HISTORIC PRESERVATION IN CONNECTICUT

VOLUME IV

Western Uplands:
Historical and Architectural Overview
and
Management Guide

1996

Geoffrey L. Rossano

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Management Guide

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STATE OF CONNECTICUT

CONNECTICUT HISTORICAL COMMISSION

LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

Historic Preservation in Connecticut, Volume IV, Western Uplands: Historical and Architectural Overview and Management Guide is part of the Connecticut Historical Commission's six-part, regionally based series of planning documents on the history and architecture of Connecticut. Since 1992, volumes have been published on the Western Coastal Slope, Eastern Uplands, and Central Valley regions.

Intended for a wide audience--the general reader, student of history, elected officials, governmental agencies, and preservation organizations--the report provides:

- a discussion of major patterns of regional development and architectural styles as a framework for identifying local historic and architectural resources;
- a description of essential federal and state legal tools to protect historic properties; and
- a town-based listing of historic resource surveys and properties on the National Register of Historic Places.

For 40 years the Connecticut Historical Commission has implemented a variety of federal and state programs to help residents recognize and secure a future for individual buildings, neighborhoods, and sites that make their towns special. As a new century approaches, community planning will assume ever greater importance. The Connecticut Historical Commission's comprehensive planning series will assist the state's citizens in safeguarding our historical heritage for future generations.

John W. Shannahan
Director and State Historic
Preservation Officer

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AN EQUAL OPPORTUNITY EMPLOYER

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EXECUTIVE CHAMBERS
HARTFORD, CONNECTICUT
06106

JOHN G. ROWLAND
GOVERNOR

FOREWORD

One of New England's greatest treasures is the extensive colonial heritage of Connecticut, dating back to the mid-17th century. Virtually every city and town in our State is highlighted by a village green, an intriguing mélange of architecture, or an historic meeting house.

The Connecticut Historical Commission, the State's historic preservation agency, has helped protect Connecticut's distinguished architectural and cultural heritage for over 40 years. As part of this preservation effort, the Commission is issuing a series of planning reports on the State's six geographic/cultural regions.

Volume IV of *Historic Preservation in Connecticut* is entitled, "Western Uplands: Historical and Architectural Overview and Management Guide." In this volume, author Geoffrey L. Rossano focuses on a 33-town area, particularly the industrial might of the Naugatuck River Valley during the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

The Connecticut Historical Commission has played a vital role in the preservation of our State. As we approach the 21st century, I urge our citizens to continue this legacy for future generations.

Sincerely,

John G. Rowland
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 130 towns in Connecticut have been partially or fully surveyed, resulting in over 75,000 historic buildings and archaeological sites being included in the Statewide Historic Resource Inventory. In further recognition of their historical, architectural, or archaeological significance, over 39,000 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 Western Uplands is the fourth. 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.

