Anne, and its forms were simpler and bolder, borrowing from the Richardsonian Romanesque. Decorative details were few and more restrained compared to the elaborate embellishments of the Queen Anne. The use of Palladian windows and other classically derived ornamentation reflected the growing contemporary interest in colonial architecture, which was one outcome of the Centennial Exposition of 1876. After 1890, this more classical vocabulary, including decorative swags and pedimented porches with round columns supporting an entablature, began to characterize the Queen Anne style, producing the hybrid known as Queen Anne/Colonial Revival.

The Colonial Revival style in residential architecture appeared as early as the mid-1880s in the work of Charles McKim of the New York City firm of McKim, Mead, and White. From the 1890s through the 1920s, interest in colonial architecture spurred research and documentation of early houses. In 1898, *The American Architect and Building News* began an extensive series entitled "The Georgian Period: being photographs and measured drawings of Colonial Work with text." The *White Pine Series of Architectural Monographs*, which began publication in 1915, continued this effort. The Connecticut Society of the Colonial Dames of America sponsored a volume on Connecticut's colonial houses, which was published in 1923. In that same decade, J. Frederick Kelly's minutely detailed and generously illustrated scholarly work, *The Early Domestic Architecture of Connecticut*, appeared.

Although the Colonial Revival looked to the forms and details of both Georgian and Federal architecture, stylistically the term embraced a wide range of sub-styles from the academically correct to freer interpretations, which often altered the original scale or combined or introduced elements not characteristic of the colonial prototypes. In suburban developments of the 1920s, "Colonial style" was applied to houses with few stylistic references; it became an architecture of motifs. In the early part of the century, there was an interest in "restoring" colonial houses by removing later alterations or by adding "period" features with varying degrees of authenticity.

In various incarnations Colonial Revival has been the predominant residential style in Connecticut (and all of New England) in this century. As had been the case with the Greek Revival, the Colonial Revival style symbolically evoked the uniqueness of the American experience. The style was embraced for a wide range of institutional buildings – educational, civic, and corporate alike – which were almost invariably constructed of red brick, with the use of limestone (or later cast stone) for sills, lintels, and other components providing contrast. A finely executed version of the style is the Booth and Dimock Memorial Library in Coventry (Photograph 19). Other noteworthy examples are the buildings designed for the Pomfret School by the prominent Beaux Arts-trained architect Ernest Flagg. He was also responsible for the school's master plan, which was based on the traditional New England green. Although later the "Collegiate Gothic" would be preferred, the very first buildings constructed as part of the early-twentieth-century expansion of the Storrs Agricultural College were Colonial Revival.

Almost equally popular was the Tudor Revival style, which harked back to sixteenth-century English architecture. False half-timbering, steeply pitched, front-facing gables, massive chimneys, small-paned casement windows, often grouped together, and the combined use of stucco, brick, and stone were the distinguishing characteristics of this style. They can be seen in Grey Gables in East Hampton (Photograph 20), which was constructed in 1928. Side-swept roofs over projecting gabled entrances were common. In some cases, roofs with rolled eaves were constructed in imitation of the thatched roofs of English cottages.

Although partly based on the "bangla" houses of India, the Bungalow style represented a departure from the revival styles of the early twentieth century. Its more proximate stylistic source was the Craftsman style, which originated in California and was quickly disseminated via popular architectural and home fashion magazines. In keeping with the Arts and Crafts tradition, the Bungalow style made the textures and colors of natural materials an integral part of the design. For example, irregularly shaped cobblestones were laid up in foundations and chimneys. Low-pitched, gabled roofs had wide overhangs which displayed exposed rafter ends and swept down to enclose facade porches with battered columns.

V. MODERN PERIOD 1930-1990

Like Rip van Winkle, roused from a long sleep, a traveler to the Eastern Uplands in 1990 would find that during the half century since the 1930s a once-familiar world had changed. The textile mills no longer operate to manufacture cotton and woolen goods. The whir of machinery and the sound of the steam whistle are no longer heard. Many mill buildings are vacant; some have disappeared altogether, victims of fire or floods. Some are in a state of disrepair, slowly succumbing to the elements. New factories, their sprawling one-story designs so different from the multi-story brick mills, occupy formerly undeveloped land. While the company-built worker housing remains, it long ago changed ownership. Workers do not walk to work but commute by automobile on high-speed highways to places distant. The railroads are largely gone, as are their stations. So too are the movie theatres and department stores that were once the focal points of urban centers. Even some of the commercial buildings which once graced the region's Main Streets are gone and with them the local greengrocer, pharmacist, and other tradespeople. Instead, there are outlying shopping centers. In the countryside, the dirt roads have been paved and farmhouses are connected to electrical and telephone lines. There are, however, fewer farmsteads. In their place are new streets laid out in circular fashion with houses set on look-alike lots. One-room schoolhouses have been replaced with consolidated schools which serve one or more towns.

In the modern period, these and other changes in the rural and industrial landscapes and in small town and city life in the Eastern Uplands are attributable in part to the profound shift in the region's economic base and to the process of suburbanization. The textile industry, once the mainstay of the economy, collapsed in the 1950s and 1960s, causing a crisis in employment. Efforts to rebuild the region's manufacturing economy since then have met with mixed results. Since the 1950s, growth in defense-related industries located outside the region, in Groton (Eastern Coastal Slope Geographic Historic Context) and in the Capital Region (Central Valley Geographic Historic Context), has provided new employment opportunities and has had far-reaching effects on the region's demographic patterns. Suburban residential and commercial development has contributed to a decline in the region's urban centers and at the same time has altered the character of many rural communities.

The Great Depression and Wartime Recovery

The stock market crash of October 1929 set in motion a downward spiral in the nation's economy from which it would not fully recover until the outbreak of World War II. In Connecticut, all the economic indicators registered the severity of the Great Depression. Statewide, unemployment rose from 50,000 or 7.5 percent of the workforce in mid-1930 to 150,000 or about 21 percent by mid-1932. In mid-1932, the figures on Connecticut business activity, factory man-hours, and net individual income stood at less than half their 1929 levels, and manufacturing employment had fallen by 37 percent. Total man-hours worked in 1932 was only 30 percent of the 1929 figure and the value of total product in that same year was about 70 percent of its value in 1929. In 1932 alone, more than 1,000 firms went into bankruptcy. The combination of bank losses due to loan defaults and the withdrawal of funds by anxious depositors weakened the state's financial institutions. Bank failures multiplied. Fifty mergers or liquidations occurred during the years 1930-1933. The period 1929-1933 was a bleak time.

In the Eastern Uplands, as elsewhere, the Great Depression caused serious economic dislocations. The textile industry came under intense pressure as orders and profits plummeted. Mills curtailed production and operated on shortened work weeks. In the first year of the Depression, the percentage of idle spindles in the cotton textile industry doubled. In a special report published in December 1932, the Connecticut Unemployment Commission noted that in the rural industrial textile region – one of 22 designated trade areas in the state – the number of employees had fallen 42 percent between 1929 and 1932 and the average work week had dropped from 52 to 45 hours. This decrease in employment was the steepest in the state, making some of the Eastern Uplands towns among the hardest hit by the severe industrial contraction. Some companies reorganized with assistance from the Reconstruction Finance Corporation (RFC). Others stayed afloat by increasing economy of costs through mergers, which also provided much-needed larger pools of capital. In 1932, for example, the Wauregan and Quinebaug Company mills merged. In some cases, out-of-state companies closed Connecticut plants to consolidate production. In May 1932, the Goodyear plant in Rogers (Killingly) lay idle, the company having shipped its machinery to Georgia.

During the first 15 months of the Depression, towns bore the burden of providing relief. Statewide, expenditures on outdoor work relief swelled from $878,000 in 1929 to $1.27 million in 1930, with the 26 most urban towns accounting for 70 percent of the outlay. Spurred by the crisis, 36 cities and towns had established special commissions for relief of the unemployed by 1930. The demand for relief assistance rose dramatically: Putnam, for example, which had spent $25,000 for the needy in 1928, spent $39,000 in 1930 and $57,000 in 1931. During Governor Wilbur Cross' first term, the General Assembly appropriated $100,000 for road work in state forests and funded a "dirt roads" bill at $3 million which was divided equally among the state's towns. These measures, however, were not equal to the growing magnitude of the unemployment problem. By 1932, the financial resources of many towns throughout the state had been exhausted.