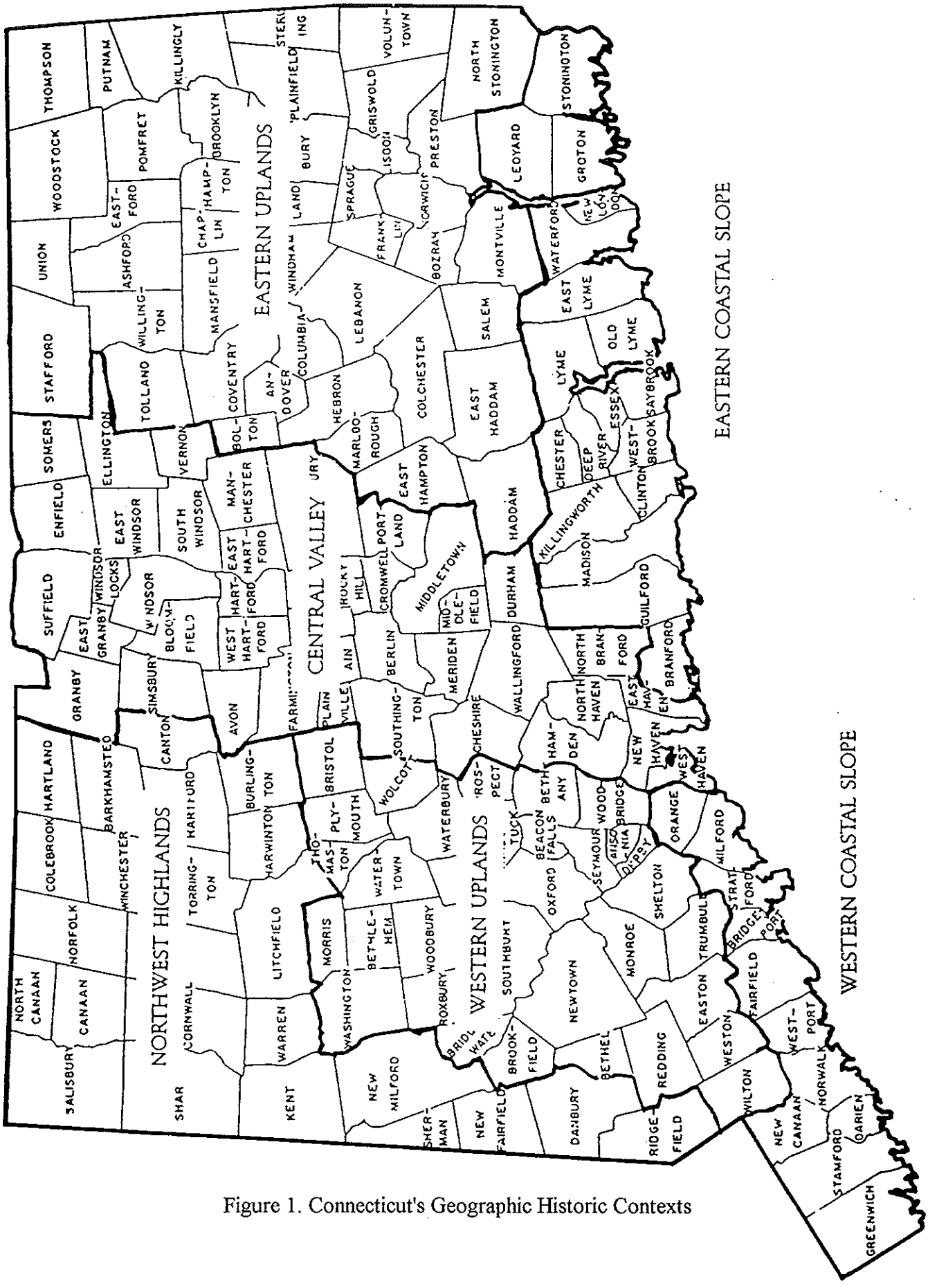

Figure 1. Connecticut's Geographic Historic Contexts

Part 1

Historical and Architectural Overview

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

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

Town	Date
Ansonia	1889 (from Derby)
Beacon Falls	1871 (from Bethany, Naugatuck, Oxford, and Seymour)
Bethany	1832 (from Woodbridge)
Bethel	1855 (from Danbury)
Bethlehem	1787 (from Woodbury)
Bridgewater	1856 (from New Milford)
Bristol	1785 (from Farmington)
Brookfield	1788 (from Danbury, New Milford, and Newtown)
Derby	1675 (first settled c. 1651)
Easton	1845 (from Weston)
Middlebury	1807 (from Southbury, Waterbury, and Woodbury)
Monroe	1823 (from Huntington/Shelton)
Morris	1859 (from Litchfield)
Naugatuck	1844 (from Bethany, Oxford, and Waterbury)
Newtown	1708
Oxford	1798 (from Derby)
Plymouth	1795 (from Waterbury)
Prospect	1827 (from Cheshire and Waterbury)
Redding	1767
Roxbury	1796 (from Woodbury)
Seymour	1850 (from Derby)
Shelton	1789 (from Stratford)
Southbury	1787 (from Woodbury)
Thomaston	1875 (from Plymouth)
Trumbull	1797 (from Stratford)
Washington	1779 (from Woodbury)
Waterbury	1674

Watertown	1780 (from Waterbury)
Weston	1787 (from Fairfield)
Wilton	1802 (from Norwalk)
Wolcott	1796 (from Southington and Waterbury)
Woodbridge	1784 (from Milford and New Haven)
Woodbury	1673

I. CHARACTER OF THE LAND

The Western Uplands Geographic Historic Context, lying between the Central Valley, Northwest Highlands, and Western Coastal Slope Geographic Historic Contexts, encompasses a broad swath of western Connecticut, extending approximately 35 miles from north to south and 25 miles from east to west. Within the boundaries of the Western Uplands lie 33 towns and cities situated in four counties--Fairfield, Hartford, Litchfield, and New Haven. Constituent communities are Ansonia, Beacon Falls, Bethany, Bethel, Bethlehem, Bridgewater, Bristol, Brookfield, Derby, Easton, Middlebury, Monroe, Morris, Naugatuck, Newtown, Oxford, Plymouth, Prospect, Redding, Roxbury, Seymour, Shelton, Southbury, Thomaston, Trumbull, Washington, Waterbury, Watertown, Weston, Wilton, Wolcott, Woodbridge, and Woodbury.

The combined population of these towns and cities currently exceeds 550,000, approximately one-sixth of Connecticut's total population. Bristol, Naugatuck, Shelton, and Trumbull each contain more than 30,000 residents, and Waterbury's 109,000 inhabitants represent the most populous concentration in the region, as well as the fourth highest in the state. In contrast, Bridgewater, Morris, and Roxbury contain 2,000 or fewer inhabitants. Typically, urban centers in the Western Uplands have lost population in recent years, while suburban communities and exurban towns have grown markedly.

Three distinct subdivisions can be discerned within the Western Uplands. The Naugatuck River corridor (Ansonia, Derby, Naugatuck, Seymour, Shelton, Thomaston, and Waterbury, and Bristol to the east) is heavily urbanized and characterized by high population densities. East and west of the Naugatuck River, and also south of the Housatonic River, lie many communities now largely suburban in nature. Some, like Easton, Redding, Weston, and Woodbridge, are largely residential with much undeveloped land which imparts a rural "feel," while others, such as Middlebury, Newtown, Southbury, Watertown, and Wilton, accommodate significant commercial activities as well. Finally, a few towns within the Western Uplands remain largely rural in character, with extensive open space, active farming operations, and very low population densities. Bethlehem, Bridgewater, Morris, and Roxbury are typical of these communities.

The Western Uplands contain varied topography, including gentle hills, alluvial intervales, rugged uplands, and innumerable rivers and streams, some of considerable size and power. Bold and irregular hills and deep valleys dominate much of the Western Uplands, hence the name. The land rises towards the north and west, eventually merging with the foothills of the Berkshire Mountains. Hills and ridge lines generally run from north to south.

Local geography has continually affected settlement and development patterns within the region. Gentle hills overlooking the outwash plain along Long Island Sound proved particularly inviting for early agricultural efforts, while rugged hills farther north inhibited settlement for many decades. Rapidly flowing streams powered both colonial mills and great industrial complexes. These same rivers and streams provided the water necessary to sustain large urban communities

such as Bridgeport and Waterbury. Configuration of hills and river valleys facilitated north-south travel, whether by turnpike, railroad, or automobile, but impeded movement from east to west. Connecticut's geological history, the story behind these topographical features, extends backward nearly one billion years, to the end of the Archeozoic age, when submerged marine deposits folded back upon themselves to create high mountains. Approximately 400,000,000 years ago during the Paleozoic era the land which underlay Connecticut rose, and by the end of the era huge snow and ice-covered mountains towered as much as 30,000 feet above the countryside. Most Connecticut bedrock dates from this period. With the arrival of the Mesozoic era 200,000,000 years ago, a process of erosion commenced, eventually wearing down the mountains until they had disappeared, with the surface of the land then constituting a rolling peneplain laced with sluggish streams.

The Cenozoic period, approximately 60,000,000 years ago, coincided with a phenomenon known as the Tertiary Uplift, as Connecticut's land surface tilted upward along a fairly even incline, with the northwest corner the highest point and the southeast the lowest. Formerly sluggish streams accelerated, increasing their eroding power and creating the river valleys and hills seen today. The present surface of the state results from this natural "etching" process. Repeated glaciation, product of several ice ages, the last of which began approximately 85,000 years ago, constituted the final factor shaping the state's topography. The ice reached its greatest extent 25,000 years ago and began to retreat 7,000 years later, with the most recent episode of glaciation ending barely 10,000 years ago. Great ice sheets carried vast quantities of soil and rock southward, depositing the load on Long Island and in Long Island Sound and replacing it with soil and boulders from northern New England. Though the general contours of preexisting valleys and highlands remained largely unaltered, the ice relentlessly ground, gouged, scraped, and polished the landscape. Advancing and receding glaciers also modified earlier drainage patterns, changing the course of some rivers and helping form the hundreds of lakes and swamps which dot the region today.