In the first 100 days of President Franklin Delano Roosevelt's administration in 1933, the first of many New Deal "alphabet" agencies was created to restore confidence in the economy and to alleviate the staggering problems of unemployment. The Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) employed young men on reforestation and other projects to improve public forest and park lands. During the period 1933-1942, 20 CCC camps were put in operation in Connecticut, employing over 30,000 men. The first was Camp Roosevelt, established at Cockaponset State Forest in Haddam in May 1933. Four others were established in the Eastern Uplands: Lonergan in Pachaug State Forest in Voluntown, Graves in Nipmuck State Forest in Stafford Springs, Fernow in Natchaug State Forest in Hampton, and Stuart in Salmon River State Forest in East Hampton. Camp Lonergan was the last to close in the state in May 1942. The CCC's accomplishments in Connecticut included the planting of thousands of acres of trees, tree and plant disease control projects, road building, and construction of fire towers. In addition, the CCC erected recreational structures, employing local materials in what has been dubbed the "Government Rustic" style. The Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA) provided federal assistance to the states for unemployment relief, partly on a grant basis and partly on a three-to-one matching basis. Beginning with a check for $800,000, by the end of 1934, Connecticut had received over $12 million in FERA funds.

Title II of the National Industrial Recovery Act of June 1933 established the Public Works Administration (PWA) to pump money into local economies by providing grants and loans for locally initiated public capital-improvement projects. In the Eastern Uplands, PWA funds were used primarily for road construction, especially in the region's rural agricultural towns. In 1935, Bozrah, East Haddam, Hampton, Hebron, Lebanon, Preston, and Tolland received awards generally in the $50,000 - $100,000 range. Throughout the state, municipally owned buildings – schools, libraries,

town halls, and fire houses – benefitted from the PWA. Colchester, for example, received $220,500 for public school work. One of the larger projects in the Eastern Uplands was the construction of a sewage disposal plant in Putnam. Fifty million dollars of PWA funds, involving 2,500 projects, had been expended in Connecticut by June 1937. State construction projects also received assistance from the PWA. In 1938, the General Assembly appropriated $11 million for the construction of new facilities at state institutions, including, in the Eastern Uplands, Mansfield Training School, Norwich State Hospital, and Connecticut State College. The federal government contributed almost half of the total cost; the remainder was covered by state bonds. The Works Progress Administration (WPA), a work-relief agency established in 1935, provided monies for smaller-scale projects. In Putnam, for example, Murphy Park was a WPA project.

By mid-1934, employment in Connecticut had risen and payrolls had increased, hopeful signs of improvement in the state's economy. By late 1936, factory man-hours exceeded the 1929 norm, while employment was at the 1929 level. Despite these signs of recovery, instability still plagued the textile industry, which continued to operate well below its pre-Depression level and to experience strikes and plant closings. Throughout the 1930s, companies attempted to increase liquidity by disposing of assets. Such leading manufacturing firms as the Ponemah Mills in Norwich and American Thread in Willimantic sold their workers' housing. Many others followed suit.

The call by the United Textile Workers for a national industry-wide strike ultimately involved some 19,000 textile workers in Connecticut in September 1934. Virtually every town in the Eastern Uplands was affected, although not all plants were shut down. In some cases, flying squads of pickets moved from plant to plant by automobile. Striking workers focused their efforts on non-unionized plants in the region, particularly the Belding-Heminway-Corticelli Company in Putnam, Powdrell and Alexander in Danielson in Killingly, and American Thread in Willimantic. In both Putnam and Danielson, the National Guard was called out to protect non-striking workers. A federal mediation board, which had been appointed by President Roosevelt, negotiated an agreement between the United Textile Workers and the Textile Manufacturers Association, ending what had been a bitter national strike. By the last week in September, striking workers in Connecticut returned to the mills. In 1936, however, the management-labor dispute which erupted at the Lawton Mills in Plainfield – one of the region's largest manufacturers – was not resolved, despite the intervention of the governor's office to reach a compromise, and the company's directors decided to liquidate.

In 1938, the WPA funded a study of economic conditions in the region's textile industry, which was prepared for the special textile commission appointed by Governor Wilbur Cross in 1936. This WPA report limned a grey picture:

> The closing of textile mills over a period of several years so contracted economic opportunity in the area as to leave an unusually high ratio of unemployed. An independent study claims that this area, which has only about 12½% of the state's population, has been receiving about 23% of the total state aid.[13]

All the traditional sectors in the textile industry – cotton, woolens, and silk – had been declining even during the generally prosperous 1920s. In cotton, the all-time high in spindlage was 1.3 million in 1919-1920; by 1937, that figure had dropped to half – 645,000. In woolens, the highest number of spindles was 261,000 in 1925, and while the percentage decrease was not as great as in cotton, that figure in 1937 was 189,000, or about 80 percent. A survey of utilized and vacant space in Eastern Connecticut's textile industry showed that despite the slight rebound after 1934, many mills

remained empty. Plainfield had over a million square feet of unoccupied space, making its vacancy rate the highest in the region and second only to Bridgeport statewide. Norwich had 650,000 square feet of unused industrial space. In the late 1930s, local efforts to promote economic revival in the hard-hit textile towns in Windham County brought 27 new companies into the region, 13 of which were textile or related manufacturers and 14 in diverse other industries. The *New York Times* reported that "they occupied the deserted textile factories and called 4,000 of the unemployed back to work to make such varied articles as radios, electrical appliances, steel pins, bathrobes, metal furniture, and macaroni."[14] Full economic recovery, however, would not come until World War II.

Natural disaster struck the region with a vengeance on September 21, 1938, when one of the century's worst hurricanes unexpectedly hit Connecticut. The storm caused dams to fail, washed out bridges, inundated roads and city streets, undermined building foundations, and downed electric wires. Flood waters damaged or destroyed factory inventories and equipment, flooded farmland and destroyed barns, felled stands of timber, and in the Eastern Uplands led to a new life for an old industry – the manufacture of charcoal in Union. The storm's fury toppled many a church steeple. One of the more notable undertakings in Connecticut in historic preservation came about as a result of the damage inflicted on the Congregational Church in Lebanon, which had been constructed in 1804 to the design of John Trumbull. A statewide effort was headed by the Dean of the Hartford Theological Seminary. Architect J. Frederick Kelly, who had earlier made measured drawings of the building, was engaged to supervise the church's restoration, which was not completed until 1954. Everywhere, both the CCC and the WPA provided workers to help in the massive cleanup. Statewide, federal monies assisted in the replacement of highway bridges, including in the Eastern Uplands the Route 169 bridge over the Shetucket River on the Norwich-Lisbon line.

In 1939, national defense spending began boosting the state's economy. As historian John W. Jeffries points out, "Connecticut's business index by the end of the year stood some fifteen points above the national figure and with other economic indicators had surpassed 1929 levels."[15] In 1940, Connecticut outranked all other states in the per capita value of its defense contracts and was second in total value of war orders. Statewide figures on business activity, factory man-hours, and employment were markedly higher than they had been in 1929. There was a sharp decline in relief rolls; by October 1940, the backlog of jobless men awaiting WPA assistance had been eliminated.

By mid-1943, nine out of every ten Connecticut industrial workers were engaged in war production. As had been the case during World War I, Eastern Connecticut textile mills turned to producing fabrics for military use. The Cyril Johnson Woolen Company in Stafford, for example, made cloth for the uniforms of several branches of the armed services. Powdrell and Alexander in Danielson (Killingly) made mosquito netting and camouflage cloth during the war. Belding-Heminway-Corticelli in Putnam made parachute cord. Although most of the several dozen prime and sub-contractors for government orders in the region were textile companies, machine shops handled government military contracts for precision parts. Pratt and Whitney, an East Hartford-based manufacturer of aircraft engines, leased space in Willimantic to make engine parts. Although most of the federally financed housing projects built in Connecticut during the war to house newly arrived workers were in the state's large cities outside the Eastern Uplands, housing was constructed in Willimantic for Pratt and Whitney workers.