Topographical features encountered across the Western Uplands reflect this geological history, and vary greatly within the space of only 10 or 20 miles. Towns in northern Fairfield County abutting narrow coastal plain contain gently rolling hills and dales, but no mountainous sections. Southwestern New Haven County is similarly marked by low hills and gentle streams, and the beginning of the outwash plain. Elevations vary from 300 to 600 feet above sea level. In northern New Haven County, however, the surface becomes more rugged, with a few heights approaching 1,000 feet above sea level, laced with innumerable small streams, and cut by deep gorges of the Naugatuck and Housatonic Rivers. That portion of the Western Uplands lying within Litchfield County is the most elevated and broken, the heights more precipitous, with a few reaching nearly 1,300 feet above sea level as the Berkshire Mountains loom in the distance.

The Housatonic, which flows southward from the far northwestern corner of Massachusetts, is the chief river of western Connecticut, and traces a winding course from the Massachusetts border to Long Island Sound. Its principal tributary is the Naugatuck, which originates in northern Litchfield County, flows almost directly south, and joins the Housatonic in Derby. Along the course of both rivers can be found alluvial lands which vary greatly in width, but are frequently flanked by precipitous heights. Other important tributaries of the Housatonic include

the Shepaug, Pomperaug, Eight Mile, and Weekeepeemee Rivers. In the southern tier of the Western Uplands several smaller rivers empty directly into Long Island Sound, such as the Pequonnock, Wepawaug, Saugatuck, and Aspetuck.

Early settlers in the Western Uplands altered the topography by clearing vast stands of virgin timber, draining swamps, and erecting small dams to power mills. Inadvertently, their activities also increased the severity of naturally occurring floods. Large-scale industry in the nineteenth century required more elaborate waterpower projects, including larger dams and complex hydraulic systems. Building roads, turnpikes, and then railroads necessitated grading, filling, cutting, and blasting, as well as construction of numerous bridges. In the twentieth century introduction of paved roads to accommodate automobile traffic created a web of concrete which entwines all portions of the region. This grid became most evident in the second half of the century with development of four and six-lane highways, such as State Route 8, which winds northward through the Naugatuck River Valley; Interstate 84, which traverses the Western Uplands from Danbury to Waterbury; improved U. S. Route 202, north of Danbury; and State Route 25, which ascends the valley of the Pequonnock River north of Bridgeport. These massive projects required leveling, blasting, and cutting hills, and erecting bridges and interchanges which rival in scale the landscape which surrounds them.

By far the most dramatic topographical changes, however, resulted from construction of numerous large dams and impoundment of extensive lakes for purposes of flood control, power generation, recreation, and public water supply. In the process broad valleys and narrow gorges disappeared, filled instead with billions of gallons of water. Rivers were tamed and controlled, creating calm lakes where rapids formerly rushed. Projects in the Waterbury region included Thomaston Dam/Thomaston Reservoir, Northfield Brook Reservoir, Pitch-Morris-Wigwam Reservoirs, Hancock Brook Reservoir, Fall Mountain Lake, Scovill Reservoir, and Lake Winnemaug. The Housatonic River was dammed and tamed for four miles above Shelton, and a further 15 miles above the Stevenson and Shepaug Dams, creating Lake Zoar and Lake Lillinonah, respectively. Much of Easton and Weston was inundated by Easton, Hemlock, Aspectuck, and Saugatuck Reservoirs, created to slake the thirst of Bridgeport. Bordering Brookfield to the west is Candlewood Lake, created in the 1920s by the Connecticut Light and Power Company; it is the largest lake in the state.

II. COLONIAL PERIOD 1614-1780

The colonial society which developed within the Western Uplands during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries was essentially homogeneous. Widely separated agricultural villages and hamlets peopled by Anglo-Saxon immigrants tended to look alike, initially recreating many of the folk farming and building customs of late medieval England. Puritan/Congregational religious practices formed the centerpiece of social life. Settlers' basic needs included food and shelter, and residents rapidly exploited abundant natural resources to meet those needs.

Access to land defined the colonial hierarchy, with members of the community ranked by wealth and influence. Prominent landowners stood atop the social pyramid, followed by yeoman farmers, artisans and craftspeople, landless young, servants, Native Americans, and blacks. Social and political mores required each class to pay deference to its betters, with a "Standing Order" of magistrates, merchants, and ministers setting the tone and direction for others to follow.

Settlement typically occurred in three overlapping stages--nucleation, the creation of village centers; dispersal of population to outlying districts; and finally division into new and separate towns. Rapid development also caused wholesale displacement of Connecticut's Native American population, a process virtually completed by the third quarter of the eighteenth century. Colonists' success at establishing largely self-sufficient communities, as well as high birth and comparatively low death rates, eventually led to overpopulation, land shortages, and finally emigration, conditions which set the stage for the later industrial revolution. During the same period sharp religious divisions heightened tensions within communities and undermined the formerly deferential Congregational polity. The American Revolution, which affected nearly all elements of local society, brought the colonial era to a close.

Native Americans

Prior to European settlement, a wide range of native tribes occupied Connecticut, most of whom belonged to the Mahican branch of the great eastern Algonquin group, speaking different dialects of the same language. The first paleo-Indians reached New England approximately 10,000 years ago, shortly after the end of the last ice age. At least one camp dating to that era has been excavated within the Western Uplands near the Shepaug River in Washington. Native Americans encountered by the first Europeans to visit the region likely entered Connecticut c.1,000 A.D. Over time they established discrete areas for habitation, agriculture, and hunting. Though nominally independent, all paid tribute to the Mohawks of the Iroquois Confederation which dominated much of neighboring New York State.

Quinnipiac bands occupied the southeastern corner of the region, while the Wepawaugs, who lived west of the Quinnipiacs, resided east of the mouth of the Housatonic River, especially in Milford, Stratford, and lower Derby, but they also claimed lands in Bethany, Huntington, Monroe, Trumbull, Monroe, and Woodbridge. North of the Wepawaugs, along the east side of the Housatonic River, lived the Paugassets, with their chief seat at the "Great Neck" (present Derby), between the Housatonic and Naugatuck Rivers, where they maintained a large fort, many wigwams, burial grounds, and extensive fields. They had earlier moved up from the coast to the lower end of the Naugatuck, later migrated to Pomperaug, and eventually broke up and almost became extinct. Some joined the nearby Potatucks, while others went to the country of the Six Nations (upstate New York), and still others may have joined the Schaghticoke Indians in Kent or the Stockbridge Indians in Massachusetts. A few of their descendants still live in the Western Uplands at the Golden Hill Reservation in Trumbull.