Industry

Since 1950, employment in the manufacturing sector of Connecticut's economy has steadily decreased. For example, in the generally prosperous decade 1960 to 1970, manufacturing employment as a percentage of total employment decreased from 44 to 37 percent. In 1988, the figure stood at only 23 percent. The change has been greatest in non-durables, the sharpest decline occurring in the textile industry. At the same time, selected aspects of the durables sector, especially transportation, which encompasses defense-related production, have experienced sharp increases. One of the most important shifts in the state's economy has been the rapid growth of employment in the service industries: financial, health care, education, government, and retail. These overall patterns are reflected in the changes that have occurred in the Eastern Uplands as well.

With the end of World War II and the onset of a peacetime economy, the textile industry of the Eastern Uplands resumed its downward slide. As had been the case during World War I, the war-born demand for textiles had masked the basic ill-health of the industry. Lack of capital investment during the uncertain years of the Great Depression, the need to modernize plants to meet changing consumer preferences, reciprocal trade agreements which lowered tariff barriers, and the lower costs of production in both the Far East and the American South placed Connecticut's cotton industry in a disadvantageous position after the war. From 1947 to 1955, statewide employment in textiles dropped by more than 25 percent. Compounding the problems besetting the industry was the damage inflicted by Hurricane Diane in 1955, which caused losses in inventory, equipment, and plant beyond the capacity of some manufacturers to recoup. In the 1950s, some of the region's major companies either went out of business or closed their Connecticut plants, including the Wauregan Mills in Plainfield, the Cluett, Peabody and Company operation at the Grosvenor-Dale Mills (which it had purchased in 1942), and Powdrell and Alexander in Danielson. The woolen industry was similarly affected. The pattern of mill closings continued: the Cyril Johnson Company in Stafford shut down in the early 1960s; the Ponemah Mills closed in 1972. In 1985, the American Thread mills ceased operation after 125 years. A few major textile mills continue to operate, most notably the Belding-Heminway-Corticelli Company in Putnam and Warren of Stafford. By the late 1980s, however, the total workforce statewide in the textile industry was a mere 6,500, representing less than 2 percent of total manufacturing employment.

The increased shipment of freight by trucks, facilitated in large part by the creation of the federally assisted interstate highway system since the late 1950s, and the decline, both relative and absolute, of the railroad as a common carrier, have influenced economic development in the Eastern Uplands as they have in the state as a whole. Seeing highway construction as the key to economic growth, the region's businessmen and legislators mounted a vigorous campaign for extension of the Connecticut Turnpike in the late 1950s when the issue was being debated by the General Assembly. Owing to these efforts, State Route 52 – through Norwich to the Rhode Island line via the mill towns of Plainfield and Killingly – was constructed as a dual-lane highway. Dubbed the "ribbon of hope" at the time, the turnpike initially stimulated some economic development in the towns through which it ran as well as in nearby communities. Nevertheless, the region's relative isolation from the rest of the state because of the lack of major expressways continues to hinder economic development. While the upgrading of State Route 52 to Interstate 395 has facilitated the north-south movement of commerce and industry, the region still lacks a dual-lane east-west expressway from Hartford to the Rhode Island line.

In the last 25 years, the manufacturing economy of the Eastern Uplands has become more

In the Eastern Uplands, however, with fewer and relatively much smaller cities than in the more heavily urbanized Western Coastal Slope or Central Valley Geographic Historic Contexts, this process has been somewhat different. Although Norwich has experienced population decreases since 1970, this out-migration has been a minor factor in the dramatic population growth of the towns along the region's western and southern edges. Towns along Interstate-84 and State Route 2 and those surrounding Norwich have been increasingly drawn into the orbit of major employment centers outside the region itself: Hartford-East Hartford and Groton. This trend is evident in the changing composition of Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas (SMSAs), a census category that defines aggregates of population clustered around one or more cities and having a high degree of economic integration. In 1960, the New London-Groton-Norwich SMSA encompassed nine towns, only two of which, apart from Norwich, were in the Eastern Uplands, namely, Montville and Preston. Some 25 years later, this same SMSA embraced 18 towns, of which 11 were in the Eastern Uplands. Similarly, whereas none of the towns in the Eastern Uplands were included in the Hartford metropolitan area in 1960, by the mid-1980s 11 from the western edge of the region were in this SMSA.

Tolland and Middlesex Counties experienced the greatest percentage of population increase in the period 1950-1980. In the 1950s, Tolland County grew by an astonishing 53 percent and in the 1960s by another 50 percent – two and two-and-one-half times the statewide average, respectively. In the decade 1950-1960, Bolton's population increased 129 percent and Tolland's 77.8 percent, the highest rates in the region. In the decade 1960-1970, Tolland grew 166.3 percent, and Hebron and Montville at over 100 percent. Not as dramatic – at less than 75 percent – but still significant were the percentages of increase in the next decade in Salem, Ashford, and Hebron. In the 1980s, Salem, Colchester, and Columbia were the fastest growing towns in the region.

Shifts in the population rankings of Eastern Uplands towns relative to the state's other towns are indicative of both changes in the region's economy and the process of suburban and exurban growth. Although Norwich remains the largest town in the region, its statewide rank fell from 11th in 1950 to 25th in 1990; Windham slipped from 28th to 43rd; and Putnam from 47th to 95th. This pattern also characterizes other formerly textile-dependent towns, such as Griswold, Killingly, Plainfield, and Stafford. At the same time, Tolland rose from 128th to 86th, Hebron from 138th to 106th, and Marlborough from 149th to 121st, a phenomenon experienced by other rural and largely agricultural towns in the region as well.

Farmland has been developed for residential use. Single-family tract development and condominium developments have occurred in many towns, especially the so-called "bedroom communities" within commuting distance of Hartford. In the age of the automobile, commercial development has occurred along the region's major state routes, which have become the new Main Streets. Retail, service business, and office buildings have been constructed. Fast-food outlets, bank branches with drive-in tellers, and gasoline stations with convenience stores are all part of the automobile-oriented culture.

Connecticut is one of the most densely populated states in the nation. Historically, the state's population has been unevenly distributed, with the major concentration in towns along Long Island Sound to New Haven (Western Coastal Slope Geographic Historic Context) and in the Central Valley Geographic Historic Context. The northwest corner (Northwest Highlands Geographic Historic Context) and eastern Connecticut (Eastern Uplands Geographic Historic Context) have been the least densely populated. Many of the towns with the lowest population densities continue to be located in the Eastern Uplands, especially in the northeastern part of the region. Nevertheless, in the

decade 1980-1990, although Tolland County continued to rank first in the state in percentage of population increase, second place was shared for the first time by Litchfield and Windham, the two counties which have traditionally been the lowest. This exurban movement begins a new chapter in the region's development as the orbit of commutation from place of residence to place of work continues to expand.

Urban Change

The crises afflicting the state's major cities since World War II have also been felt in the urban centers of the Eastern Uplands: a declining economic base, an aging infrastructure, and housing stock which dates largely from the late nineteenth century. Suburban-located retail and service establishments have drawn commerce away from the cities. For example, the construction in the mid-1970s of Eastbrook Mall on State Route 195 just outside Willimantic further depressed that city's downtown business district. Decrease in the demand for railroad freight service has hurt the region's cities whose freight yards in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were central to their growth and prosperity. Although the Providence and Worcester Railroad provides service to Norwich, Danielson, and Putnam and the Central Vermont still operates its line through Willimantic and Norwich, these communities no longer serve as distribution centers for the region as they had earlier.

Beginning in the 1950s, federally funded urban renewal programs were created to address the socio-economic problems of the nation's cities. These early efforts at revitalization focused on "blight clearance" – demolition of older commercial and residential buildings to make way for new construction. In contrast to the more heavily urbanized areas of the state, there were only a handful of urban renewal projects in the Eastern Uplands in the 1960s. These were located primarily in the region's major cities: Norwich, Willimantic, and Putnam, although the Rogers section of Killingly – a small mill village – received some federal assistance as well. With the exception of Putnam, these projects were generally smaller in scope, in terms of both acreages and dollars involved, than those in other regions. In Willimantic, many buildings in the central business district along Main and several adjacent streets were torn down. Many of the displaced businesses never relocated. Several streets disappeared altogether. The outcome of these efforts in Willimantic to attract new business was not atypical. On some of the smaller parcels, there has been new construction; some remain vacant as parking lots or open space.

The situation in Putnam, however, was singular. Hurricane Diane struck Connecticut with full force on August 19, 1955, leaving enormous destruction in its wake. When the Quinebaug Dam in Southbridge, Massachusetts, burst, it sent flood waters cascading downstream. In the City of Putnam, the Quinebaug River overflowed its banks, destroying three major bridges across the river, including that of the New York, New Haven and Hartford branch line. Downtown was under water; virtually all the textile mills were hard hit. Adding to the terrible devastation was a spectacular fire which raced through the mills of the Uncas Finishing Company and the Putnam Finishing Company. A river of fire was created when magnesium from a warehouse was swept away and ignited. Mud and silt covered the city's streets; some piles reached a height of 12 feet. The damage was estimated at $8 million. Federal funds were used to prepare a master plan for rebuilding the city. Scores of badly damaged buildings were demolished and many factories failed to re-open. Putnam was left with only a single rail line when the New York, New Haven and Hartford Railroad decided to discontinue its service along the flood-damaged Air Line.

Statewide, 33 highway bridges were destroyed; in the Eastern Uplands these included bridges in Griswold, Mansfield, Plainfield, and Pomfret. Downtown Stafford Springs was flooded, but Willimantic was spared severe damage when the recently constructed Mansfield Hollow Dam held back a 40-foot wall of water from the Willimantic River. As a result of the flood, the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers built a dam in West Thompson to help control the Quinebaug River downstream.

In the last two decades, revitalization efforts have been channeled along other lines. With passage of the Community Development Act of 1974, federal assistance became available for building rehabilitation as well as new construction projects. In the region's cities and in the rural industrial towns with large concentrations of mill worker housing, federal funds have been used for downtown facade improvement programs and upgrading deteriorated multi-family housing. With federal and state assistance, low and moderate income rental units and housing for the elderly have been constructed. In Norwich, federal historic preservation tax incentives have been used to rehabilitate many nineteenth-century residential and commercial buildings.

Although new ethnic groups have migrated to the region's cities since the 1950s, their numbers have been fewer than those in the state's larger cities, in part a reflection of the more limited economic opportunities. Nevertheless, American Thread's recruitment of workers in Puerto Rico in the 1950s brought many Hispanics to the City of Willimantic. In more recent decades, Asians and Haitians have moved to Norwich, continuing the tradition of ethnic diversity which has characterized this city for more than a century. Regionally, African-Americans constitute about 2 percent of the total population, a figure that has remained constant in this century.

Modern Architecture

The modernist impulse which had surfaced prior to World War I gained momentum in the 1920s and 1930s as architects searched for a new order of visual expression appropriate to the machine age. The Exposition des Arts Decoratifs, which was held in Paris in 1925, generated international interest in the possibilities of reinterpreting traditional decorative motifs. In architecture, the Art Deco style used stylized geometric patterns – especially chevrons and zig-zags – and simplified classical details such as fluted or reeded pilasters executed in low relief. Facades were often organized in a series of setbacks. While the Art Deco style retained decorative ornamentation, the Moderne and International styles eschewed its use. Of the two, the International style was to have the more far-reaching influence on modern architecture. The proponents of the International style – most notably Le Corbusier (Charles Edouard Jenneret, 1886-1969) – rejected reliance on historical styles (in effect relegating Beaux-Arts architecture to the dustbin of history). In their place, they advocated the use of concrete, steel, and glass to reveal the structure and function of buildings. Employing the primary shapes of the cube and the rectangle was seen as a means of creating an architecture devoid of place and time – a "universal" architecture. Smooth and uniform wall surfaces, windows with minimal reveals, and flat roofs were characteristic. After World War II, the glass curtain-wall buildings designed by Ludwig Mies van der Rohe (1886-1969) evolved from the International-style aesthetic. During the early 1930s, Mies had been associated with the Bauhaus School in Germany, which had been an incubator of the International-style movement. Fleeing Nazi Germany in the late 1930s for the United States, he trained a generation of American architects. This circumstance helps explain why in the 1960s and 1970s, "contemporary" architecture meant glass curtain-wall buildings.

With time, a reaction set in against the International style. In the 1970s, and especially in the 1980s,

the Post-Modern movement became increasingly influential. Spurning the "glass box," proponents of the Post-Modern style turned to a reexamination of the role of historical styles and the use of ornamentation in architectural design. For example, the use of columns, pediments, and the oculus represents allusions to classical architecture. The Post-Modern style freely interprets the past, however, often abstracting or simplifying classical decorative details and altering the proportions of classical elements.

Since World War II, residential architectural styles have been influenced by both modern and traditional approaches. In suburban neighborhoods in the 1950s and 1960s, the one-story Ranch style, with its low-pitched roof and broad facade, was favored. The Split-level was a variation. Houses in the styles of American colonial architecture continued to be built as well. Other styles from the American past have also inspired the design of domestic architecture in recent decades, especially the Post-Modern interpretation of the Shingle style.

VI. CONCLUSION

How often it has been said that if buildings could speak, what a story they would tell. And, they can. In the Eastern Uplands, the historical forces which have shaped the region's agricultural and industrial landscapes in the past 350 years are evident today in its built environment, an unmistakable reminder that the past is always in the present.

Much of the region's agricultural heritage remains: the stone walls which now may demarcate overgrown fields; the colonial and nineteenth-century farmhouses; the farms that still operate; and the one-room schoolhouses, country churches, Grange halls, scattered gristmills, and small factories that exemplify the social, religious, and economic life of earlier eras.

So, too, much of the region's textile industry heritage remains: mill complexes and individual buildings, mill villages, and the commercial centers which grew in tandem in such places as Baltic, Danielson, Jewett City, and Stafford Springs, as well as in the larger cities of Norwich, Putnam, and Willimantic. All of these resources have left an indelible mark on the built environment, even though the industry itself has long since departed.

Above all, the land remains, despite the changes wrought by human endeavor: the rolling hills, plateaus, and deep river valleys which have shaped so much of the Eastern Uplands' history. Roads still hug the contours of the land in many places, often retaining their rural character, as does, for example, Route 169, now a state-designated scenic road. The names of some others persist as a clue to their past function as turnpikes of the nineteenth century. The landscape is dotted with stage inns and taverns that came with the roads and turnpikes. Today, as in the first century of European settlement, much of the region is rugged and heavily wooded, with large portions now preserved as state forests. In towns such as Lebanon, the commons retain their original agricultural character as undeveloped pasture land.

Thus, to travel through the Eastern Uplands today is to be reminded of the region's rich and varied history . . . to encounter in city, village, and countryside the tangible embodiments of continuity as well as change . . . to witness the endless interplay between past and present.

ENDNOTES

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Bibliographical Note

The indispensable starting point for any study of the Eastern Uplands Geographic Historic Context is town histories. With the exception of Frances Manwaring Caulkin's nineteenth-century *History of Norwich,* the most useful works are those published in the last two decades. Among these are town commemorative publications, including those celebrating the bicentennial of the American Revolution, and several full-length monographs relying on modern historical scholarship. (For further information on individual towns within the region, see *Connecticut: A Bibliography of Its History,* edited by Roger Parks.) Thirty-eight of the region's towns are in New London, Tolland, and Windham Counties. County histories, much favored in the late nineteenth century, were largely vehicles for biographical sketches. An exception is Ellen Larned's two-volume nineteenth-century *History of Windham County.* It is the standard reference chronicling settlement and development in the colonial period, but the relatively brief and more general discussion of contemporaneous economic and cultural changes remains insightful. Although not a comprehensive history of the Eastern Uplands, the amply illustrated *Mills and Meadows* by Bruce M. Stave and Michelle Palmer, which focuses on towns in Tolland and Windham Counties, provides an excellent introduction to many of the themes which pertain to the region overall.

On the all-important subject of the textile industry in Connecticut, the reader will find little published information. There are no histories of either the woolen or cotton textile industries. For the period prior to 1850, Grace Pierpont Fuller's slim volume, *An Introduction to the History of Connecticut as a Manufacturing State,* contains useful statistical data. The lengthy essay by George B. Chandler in Volume IV of the *History of Connecticut in Monographic Form* is the only overview of developments throughout the nineteenth century. Matthew Roth's *Connecticut: An Inventory of Historic Engineering and Industrial Sites* is company-specific as well as resource-specific, thus filling in data gaps. The rapid growth and gradual decline of the textile industry in the period 1850-1930 are best followed in the United States Census data.