On the west side of the Housatonic lived the Potatucks, especially in present Shelton. Other Potatuck clans occupied an area encompassing Southbury and Newtown, and extending northward along the Shepaug and Pomperaug Rivers as far as Bethlehem and Litchfield. In the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries the Potatucks sold most of their land to European settlers, reserving only a small village tract in Southbury. They later sold that land too, and surviving tribal members joined the Weantinocks in New Milford and the Schaghticokes in Kent. In fact, some evidence suggests that after 1710 the Schaghticokes largely consisted of remnants of various clans which had previously dwelt farther south and east and were of the larger Potatuck tribe.

Connecticut's tribal communities were typically semisedentary. They practiced simple horticulture, tilling the land with stone and wooden tools to raise corn, beans, squash, and tobacco on the alluvial river flats, and living in small villages during growing season. A village group formed the basic social unit, and this group relocated every six to ten years as local soils gave out. New fields were cleared by burning, and many of these clearings were later utilized by English settlers. Equally important, in addition to food crops, Native Americans supplemented their diet by gathering wild fruits, berries, and nuts. Seasonal hunting and fishing also played an important part in amassing sufficient food, and inhabitants migrated considerable distances to temporary hunting and fishing camps during the appropriate season. Forests, kept open through frequent burning of the undergrowth and crisscrossed with an extensive network of pathways, abounded with game. Each spring rivers swarmed with fish--shad, salmon, eels, and trout. Summers were spent at the shore drying oysters and other shellfish for later use. Interior inhabitants frequently traded dried venison with shore dwellers in exchange for dried shellfish. In winter the tribes broke into smaller groups and dispersed to temporary hunting camps in the forest.

While significant contact occurred in the sixteenth century, it was European settlement in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries which greatly impacted Native Americans at several levels. Diseases introduced caused many deaths, especially from smallpox, and led to wholesale depopulation of some regions and consolidation of various tribes. The natives themselves, who generally greeted the English with courtesy and cooperation, did not realize the extensive nature of European farming practices and the impact such practices would have on fish, game, and

forests. Most tribes sold land and relocated, though they sometimes reserved a portion for a village site and often retained the right to plant, hunt, and fish. European trade goods constituted the currency of such transactions, typically coats, blankets, kettles, knives, hatchets, wampum, trade beads, and weaponry. Many Indian land claims were mingled and overlapping. English founders of Woodbury, for example, purchased land from the Paugasetts of Derby in 1659 and from the Potatucks after 1673. Unlike other portions of the New England frontier bedeviled by hostility and open warfare, the Western Uplands experienced generally peaceful relations between natives and newcomers, and rather than resist, the Indians either relocated to reservations or lived on the margins of white society. Native Americans made baskets for sale, a practice which continued into the nineteenth century, and though their numbers declined steadily, some retained tracts of land until the end of the eighteenth century. Interments at an important burying place in Derby probably continued well into the eighteenth century.

Town Formation and Settlement Patterns

The Connecticut Colony experienced four overlapping but discernible stages of development between the 1630s and the end of the American Revolution, a pattern fully reflected in the history of the Western Uplands. These stages included settlement of the coast and major river valleys (1635-1675); settlement of interior uplands and secondary river valleys (1685-1734); movement to the northwest corner and rounding out colonial boundaries (1737-1761); and creation of new towns from older established communities (1767-1789 and afterward).

In the first era, occupation of the coast and principal river valleys (1635-1675), Puritan farmers and traders established four pockets of settlement in Connecticut--Hartford, New Haven, New London, and Saybrook. Many new inhabitants migrated directly from England or overland from Massachusetts Bay. In fact, more than 20,000 English emigrants reached Connecticut between 1632 and 1642. Each new settlement served as a nucleus for creation of additional nearby towns. Within the Western Uplands, for example, the Town of Derby on the banks of the Housatonic and Naugatuck Rivers was later established on land first purchased from Indians by New Haven leaders in the early 1650s. Emigrants from Stratford settled Woodbury in the early 1670s. In 1674 residents of Farmington, itself an offshoot of the Connecticut River towns, purchased a tract along the Naugatuck River which soon became the site of Waterbury. The desire for fertile land for present and future use constituted a primary motivation in nearly all cases. Groups of settlers negotiated purchases from local tribes or individual members, with inland towns generally being larger than coastal communities. River sites proved especially desirable due to broad intervales frequently encountered there and the routes they provided for transportation, trade, and communication. Settlers also sought streamlined hills suitable for cultivation and easily accessible meadows and woodlands.

Local village patterns reflected the traditional English plan already well established in the Massachusetts Bay Colony. In this initial stage the General Court granted title to lands to groups of proprietors as a corporate body, who in turn distributed individual allotments, with the remaining property held in common awaiting future divisions. Villagers obtained a small home

lot, as well as scattered pieces of plowland, wood lot, and meadow, with portions reserved for a meetinghouse and a minister. In Woodbury families obtained home lots varying in size from 10 to 25 acres; bachelors received five acres. Villages clustered around a communal town plot or green, with the meetinghouse occupying a prominent position and agricultural fields radiating outward from the center. Early maps and other records establish that this pattern held true in Derby, Waterbury, and Woodbury, the first towns established entirely within the Western Uplands.

During the second phase of settlement (1685-1734), characterized by occupation of interior uplands and secondary river valleys, 29 new towns were created within Connecticut on small or unnavigable streams. The soil in these locales was, on average, less fertile, the valleys smaller, the terrain more broken. Speculator towns began to emerge as well, with land acquired for resale by groups of people who did not know each other and had little intention of creating a permanent community. Such towns tended to be smaller than those established in the first phase of settlement, with fewer families and fewer square miles. Several of these towns were created within the Western Uplands, including Newtown in 1708. Also during this period, exploitation of the Fairfield County backcountry led to settlement of areas in places like Easton, Redding, Trumbull, Weston, and Wilton which later became separate towns. A similar condition prevailed in Bristol, originally part of Farmington and first settled in the 1720s.

Occupation of the northwest corner of Connecticut, an area of rugged hills containing the least desirable farmland in the state, defined the third phase of settlement (1737-1761). Acute demographic pressure triggered this development. Newly established communities were smaller still, and often attracted inhabitants slowly. Though they did not emerge as separate towns in this period, several future Western Uplands communities were settled as part of this move to the northwest hills, including Morris, an outlying portion of Litchfield, and Bethlehem, Roxbury, and Washington, all originally part of Woodbury.