Compared to earlier periods, historical developments in the Modern Period (1930-1990) are generally given little, if any, attention in both the town and statewide histories. For the impact of the Great Depression on the Eastern Uplands, the WPA's publication of 1938, *The Eastern Connecticut Economic Survey,* stands alone. Heavily statistical in nature, this study provides a detailed picture of the region's industrial activity. A reading of contemporary newspaper accounts – even on a selective basis – is necessary to track the flow of federal dollars apportioned to the region under various economic recovery programs of the 1930s. Similarly, the events surrounding the textile workers strike of 1934 must be pieced together from press accounts. Any understanding of the changes which have taken place in the Eastern Uplands in the period since World War II has to rely heavily on reports published by state agencies, especially those of the Connecticut Department of Economic Development (and its precursor, the Connecticut Development Commission). These contain statistical data on population and housing units by town, and on economic enterprise statewide. Various issues of the *Storrs Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin* complement these reports by providing useful analyses on decennial changes in population. The series of planning documents, *Connecticut: choices for action,* that the Connecticut Interregional Planning Program issued in the mid-1960s provides important information on such topics as land use, the economy, and transportation within both a present-day and historical context. For information about the modern economic history of the

region, the reader will need to: (1) refer to such published sources as the town centennials, noted above, and town plans of development, and (2) consult with municipal historians and town and regional planning agencies. The *State of Connecticut Register and Manual,* which lists the principal industries under each town entry, is informative as well.

Documentation of the Eastern Uplands historical and architectural resources in the Statewide Historic Resource Inventory is limited. Of the 42 towns in the region, only seven have been comprehensively surveyed at the intensive level: Colchester, East Haddam, East Hampton, Haddam, Killingly, Plainfield, and Thompson. Approximately one third of the region's towns lack surveys; another third have been inventoried at only a reconnaissance level. The paucity of survey data is greatest for the region's predominantly agricultural communities. Work needs to be done on documenting historic farmsteads, which are a vulnerable resource. Information on resources associated with the industrial history of the Eastern Uplands is more extensive. Survey reports that are more than ten years old should be updated to identify buildings that have been restored, substantially modified, or lost since the initial survey, and also to incorporate buildings constructed after 1940 that are now acquiring historical and architectural significance.

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The survey reports listed below are part of the Statewide Historic Resource Inventory Collection maintained by the Connecticut Historical Commission. The survey reports contain detailed information on individual properties.

The archival copies of the reports may be found at the Special Collections Department of the Homer D. Babbidge Library at the University of Connecticut. Microfiche copies may be used at the Connecticut Historical Commission, the Connecticut Historical Society, the Connecticut State Library, and the Connecticut Trust for Historic Preservation.

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Part 2

Management Guide

VII. EASTERN UPLANDS 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
AGRIGULTURE / SUBSISTENCE	farmsteads / farmhouses / livestock farms	farmsteads / farmhouses / dairy farms / mulberry tree farms	farmsteads / farmhouses / dairy farms / poultry farms / fruit farms / greenhouses	poultry farms / dairy farms / fruit farms / nurseries / greenhouses
COMMERCE	marine vessels / shipyards / wharves / ropewalks / warehouses / chandleries / merchant houses / artisans shops / apothecaries / inns / taverns	marine vessels / shipyards / wharves / ropewalks / warehouses / chandleries / merchant houses / banks / company stores / general stores / grain and feed stores / artisans shops / apothecaries / inns / taverns / hotels	marine vessels / shipyards / wharves / warehouses / lumber yards / company stores / general stores / grain and feed stores / retail stores / department stores / national chain stores / apothecaries / banks / commercial buildings / newspaper plants / telephone buildings / radio stations / inns / taverns / hotels / tourist courts / diners / bars / gas stations / garages / auto dealerships	boatyards / marinas / warehouses / lumber yards / retail stores / department stores / national chain stores / supermarkets / drug stores / shopping centers / shopping malls / banks / commercial buildings / newspaper plants / telephone buildings / radio stations / television stations / inns / hotels / motels / restaurants / diners / bars / fast food chains / gas stations / garages / auto dealerships
EDUCATION	schoolhouses	schoolhouses / academies	schoolhouses / academies / parochial schools / elementary schools / high schools / normal schools / private day schools / boarding schools / state colleges	schoolhouses / academies / parochial schools / elementary schools / high schools / private day schools / boarding schools / state community colleges / state universities / state technical schools
IMMIGRATION / ETHNIC HISTORY	cemeteries / slave quarters	cemeteries / abolition-related buildings / safehouses / workers housing / Catholic churches	cemeteries / safehouses / workers housing / ethnic churches / synagogues / fraternal organization buildings / ethnic social halls / ethnic benevolent society halls / parochial schools / resort hotels	cemeteries / ethnic churches / synagogues / temples / fraternal organization buildings / ethnic social halls / ethnic benevolent society halls / parochial schools

	COLONIAL PERIOD 1614-1780	AGRICULTURAL AND EARLY INDUSTRIAL PERIOD 1780-1850	INDUSTRIAL AND URBAN GROWTH PERIOD 1850-1930	MODERN PERIOD 1930-1990
INDUSTRY	carriagemakers and wagonmakers shops / wheelrights shops / blacksmiths shops / printers shops / coopers shops / joiners shops / clockmakers shops / shoemakers shops / shipyards / ropewalks / iron works / naileries / quarries / potteries / sawmills / gristmills / fulling mills / oil mills / cider mills / distilleries / tanneries	carriagemakers and wagonmakers shops / wheelrights shops / blacksmiths shops / coopers shops / joiners shops / clockmakers shops / shoemakers shops / clothiers shops / shipyards / ropewalks / iron works / slitting mills / machine shops / bell factories / britannia ware factories / quarries / potteries / glass factories / sawmills / gristmills / cider mills / distilleries / oil mills / tanneries / fulling mills / spinning mills / carding mills / weaving mills / textile mills / twine mills / bleachery and dye works / paper factories	carriagemakers and wagonmakers shops / wheelwrights shops / blacksmiths shops / coopers shops / joiners shops / clockmakers shops / shoemakers shops / clothiers shops / shipyards / foundries / machine shops / bell factories / arms factories / britannia ware factories / quarries / sawmills / gristmills / cider mills / tanneries / creameries / textile mills / twine mills / bleachery and dye works / paper and box factories / rubber factories / leather goods factories / gas manufacturing facilities / electricity generating plants / petroleum storage tanks	boatyards / grain feed plants / machine shops / bell factories / textile mills / bleachery and dye works / paper and box factories / glass factories / charcoal kilns / electronic components factories / electricity generating plants / petroleum storage tanks / chemical storage tanks
MILITARY	privateer vessels / parade grounds / powder mills / magazines / encampments	privateer vessels / powder mills / magazines	state armories / war monuments and memorials	state armories / war monuments and memorials
POLITICS / REFORM / WELFARE	meetinghouses / courthouses / jails / pest houses / animal pounds	post offices / meetinghouses / courthouses / town halls / jails / almshouses / poor farms / cities / boroughs	post offices / courthouses / municipal buildings / jails / police stations / firehouses / union halls / widows' homes / orphanages / mental institutions / hospitals / sanitariums / water pumping stations / sewage treatment plants / cities / boroughs / greens	post offices / courthouses / municipal buildings / jails / state correctional institutions / police stations / firehouses / mental institutions / hospitals / nursing homes / water pumping stations / sewage treatment plants / water filtration plants / water supply dams / flood control dams / CCC camps / WPA and PWA projects / cities / boroughs

	COLONIAL PERIOD 1614-1780	AGRICULTURAL AND EARLY INDUSTRIAL PERIOD 1780-1850	INDUSTRIAL AND URBAN GROWTH PERIOD 1850-1930	MODERN PERIOD 1930-1990
RELIGION	cemeteries / burying grounds / meetinghouses / churches / Sabbathday houses / parsonages	cemeteries / meetinghouses / Catholic churches / Protestant churches / Sunday Schools / parsonages / rectories	cemeteries / Catholic churches / Protestant churches / synagogues / parsonages / rectories / parish houses / chapels / convents / parochial schools / religious campgrounds	cemeteries / Catholic churches / Protestant churches / synagogues / temples / parsonages / rectories / parish houses / chapels / convents / seminaries / religious campgrounds
SETTLEMENT TYPE	towns / commons / nucleated villages / isolated farmsteads	towns / commons / crossroads villages / mill villages / isolated farmsteads	towns / mill villages / detached single-family neighborhoods / multi-family housing neighborhoods / ethnic transition zones / central business districts / streetcar suburbs / estates / shopping centers	mill villages / detached single-family housing neighborhoods / multi-family housing neighborhoods / apartment complexes / public housing projects / central business districts / war-related emergency housing / suburban tract developments / congregate housing / condominiums / summer colonies / estates / strip development / shopping centers / shopping malls
SOCIAL HISTORY / RECREATION / CULTURE	taverns	taverns / social halls / private libraries / commons / town greens	granges / social halls / libraries / museums / opera houses / movie theaters / dancehalls and ballrooms / YWCA and YMCA buildings / resort hotels / seasonal estates / seasonal lakeside cottages / campgrounds / golf courses / municipal parks / state parks / amusement parks / fairgrounds / zoos	granges / social halls / libraries / museums / movie theaters / concert halls / auditoriums / dancehalls and ballrooms / YWCA and YMCA buildings / hotels / motels / resort hotels / seasonal estates / seasonal lakeside cottages / campgrounds / marinas / golf courses / country clubs / health clubs / swimming pools / athletic stadiums / gymnasiums / sports arenas / municipal parks / playgrounds / playscapes / state parks / fairgrounds / zoos / fish hatchery

	COLONIAL PERIOD 1614-1780	AGRICULTURAL AND EARLY INDUSTRIAL PERIOD 1780-1850	INDUSTRIAL AND URBAN GROWTH PERIOD 1850-1930	MODERN PERIOD 1930-1990
TRANSPORTATION	wharves / ferry crossings / bridges / trails / post roads / taverns	ships / steamboat docks / wharves / ferry crossings / bridges / post roads / stage roads / stagecoach taverns / livery stables / turnpikes / tollgates / tollhouses / train stations / train depots / freight yards / railroad rights-of-way / tunnels	ships / steamboat docks / wharves / bridges / turnpikes / hotels / livery stables / train stations / train depots / freight yards / railroad rights-of-way / streetcar barns / Trunk Line highways / State Aid roads / tourist courts	bridges / interstate highways / state highways / hotels / motels / train stations / train depots / freight yards / railroad rights-of-way / bus stations / airports

VIII. PROTECTION PROGRAM/ACTIVITY NARRATIVE

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 Section 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 surveys, 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 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.

Prepared by the
Connecticut Historical Commission

IX. EASTERN UPLANDS PROTECTION PROGRAM / ACTIVITY TABLE

FEDERAL PROTECTION PROGRAMS

STATE AND LOCAL PROTECTION ACTIVITIES

PROGRAM / ACTIVITY	Andover	Ashford	Bolton	Bozrah	Brooklyn	Canterbury	Chaplin	Colchester	Columbia	Coventry	Eastford
Historic Resource Survey	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					
State Register Listing	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Preservation Plan									X	X	
Cultural Resource Planning Map										X	X
Overlay Zoning					X		X				
Demolition Delay Ordinance										X	
State Scenic Roads Designation					X	X					
Municipal Scenic Roads Designation		X					X			X	
National Register Land Record Citation											
Design Review Board											
Municipal Preservation Board											
Local Historic District / Property Study Committee					X						
Local Historic District / Property Commission							X	X			
Local Historic Preservation Trust								X			
Municipal Preservation Planner											
Municipal Historian	X			X				X	X	X	X
Tax Abatement										X	
Assessment Deferral										X	

PROGRAM / ACTIVITY	East Haddam	East Hampton	Franklin	Griswold	Haddam	Hampton	Hebron	Killingly	Lebanon	Lisbon	Mansfield
Historic Resource Survey	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		
State Register Listing	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Preservation Plan	X	X								X	
Cultural Resource Planning Map	X	X						X			
Overlay Zoning	X	X									
Demolition Delay Ordinance											
State Scenic Roads Designation										X	
Municipal Scenic Roads Designation	X							X	X		X
National Register Land Record Citation											
Design Review Board		X									X
Municipal Preservation Board											
Local Historic District/ Property Study Committee			X		X	X	X		X		
Local Historic District/ Property Commission	X	X						X			X
Local Historic Preservation Trust											X
Municipal Preservation Planner		X		X					X		
Municipal Historian	X	X		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Tax Abatement										X	
Assessment Deferral											

FEDERAL ---------- PROTECTION PROGRAMS

---------- STATE AND LOCAL PROTECTION ACTIVITIES ----------

PROGRAM / ACTIVITY	Marlborough	Montville	North Stonington	Norwich	Plainfield	Pomfret	Preston	Putnam	Salem	Scotland	Sprague
Historic Resource Survey	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 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											
Demolition Delay Ordinance				X							
State Scenic Roads Designation				X		X					
Municipal Scenic Roads Designation											
National Register Land Record Citation											
Design Review Board			X								
Municipal Preservation Board											
Local Historic District / Property Study Committee								X			
Local Historic District / Property Commission				X							
Local Historic Preservation Trust				X							
Municipal Preservation Planner				X							
Municipal Historian	X		X	X	X			X		X	X
Tax Abatement											
Assessment Deferral				X				X			

FEDERAL PROTECTION PROGRAMS

STATE AND LOCAL PROTECTION ACTIVITIES

PROGRAM / ACTIVITY	Stafford	Sterling	Thompson	Tolland	Union	Voluntown	Willington	Windham	Woodstock		
Historic Resource Survey	X	X	X					X	X		
Certified Local Government Status				X							
National Register Listing	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		
National Historic Landmark Listing									X		
State Register Listing	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		
Preservation Plan				X			X				
Cultural Resource Planning Map							X				
Overlay Zoning			X								
Demolition Delay Ordinance											
State Scenic Roads Designation									X		
Municipal Scenic Roads Designation			X						X		
National Register Land Record Citation											
Design Review Board											
Municipal Preservation Board											
Local Historic District / Property Study Committee	X		X					X			
Local Historic District / Property Commission		X		X			X		X		
Local Historic Preservation Trust											
Municipal Preservation Planner							X				
Municipal Historian				X	X		X		X		
Tax Abatement							X				
Assessment Deferral							X				

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 events; 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. EASTERN UPLANDS RESOURCES LISTED ON NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES

The listings below are alphabetized by resource name within the 42 towns of the Eastern Uplands, which also 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 September 1, 1992.

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

ANDOVER

WHITE'S TAVERN, 131 US 6, 07/26/91

ASHFORD

ASHFORD ACADEMY, Fitts Rd., 12/29/88
CHURCH FARM, 396 Mansfield Rd., 11/16/88

BOLTON

CONE, JARED, HOUSE, 25 Hebron Rd., 02/21/90

BOZRAH

BOZRAH CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH AND PARSONAGE, 17 and 23 Bozrah Street, 07/26/91

BROOKLYN

BROOKLYN GREEN HISTORIC DISTRICT, CT 169, CT 205, CT 6, Wolf Den, Brown, Prince Hill, and Hyde Rds., 09/23/82
BUSH HILL HISTORIC DISTRICT, Parts of Bush Hill Rd., CT 169, and Wolf Den Rd., 02/10/87
PUTNAM FARM, Spaulding Rd., 03/11/82
QUINEBAUG MILL-QUEBEC SQUARE HISTORIC DISTRICT (also in Killingly), Roughly bounded by Quinebaug River, Quebec Square, Elm and S. Main Sts., 08/29/82

TRINITY CHURCH, Church St., 10/15/70
UNITARIAN MEETINGHOUSE (Second Congregational Church of Pomfret), S.W. corner of jct. of CT 169 and CT 6, 11/09/72

CANTERBURY

CLARK, CAPT. JOHN, HOUSE (Dyer [Dyar]-Clark House), Rt. 169, 10/06/70
CRANDALL, PRUDENCE, HOUSE (Elisha Payne House), Jct. of CT 14 and CT 169, 10/22/70, HABS, NHL
WHEELER, JONATHAN, HOUSE, North Society Rd., 02/11/82

CHAPLIN

CHAPLIN HISTORIC DISTRICT, Chaplin St., 10/11/78, LHD
WITTER HOUSE, Chaplin St., 10/06/70