Though settlers within the Western Uplands lived in general harmony with the local Native American population, relations with other tribes dramatically affected the first three phases of the settlement process. Creation of towns along Long Island Sound and the lower reaches of the Housatonic River only began after defeat of the Pequots in 1637. New communities at Waterbury and Woodbury were largely abandoned during King Philip's War, while resumption of peace in the late 1670s spurred a renewed round of settlement activity. Suppression of the Mohawk threat during Queen Anne's War in the early eighteenth century opened the door for establishment of Litchfield and occupation of territory which eventually constituted the towns of Bethlehem, Bridgewater, Morris, Roxbury, and Washington.

The final settlement phase commenced after 1760 as existing communities spawned new towns, with 29 such occurrences in Connecticut before 1790. This process had actually been underway for several generations. As population increased in older towns, so did pressures on available land resources, with new farmsteads created well distant from original village centers. Consolidation of widely scattered landholdings alotted in the initial division process reinforced this trend. Such centrifugal forces caused the emergence of settlement areas distant from the village center, which in turn led outlying inhabitants to request "Winter Privileges," i.e., freedom

from their obligation to attend required religious services during inclement months and authorization to hire temporary ministers instead. Creation of separate parishes within towns inevitably followed.

Western Uplands communities experienced this phenomenon repeatedly during the eighteenth century. Among the new parishes which emerged were Wilton (from Norwalk, 1726), Southbury (from Woodbury, 1731), Watertown (from Waterbury, 1738), Woodbridge (from New Haven and Milford, 1739), Plymouth (from Waterbury, 1739), Bethlehem (from Woodbury, 1739), Oxford (from Derby, 1741), Washington (from Woodbury, 1742), Roxbury (from Woodbury, 1744), Bristol (from Farmington, 1744), Weston (from Fairfield, 1757), Brookfield (from New Milford, Danbury, and Newtown, 1758), Easton (from Fairfield, 1762), Bethany (from Woodbridge, 1762), and Morris (from Litchfield, 1767).

Organization of new parishes eventually led to establishment of new towns. Redding incorporated in 1767 (from Fairfield), the first town chartered in the Western Uplands since very early in the eighteenth century. Washington (from Woodbury) received its separate charter in 1779, approximately 45 years after the first settlers arrived, and 38 years after the initial request for "Winter Privileges." In the decades following the American Revolution the process accelerated dramatically. In the 1790s, for example, Woodbury's Congregational Church split over the issue of where to erect a new meetinghouse. A decision to raise the new structure on the site of the old, rather than farther north as advocated by a substantial block of parishioners, caused more than 90 worshippers to depart. At first they attended services at St. Paul's Episcopal Church, but in 1814 constructed their own North Congregational Church without first obtaining legislative sanction to create a separate ecclesiastical society. While disagreement in Woodbury simply led to construction of two churches barely a mile apart, similar problems in New Milford caused Bridgewater residents to petition the General Assembly in 1803 for permission to form a new ecclesiastical society due to the inconvenience they suffered by "continuing to be a part of New Milford Society." Several decades later in 1856 Bridgewater became a separate town.

Building on the Land

Early settlers faced a daunting series of tasks. Land had to be surveyed, marked, and cleared, houses built, fences erected, roads laid out, meetinghouses raised. Fairfield initiated settlement of its backcountry in 1670 by allocating "long lots," lengthy narrow strips of land running north-to-south in present-day Easton on land recently acquired from the Aspetuck Indians. Highways were laid out in the same direction, and most survive to this day, including Sport Hill Road (Jackson Highway), Morehouse Road, North Park Avenue, and Wilson Road. "Cross highways," numbered first, second, third, and so on, provided east-west access.

Shelter, of course, constituted a transcendent priority, with temporary structures being employed universally in the Western Uplands by the first generation of settlers until small framed dwellings were erected. These were followed by scores, and then hundreds, of Cape Cods, Saltboxes, and substantial New England Farmhouses. New towns in the Western Uplands

typically sustained very rapid population growth. Eight children per family was the norm and, with relatively low death rates, population doubled every 25 years.

Following creation of homesteads, residents turned their attention to raising a meetinghouse to accommodate both civic and religious exercises. This was frequently the largest building erected within a new village, and selecting a location often generated considerable dissent. In a period of painfully slow travel when legal strictures required attendance at weekly church services, it mattered greatly where the meetinghouse stood. Townspeople also rapidly moved to create schools, with the ubiquitous one-room schoolhouse of American lore an established fact within a few decades of settlement.

Finally, towns needed mills to support the local economy, and virtually every village constructed a mix of sawmills, tanneries, fulling mills, and gristmills, with residents often going so far as to offer special land rights to likely millers. Woodbury established a small gristmill in 1674, only a year after settlement commenced, with the millstones carried overland by horse. In 1681 the town contracted with a new miller to erect a larger facility.

Agriculture

Inhabitants of the Western Uplands relied on a mixture of English and Native American agricultural practices to sustain life. They quickly adopted the Indian custom of planting corn, beans, and squash in small hills fertilized with fish and seaweed, while also introducing European field crops like wheat, barley, rye, and oats, as well as fruits such as apples, pears, and peaches. Agricultural technology throughout the period remained generally static and primitive. Slow teams of oxen pulled heavy wooden plows and crude wagons and carts along muddy roads which were narrow and rutted. Most farming tasks were performed by hand with simple tools, from sowing to weeding to harvesting, a fact confirmed by examination of probate inventories from the period. Domestic animals received little care--cattle and sheep grazed on wild grasses, while hogs foraged in the woods. Only after the mid-eighteenth century did a few farmers begin introducing English grasses and clover.

While the colonists practiced a mixed husbandry based on grain and livestock production which long remained focused on domestic consumption, they nevertheless generated small surpluses for market. For the most part agriculture was extensive and wasteful. Farmers did not rotate crops or fertilize their fields, but simply cleared new land instead, letting depleted acres spring up in weeds and native grasses for use as pastures. Such practices, as well as enormous demand for firewood, rapidly led to destruction of native forests and a great opening of the landscape. Population growth and the custom of partible inheritance, however, generated ever-greater pressure on land resources in a region only marginally blessed with fertile soil. These circumstances caused average acreage available to succeeding generations to decline, creating the impetus to seek new land elsewhere. In the decades after 1740 many residents of older towns migrated to the northwest corner, to new settlements like Kent, Litchfield, and Salisbury. After 1760 they began moving to Vermont and New York.