COLCHESTER

BACON ACADEMY, S. Main St., 04/27/82
BLACKLEDGE RIVER RAILROAD BRIDGE, Former Air Line Railroad right-of-way and Blackledge River, 07/31/86
CHAMPION, HENRY, HOUSE, Westchester Rd., 09/08/72
HAYWARD HOUSE (Dudley Wright-Dr. Watrous-Nathaniel Hayward House), 9 Hayward Ave., 10/18/72, HABS
LYMAN VIADUCT, Dickinson Creek and former Air Line Railroad right-of-way, 08/21/86
RIVER ROAD STONE ARCH RAILROAD BRIDGE, River Road and former Air Line Railroad right-of-way, 08/21/86

COLUMBIA

COLUMBIA GREEN HISTORIC DISTRICT, Along CT 87 at jct. with CT 66, 12/06/90

COVENTRY

BRIGHAM'S TAVERN, 12 Boston Tpke., 03/25/82
CAPRON-PHILLIPS HOUSE, 1129 Main St., 04/27/82
COVENTRY GLASS FACTORY HISTORIC DISTRICT, US 44 and N. River Rd., 08/27/87
HALE, NATHAN, HOMESTEAD (Deacon Richard Hale House), South St., 10/22/70
PARKER-HUTCHINSON FARM (Samuel Parker House), Parker Bridge Rd., 08/29/82
SOUTH COVENTRY HISTORIC DISTRICT, Roughly, Main St. and adjacent streets from Armstrong Rd. to Lake St., and Lake St. from High St. to Main St., 05/06/91
SPRAGUE, ELIAS, HOUSE, 2187 South St., 11/02/87
STRONG HOUSE, 2382 South St., 01/15/88

EASTFORD

BOSWORTH, BENJAMIN, HOUSE (Squire Bosworth's Castle), John Perry Rd., 02/17/78
NATCHAUG FOREST LUMBER SHED (CONNECTICUT STATE PARK AND FOREST DEPRESSION-ERA FEDERAL WORK RELIEF PROGRAMS STRUCTURES TR), Kingsbury Rd. in Natchaug State Forest, 09/04/86
SUMNER-CARPENTER HOUSE, 333 Old Colony Rd., 12/26/91

EAST HADDAM

DAY, AMASA, HOUSE, Plains Rd., 09/22/72
EAST HADDAM HISTORIC DISTRICT, CT 149, Broom, Norwich, Creamery, Lumberyard, and Landing Hill Rds., 04/29/83, LHD
THE GOODSPEED OPERA HOUSE, Norwich Rd., 07/30/71
HADLYME NORTH HISTORIC DISTRICT, Roughly bounded by CT 82, Town St., Banning Rd., and Old Town St., 12/08/88
LOWER CONNECTICUT VALLEY WOODLAND PERIOD ARCHAEOLOGICAL TR (also in Haddam, Lyme, and Old Lyme), 07/31/87
ROARING BROOK I SITE (LOWER CONNECTICUT RIVER VALLEY WOODLAND PERIOD ARCHAEOLOGICAL TR), 07/31/87
ROARING BROOK II SITE (LOWER CONNECTICUT RIVER VALLEY WOODLAND PERIOD ARCHAEOLOGICAL TR), 07/31/87
SEVENTH SISTER (Gillette Castle), 67 River Rd., 07/31/86
WARNER HOUSE, 307 Town St., 02/19/87

EAST HAMPTON

BELLTOWN HISTORIC DISTRICT, Roughly bounded by W. High and Main Sts., Bevin Ct., Skinner, Crescent, Barton Hill, and Maple Sts., 10/28/85
COMSTOCK'S BRIDGE, CT 16 at Salmon River, 01/01/76
MIDDLE HADDAM HISTORIC DISTRICT, Moodus and Long Hill Rds., 02/03/84 , LHD
RAPALLO VIADUCT, Flat Brook and former Air Line Railroad right-of-way, 08/21/86

FRANKLIN

WOODWARD, ASHBEL, HOUSE, 387 Rt. 32, 04/08/92

GRISWOLD

AVERY HOUSE (CONNECTICUT STATE PARK AND FOREST DEPRESSION-ERA FEDERAL WORK RELIEF PROGRAMS STRUCTURES TR), N.E. corner Park and Roode Rds., 09/04/86
WILSON, JOHN, HOUSE, 11 Ashland St., 08/23/85

HADDAM

HADDAM CENTER HISTORIC DISTRICT, Roughly 2.5 mi. along Walkley Rd. and CT 154/Saybrook Rd., 02/09/89

HAZELTON, JAMES, HOUSE, 23 Hayden Hill Rd., 11/16/88

HAMPTON

HAMPTON HILL HISTORIC DISTRICT, Main St., Old Rt. 6, and Cedar Swamp Rd., 09/23/82

HEBRON

POST, AUGUSTUS, HOUSE, 4 Main St., 06/28/82

KILLINGLY

DANIEL'S VILLAGE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITE, Hwy. 21, 03/30/78
DANIELSON MAIN STREET HISTORIC DISTRICT, Main St. from Water St. to Spring St., 04/08/92
DAYVILLE HISTORIC DISTRICT, Main and Pleasant Sts., 08/25/88
ELLIOTTVILLE LOWER MILL, Peep Toad Rd., 04/15/82
KILLINGLY HIGH SCHOOL, OLD, 185 Broad St., 03/26/92
QUINEBAUG MILL-QUEBEC SQUARE HISTORIC DISTRICT (also in Brooklyn), Roughly bounded by Quinebaug River, Quebec Square, Elm and S. Main Sts., 08/29/85

LEBANON

CLARK HOMESTEAD, Madley Rd., 12/01/78
LEBANON GREEN HISTORIC DISTRICT, CT 87, CT 207, and CT 289, W. Town St., and Kolar Dr., 06/04/79
TRUMBULL, JOHN, BIRTHPLACE, Lebanon Green, 10/15/66 , NHL, HABS
WAR OFFICE, Town Green, Colchester Rd., CT 207, 10/06/70
WILLIAMS, WILLIAM, HOUSE, CT 87 and CT 207, 11/11/71 , NHL

LISBON

CLARK, ANDREW, HOUSE, Ross Hill Rd., 06/28/79
LATHROP-MATHEWSON-ROSS HOUSE, Ross Hill Rd., 04/15/82

MANSFIELD

GURLEYVILLE HISTORIC DISTRICT, N. of Mansfield Center off CT 195 at jct. of Gurleyville and Chaffeeville Rds., 10/30/75
MANSFIELD CENTER CEMETERY, Jct. of Storrs and Cemetery Rds., 07/24/92
MANSFIELD CENTER HISTORIC DISTRICT, Vicinity of Storrs, Dodd, Warrenville, and Browns Rds., 02/23/72, LHD
MANSFIELD HOLLOW HISTORIC DISTRICT, 86-127 Mansfield Hollow Rd., 05/21/79, LHD
MANSFIELD TRAINING SCHOOL AND HOSPITAL (District), Jct. of CT 32 and CT 44, 12/22/87
SPRING HILL HISTORIC DISTRICT, Storrs Rd., East Rd., and Beebe Ln., 10/10/79, LHD

UNIVERSITY OF CONNECTICUT HISTORIC DISTRICT-CONNECTICUT AGRICULTURAL SCHOOL, Roughly, CT 195/Storrs Rd. at Eagleville Rd., 01/31/89
WILLIAMS, ELEAZER, HOUSE, Storrs Rd., 03/11/71

MARLBOROUGH

MARLBOROUGH TAVERN (**Col. Elisha Buell House**), Rts. 2 and 66, 12/06/78

MONTVILLE

FORT SHANTOK, Fort Shantok State Park, 03/20/86
RAYMOND-BRADFORD HOMESTEAD, Raymond Hill Rd., 04/16/82

NORTH STONINGTON

MINER, SAMUEL, HOUSE (**Amos Hewitt House**), Hewitt Rd., 06/18/76
NORTH STONINGTON VILLAGE HISTORIC DISTRICT, Vicinity of CT 2, 03/17/83
PALMER, LUTHER, HOUSE (Pauchhunganuc Farm), Rt. 49, 10/04/79
RANDALL, JOHN, HOUSE, CT 2, 12/01/78