Commerce

Though accurately characterized as largely self-sufficient, colonial farmers increasingly sought outside markets for surpluses to earn funds necessary to secure desired imported products, as well as pay taxes and debts. This commerce generally targeted plantation islands of the West Indies which required huge imports of food to maintain their slave workforce and wood products for erecting buildings and packaging sugar-based exports. Some Connecticut agricultural produce also found markets in the Azores and southern Europe. Principal exports gathered by country merchants for overseas shipment included barreled beef and pork, butter and cheese, casks, shingles, house frames, and barrel staves. In return, farmers purchased West Indies and European goods such as rum, sugar, molasses, cloth, hardware, and tea. Overseas trade expanded dramatically after 1750, energized by rapid population growth, rising standards of living, and the ability of regional farmers to produce small but marketable surpluses.

Situated at the head of navigation on the Housatonic River and serving as a commercial hub for much of the Naugatuck Valley, Derby early developed as a center of both trade and shipbuilding. Colonial vessels, typically sloops and brigs, carried small crews but could complete two or three Caribbean voyages per year, taking care to avoid hurricane season in the tropics and northern ice. Communities like Easton, Redding, Weston, and Wilton exported their goods through harbors located on Fairfield County's coast and also supported a small roster of merchant-mariners, such as Captains Nathaniel Seeley and John Bradley of Easton, both of whom employed African American slaves, free blacks, and Native Americans in their trade.

Industry

Colonial industry complemented the agricultural economy, and local mills performed essential tasks, including grinding grain, sawing timber, and fulling cloth. These vernacular and functional structures utilized a variety of technologies, including undershot, breast, and overshot waterwheels. Millwrights displayed particular skill in harnessing the Western Uplands' abundant waterpower resources, carefully selecting locations which combined adequate flow and head, large potential pond sites, and easily dammed narrows. No infant settlement passed more than a few seasons without erecting necessary mills. Local communities also supported potash works and tanneries for processing animal skins into leather. The colonial economy depended on the skills of many artisans, including blacksmiths, clockmakers, shoemakers, coopers, tombstone cutters, joiners, wagonmakers, and wheelwrights. Of the region's industrial enterprises, however, only shipbuilding required a substantial workforce and investment capital. Derby, located at the falls of the Housatonic River, produced small and mid-size vessels from the late 1650s onward, an activity which persisted well into the nineteenth century. Farther north in the hills a few investors began to exploit local iron-ore resources, and in New Preston and Brookfield entrepreneurs opened quarries which yielded both marble and limestone products.

Society and Religion

Men and women who founded the Connecticut Colony believed in subordinating individual interests for the good of the larger community. Both political and religious thought emphasized stable social relations between classes, generations, and the sexes. Legal strictures established the Congregational Church and enforced religious conformity, with the General Court only reluctantly granting minimal rights to Anglicans, Baptists, and Quakers. Though towns rested on a very obvious economic base, godliness and salvation remained central values, with the chartered ecclesiastical society constituting the most basic local institution, a corporate body created by the General Court, encompassing one parish, charged with hiring a minister, appointing officers, levying and collecting taxes, enforcing the moral code of the colony, and maintaining the educational system.

Connecticut's early Puritans did not welcome dissent, and disagreement within towns concerning strongly held beliefs often precipitated outmigration or outright division. Failure to resolve differences over the "Half-Way Covenant" fractured the Stratford church, causing a large group to remove to Woodbury in 1673. Similarly, dissension in the Farmington church in the late 1660s and early 1670s convinced 26 inhabitants there to petition the General Court for the right to establish a separate plantation at Mattatuck (Waterbury). The first group of settlers made their way to the new community in 1674.

The "Great Awakening," a cataclysmic religious upheaval of the 1740s characterized by evangelistic fervor and individual expression, strained the old system further. The Reverend George Whitfield and his followers cut a swath through the northern colonies. Whitfield visited several communities along the edge of the Western Uplands, including Fairfield, Milford, New Haven, Norwalk, Stratford, and Wallingford, and his message spread to all corners of the region. He and others like him attracted huge audiences, called on sinners to repent, and shook the foundations of established orthodoxy. Stoutly opposed by many conservative divines and their supporters (known as "Old Lights"), the revivalists (known as "New Lights") helped split churches and bring community business to a virtual standstill. In some cases ministers were dismissed from their pulpits. Other groups established illegal separate parishes. Among Whitfield's most enthusiastic supporters were ministers Jedediah Mills of Ripton (Shelton) and Joseph Bellamy in Bethlehem.

Though often disputing fine points of theology, most Connecticut Puritans and their Congregational descendants resisted efforts by Anglicans, Baptists, and other nonconformists to alter the religious establishment. Despite opposition, however, rival denominations gained adherents throughout the Western Uplands. Fairfield and Stratford (both of which extended northward into the Western Uplands) supported small Anglican parishes by the 1720s, joined within a decade by Newtown and Redding. The Great Awakening of the 1740s accelerated the process of change, with many outspoken Old Lights drifting into the Anglicans' welcoming arms, especially in Bristol, Derby, Shelton, Waterbury, and Woodbury. Before 1770 Anglicanism had taken hold in Easton, Roxbury, Watertown, and Weston as well. By contrast, many radical adherents of the Awakening later formed Baptist and Separatist congregations.

Evolving settlement patterns also reflected changes which underlay the religious shift. Despite the overwhelmingly rural nature of society throughout the colonial era, central places nonetheless emerged, places where crops were marketed, goods were traded, and artisans congregated. Nodes of settlement supported religious, educational, and legal activities. Each town possessed central places, with most communities a mix of village and countryside. While Easton and Roxbury remained small rural outposts during the eighteenth century, places such as Newtown, Waterbury, and Woodbury evolved into substantial villages.

Throughout the eighteenth century Connecticut's relatively homogeneous farming society grew steadily more complex, ever more dependent on commerce to sustain rising material aspirations. Villages and towns became differentiated by density, economic function, age, and religious affiliation. More farmers meant more crops for market, but also caused overcrowding and more pressure on the land, with diverging social experiences and aspirations, and differing levels of opportunity, all of which militated against harmony and promoted contention and frustration. Over decades a heterogeneous Yankee world of democracy, individualism, and discord emerged, with the American Revolution increasing the impulse towards disorder.