NORWICH

AMERICAN THERMOS BOTTLE COMPANY LAUREL HILL PLANT, 11 Thermos Ave., 07/17/89
BACKUS, NATHANIEL, HOUSE, 44 Rockwell St., 10/06/70
BEAN HILL HISTORIC DISTRICT, Huntington Ave., Sylvia Ln., Vergason Ave., and W. Town St., 11/08/82
BRADFORD-HUNTINGTON HOUSE, 16 Huntington Ln., 10/06/70, HABS
BROAD STREET SCHOOL, 100 Broad St., 01/19/84
BUCKINGHAM, WILLIAM A., HOUSE (**Buckingham Memorial Building**), 307 Main St., 04/29/82
CARPENTER HOUSE (**Red House**), 55 E. Town St., 10/14/70, HABS
CARPENTER, JOSEPH, SILVERSMITH SHOP, 71 E. Town St., 10/06/70
CARROLL BUILDING (**Flat Iron Building**), 9-15 Main St., 14-20 Water St., 11/14/82
CHARLTON, CAPT. RICHARD, HOUSE, 12 Mediterranean Ln., 10/15/70, HABS
CHELSEA PARADE HISTORIC DISTRICT, Roughly bounded by Crescent, Broad, Grove, McKinley, Perkins, Slater, Buckingham, Maple Grove, Washington, and Lincoln Sts., 05/12/89
CONVERSE HOUSE AND BARN, 185 Washington St., 10/06/70, HABS
DOWNTOWN NORWICH HISTORIC DISTRICT, Roughly bounded by Union Sq., Park, Main and Shetland Sts., and Washington Sq., 04/04/85
EAST DISTRICT SCHOOL, 365 Washington St., 10/28/70
HUNTINGTON, COL. JOSHUA, HOUSE, 11 Huntington Ln., 02/23/72
HUNTINGTON, GEN. JEDIDIAH, HOUSE, 23 E. Town St., 10/06/70
HUNTINGTON, GOV. SAMUEL, HOUSE, 34 E. Town St., 10/06/70
LATHROP, DR. DANIEL, SCHOOL, 69 E. Town St., 12/29/70
LATHROP, DR. JOSHUA, HOUSE, 377 Washington St., 12/29/70, HABS
LAUREL HILL HISTORIC DISTRICT, Roughly bounded by Spruce St., Rogers and River Aves., and Talman St., 10/26/87

LEFFINGWELL INN, 348 Washington St., 12/29/70, HABS
LITTLE PLAIN HISTORIC DISTRICT, Both sides of Union St. and Broadway and Huntington Pl. in irregular pattern, 10/15/70, HABS, LHD
LITTLE PLAIN HISTORIC DISTRICT (BOUNDARY INCREASE), 120-156 Broadway and 10-88 Union St., 01/12/87
NORWICH HOSPITAL DISTRICT, CT 12, 01/22/88
NORWICH TOWN HALL, Union St. and Broadway, 12/22/83
NORWICHTOWN HISTORIC DISTRICT, E. Town St., Elm Ave., Huntington Ln., Mediterranean Ln., Washington St., 01/17/73, LHD
PERKINS-ROCKWELL HOUSE, 42 Rockwell St., 10/17/85
TAFTVILLE (Ponemah Mill District), CT 93 and CT 97, 12/01/78
TELEPHONE EXCHANGE BUILDING (Site), 23 Union St., 11/28/83
TURNER, DR. PHILIP, HOUSE, 29 W. Town St., 10/15/70
U.S. POST OFFICE-NORWICH MAIN, 340 Main St., 07/17/86
YANTIC FALLS HISTORIC DISTRICT, Yantic St., 06/28/72

PLAINFIELD

CENTRAL VILLAGE HISTORIC DISTRICT, Roughly, School, Main and Water Sts., and Putnam Rd. N. to Plainfield High School, 08/09/91
FIRST CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH OF PLAINFIELD, CT 12, 07/31/86
PLAINFIELD STREET HISTORIC DISTRICT, Roughly, Norwich Rd. from Railroad Ave. to Academy Hill Rd., 04/11/91
PLAINFIELD WOOLEN COMPANY MILL, Main St., 08/29/85
STERLING HILL HISTORIC DISTRICT (also in Sterling), Green Ln. and CT 14A, 02/06/86
WAUREGAN HISTORIC DISTRICT, Front, Grove, Lane, N. Chestnut, N. Walnut, S. Chestnut, and S. Walnut Sts.; Parts of Brooklyn, Moosup, Pond, Putnam Rds., 08/24/79

POMFRET

ABINGTON CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH, Rt. 97, 09/19/77
BRAYTON GRIST MILL, US 44, 06/13/86
POMFRET TOWN HOUSE, Town House Rd., 01/19/89
PUTNAM, ISRAEL, WOLF DEN, Off Wolf Den Dr., 05/02/85

PRESTON

LONG SOCIETY MEETINGHOUSE, Old Shetucket Rd., 04/22/76
PRESTON CITY HISTORIC DISTRICT, Amos, Old Shetucket, and N.W. Corner Rds., and CT 164, 07/31/87

PUTNAM

ISRAEL PUTNAM SCHOOL, School and Oak Sts., 12/13/84

SALEM

FISH, ABEL, HOUSE, Corner of Buckley Hill and Rathbun Hill Rds., 03/02/82

SALEM HISTORIC DISTRICT, CT 85, 09/22/80
TIFFANY, SIMON, HOUSE, Darling Rd., 06/30/83

SCOTLAND

HUNTINGTON, SAMUEL, BIRTHPLACE, CT 14, 2 mi. W. of CT 97, 11/11/71, NHL
WALDO, EDWARD, HOUSE, Waldo Rd., 11/21/78

SPRAGUE

ASHLAWN (Joshua Perkins House), 1 Potash Hill Rd., 06/15/79
BALTIC HISTORIC DISTRICT, Roughly bounded by Fifth Ave., River, High, Main, and W. Main Sts., and Shetucket River, 08/03/87

STAFFORD

STAFFORD HOLLOW HISTORIC DISTRICT, Roughly parts of Leonard, Murphy, Old Monson, Orcuttville, and Patten Rds., 10/15/87

STERLING

STERLING HILL HISTORIC DISTRICT (also in Plainfield), Green Ln. and CT 14A, 02/06/86

THOMPSON

NICHOLS, GEORGE PICKERING, HOUSE, 42 Thompson Rd., 07/31/91
RAMSDELL, HEZEKIAH S., FARM, Ramsdell Rd., 08/23/90
THOMPSON HILL HISTORIC DISTRICT, Chase and Quaddick Rds., CT 193 and CT 200, 12/31/87

TOLLAND

CADY, JOHN, HOUSE, 484 Mile Hill Rd., 04/12/82
TOLLAND COUNTY COURTHOUSE, 53 Tolland Green, 09/15/77

UNION

UNION GREEN HISTORIC DISTRICT, Roughly, area N. of jct. of Buckley Hwy. and Cemetery Rd. to jct. of Kinney Hollow and Town Hall Rds., 07/19/90

VOLUNTOWN

WYLIE SCHOOL, Jct. of Ekonk Hill and Wylie School Rds., 12/10/91

WILLINGTON

WILLINGTON COMMON HISTORIC DISTRICT, Properties around Willington Common and E. on Tolland Tnpk. past Old Farms Rd., 12/18/90

WINDHAM

HUNT, DR. CHESTER, OFFICE, Windham Center, Rd., 10/06/70
JILLSON, WILLIAM, STONEHOUSE, 561 Main St., 08/05/71
MAIN STREET HISTORIC DISTRICT, 21-65 Church St., 607-1009 Main St., 24-28 North St., 20-22 Walnut St., 06/28/82
MAIN STREET HISTORIC DISTRICT (BOUNDARY INCREASE), 32, 50, and 54 North St., 07/29/92
WILLIMANTIC ARMORY, Pleasant St., 09/12/85
WILLIMANTIC FOOTBRIDGE, Railroad St., 04/19/79
WILLIMANTIC FREIGHT HOUSE AND OFFICE, Bridge St., 06/14/82
WINDHAM CENTER HISTORIC DISTRICT, CT 14 and CT 203, 06/04/79

WOODSTOCK

BOWEN, HENRY C., HOUSE, CT 169, 08/24/77, NHL
BOWEN, MATTHEW, HOMESTEAD, Plaine Hill Rd., 09/10/87
TAYLOR'S CORNER, Rt. 171, 01/19/89
WOODSTOCK ACADEMY CLASSROOM BUILDING, Academy Rd., 02/16/84