The American Revolution

The late 1760s and early 1770s were years of political upheaval in America, and arguments over imperial policy and colonial rights frequently rent Connecticut communities. Many citizens, especially in the eastern regions, vigorously opposed English rule and supported their brethren in Boston who challenged London's authority. In western Connecticut, outposts of Anglicanism such as Easton, Newtown, and Plymouth and loyalty to the Crown were more evident, and anti-British feelings less intense.

Among the factors which impelled many Connecticut residents towards an open break with the mother country were their commitment to Puritanism, relatively limited political and economic contact with England, high levels of political independence and authority, and reduced involvement with the imperial trading community. Following the French and Indian War, the local economy slumped, only to be burdened with new taxes envisioned in the Sugar (1764) and Stamp (1765) Acts. East of the Connecticut River these measures triggered violent opposition, but in the west more general resignation prevailed, for this region had begun to lose suspicion of the mother country, as evidenced by the rise of numerous small Anglican congregations. Western communities had also proven less receptive to the anti-institutional thrust of the Great Awakening, and opposed the eastern towns' land bank scheme and Susquehannah Company plans. These political differences, as well as activities of the radical Sons of Liberty, caused political power to shift east of the Connecticut River. Powerful eastern figures, such as Governor Jonathan Trumbull of Lebanon, eventually led the colony to war.

In May 1774 the General Assembly repudiated the Coercive Acts recently enacted by Parliament and promised aid to beleaguered residents of Boston. Inhabitants began amassing stores of powder and shot. In early 1775 many towns ratified actions of the Continental Congress,

endorsing nonimportation of English goods and charting a course of opposition to Britain. Throughout the Western Uplands, however, a large Loyalist minority resisted moves towards disunion. Perhaps one-third of the families in Fairfield County and one-seventh of those in New Haven belonged to the Anglican Church and tended to support the Crown. During the winter of 1775 Tories from Newtown, Redding, and elsewhere gathered to proclaim loyalty to George III and condemn actions of the Continental Congress, whereupon Governor Trumbull denounced their activities and the legislature ordered them investigated. In November patriots in Newtown tried to coerce Tories into taking oaths of allegiance to the colonial government. Woodbury Tories were marched to the Litchfield jail. In Derby (later Ansonia) the Reverend Richard Mansfield charged that violent persecution raged in western Connecticut, with innocent citizens dragged before ignorant committees, and then imprisoned or tarred and feathered. Mansfield soon fled to Long Island.

Following the battles of Lexington and Concord, local militia companies mobilized, as hundreds and then thousands of residents enlisted in the Continental Army. Waterbury supplied 250 men to the war effort, while Woodbury counted 850 volunteers among its citizens. As many as 40,000 Connecticut residents served with Continental, state, or local forces. One Uplands inhabitant who played an active role in the struggle was Samuel Candee (1753-1841) of Oxford. Though not singled out in most history books, he typified the state's many citizen-soldiers. A member of Colonel David Wooster's Connecticut Regiment, Candee marched to the siege of Boston in 1775, served with the Woodbridge militia in July 1776, and participated in the operations on and retreat from Long Island later that summer. He also served with forces defending New Haven during the British raid of July 1779, as well as a term as a shoreline guard.

The Revolution made great demands on Connecticut society, causing widespread inflation, high taxes, and severe shortages of imported goods. Military forces required unending supplies of men and equipment, flour and barreled meats, underwear and shoes, blankets and overcoats. Over time, enlistment and provisions quotas became ever more difficult to fill, and local committees labored to encourage volunteers and restrain prices. Some militia units in the Western Uplands performed coast guard duty, fortifying headlands and watching for feared British raiders from Long Island Sound.

Loyalists in Connecticut experienced additional hardships. Denounced and silenced, many lost property and more than 1,000 fled the state. Several cases were brought against local Tories, especially in Danbury, Derby, Newtown, Redding, and Waterbury. In 1776, for example, upwards of 80 Newtown Loyalists were charged with various offenses, and the town's representatives were soon forced to resign from the General Assembly. Bristol Tory Chauncey Jerome was captured and hanged, but fortuitously cut down and revived by a passing stranger. Moses Dunbar of Waterbury (Plymouth) was not so lucky. A member of a Loyalist regiment, he returned to Connecticut on a recruiting mission for British General Sir William Howe, was arrested, and later executed for treason on Gallows Hill in Hartford.

Though no major battles occurred in the Western Uplands, war often intruded on residents' lives. In 1775 nearly 50 Bethel inhabitants died in an outbreak of dysentery caused, it was believed, by the presence of a nearby soldiers' camp. Several Roxbury militiamen served at Ticonderoga and

Bunker Hill in the opening days of the war. The following summer Bethlehem voters agreed to equip themselves with guns and bayonets or swords to defend their "invaluable rights and privileges." Woodbury volunteers fought at Ticonderoga, Long Island, White Plains, and Peekskill, New York; Danbury, Connecticut; and Bennington, Vermont. In March 1778 Trumbull citizens gathered money, cheese, and ham for suffering soldiers at Valley Forge. Also in 1778 a British artillery train, captured the previous year at Saratoga, New York, passed through Waterbury. Later in the war General George Washington, the Marquis de Lafayette, and Lieutenant General Comte de Rochambeau all traversed the Western Uplands. During the winter of 1778-1779 General Israel Putnam's division of the Continental Army encamped at Redding. At one point the unpaid, underfed troops threatened mutiny, but Putnam faced them down. Putnam Memorial State Park in Redding, with the restored and reconstructed encampment site, commemorates the soldiers' dogged determination.

The most violent scenes transpired during several British attacks against coastal Connecticut, and a sharp interior thrust at Danbury. In 1777 an enemy force led by General William Tryon landed at Norwalk (in the Western Coastal Slope Geographic Historic Context) and then passed through Wilton, Weston, Easton, Redding, Ridgefield, and Bethel in a maneuver designed to seize stockpiles of food and other supplies gathered in Danbury. The tactic achieved its objective, and the raiders destroyed 1,700 bushels of corn and 1,600 tents. An American assault on the withdrawing British column at Ridgefield led to the death of General David Wooster. Following the Danbury raid, state authorities designated Southbury as a supply depot, gathering 600-700 barrels of pork and assigning men from Derby to guard duty. British attacks on Greenwich and Fairfield in 1779 caused many refugees from the coast to flee towards the interior. The Western Uplands also received an influx of refugees from New York and Long Island following the American defeat at Brooklyn Heights in August 1776.

Close to the major center of British power in New York and separated from Long Island by only a few miles of open water, many Uplands communities endured raids and kidnappings perpetrated by marauders from across the Sound. In March 1780 a party of seven Tories led by a British officer from Long Island broke into the house of Captain Ebenezer Dayton in Bethany. They tied up the captain's wife, ransacked his house, and seized L 450 in gold and silver. They then fled to Middlebury, later moved to Oxford and then Stratford, and recrossed Long Island Sound by whaleboat. Two crews from Derby pursued them to Long Island and recaptured several, who were later incarcerated in Newgate Prison in East Granby before finally escaping to Nova Scotia. Some local citizens, however, used their geographic proximity to British lines to good advantage, smuggling meat and provisions by both land and sea to New York and Long Island. Only with cessation of hostilities in 1781 and signing of the Peace of Paris two years later did tranquillity and safety return to the region.

Post-Medieval and Georgian Architecture

Virtually all houses, shops, and mills erected by early generations of settlers in the Western Uplands have disappeared. The first crude shelters were intended only for temporary use, until

proper timber-frame buildings could be raised. Many early homes were later transformed into small barns and sheds, and eventually crumbled into decrepitude. They were replaced by small framed vernacular buildings, often a single story tall (with loft) and perhaps just one or two rooms (hall and parlor) flanking a large stone chimney. The earliest European inhabitants of western Connecticut built their houses from readily available materials such as wooden clapboards and shingles, rather than traditional thatch and plaster, yet recreated the proportions and techniques of folk memory. Such buildings, termed post-medieval houses, utilized small-paned leaded casement windows (later replaced by double-hung sash). Larger examples incorporated jettied second stories and end gables, occasionally ornamented with carved pendant drops.

There seems little doubt that Western Uplands communities established in the seventeenth century, including Derby, Waterbury, and Woodbury, at one time contained many buildings of the post-medieval type. None, however, appear to have survived the vagaries of time and circumstance in unaltered form. The Hurd House in Woodbury (c. 1680/Woodbury Historic District No.1, see note below) began as a one-room-over-one-room, end-chimney post-medieval cottage (Photograph 1). Considerably enlarged and remodelled in the eighteenth century, it reveals its seventeenth-century origins in a steep gable profile and a barely visible vertical ripple in the roof which runs from ridge to eave. A few other structures, such as the David Humphreys House in Ansonia (1695/1733), reputedly contain portions of earlier buildings, but only intensive documentary and onsite investigation can determine the accuracy of such claims.

Within a few decades of settlement a growing population, beginnings of trade in agricultural produce, rising standards of living, and a desire for more spacious dwellings caused many inhabitants in the Western Uplands to erect larger homes in one of three forms which emerged in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries and dominated building practices for decades thereafter--the one-story Cape Cod, the distinctive "Saltbox," and the substantial two-story New England Farmhouse. These three types account for the vast majority of surviving colonial-era residences in western Connecticut, with several towns retaining significant numbers, including Bethany, Easton, Newtown, Redding, Roxbury, Southbury, Weston, Wilton, Woodbridge, and Woodbury.

These eighteenth-century structures all shared certain features, including a heavy hand-hewn timber frame, gable (and sometimes gambrel) roof, central entry, and massive central chimney accommodating several fireplaces and resting on a masonry base which often measured 12 or 14 feet square. Some early houses utilized plank walls rather than more common stud-wall construction. Sheathed with narrow, hand-rived wooden clapboards and roofed with hand-split wooden shingles, they incorporated three and five-bay facades with small-pane sash windows which had replaced leaded casements. Early settlers often oriented their houses towards the south

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Note: Historic buildings, typically residences, discussed in this report are either individually listed on the National Register of Historic Places or are located in National Register historic districts. Those buildings not individually listed will be followed by the name of the district in which they are found. For further information the reader is referred to Chapter XI. Other commercial, public, and municipal buildings are identified by name only.

to take advantage of the winter sun. Only later, when towns and commerce loomed larger in residents' lives, did owners turn their homes to face the road. In their simplicity, these early houses attested to inhabitants' frugal tastes and conditions, and usually eschewed ornament. Elaborate Georgian residences, which appeared in more prosperous and cosmopolitan communities and along principal colonial highways, remained largely absent from the rural scene, though their influence occasionally became manifest through incorporation of a classically inspired entry or other decorative detail on an otherwise simple house.

Quite common throughout Connecticut communities, the traditional Cape Cod house, or simply Cape, survives in relatively large numbers. Built one story high, with eight-foot corner posts and a shallow-pitched gable roof, the Cape typically incorporated a substantial central chimney and central entry, perhaps with a rectangular transom above the door. Often two windows flanked the entry on either side. Interior floor plans varied somewhat, but often included a boxed stairway in front of the chimney stack, large chambers to the right and left of the chimney filling the front half of the house, each with its own fireplace, and a large space running across the rear half of the building serving as a kitchen/keeping room and containing a large cooking fireplace and oven. This rear space might also be subdivided to create small rooms at each corner used as pantry, dairy, or bedroom. Upstairs an unfinished loft or small rooms wedged beneath the eaves provided storage, work, and sleeping space. In the early nineteenth century utilization of 12-foot corner posts greatly increased space available under the roof. The Aaron Bronson House, constructed c.1785 in Southbury, typifies this common house form, as does the c. 1800 Japhet Curtiss House (South Britain Historic District), another early Southbury residence.

The New England "Saltbox," which enjoyed its greatest popularity between 1725 and 1760, seems to have emerged in the late seventeenth century as an alternative to the then-typical post-medieval house which stood two rooms tall, two rooms wide, and one room deep. A few builders attached lean-to framing to a house's original skeleton, simply extending the rear roofline downward by lengthening the rafters. In most cases, however, initial framing of the structure incorporated the distinctive building profile, thus producing an integral rearward extension. Floor plans for these houses mimicked contemporary Capes on the first floor, including the central boxed stairway, but also contained at least two full-size rooms on the second floor and some additional space beneath the long shed roof. Excellent local examples of the Saltbox style include the William Jerome House in Bristol, the Redfield Wakeman House in Easton (Aspetuck Historic District), the Thomas Hawley House in Monroe, and the Aaron Barlow House in Redding, all constructed between 1740 and 1760.

Of the three common eighteenth-century house types in Connecticut, the New England Farmhouse survives in greatest numbers and is the most substantial, especially those constructed after 1740. Two stories high, two rooms wide, and two rooms deep, it provided full headroom on the second floor and additional work/storage/sleeping space in the attic under the roof. Built around a central chimney and exhibiting a balanced three or five-bay facade, it occasionally incorporated fashionable Georgian decorative details such as an ornate classically inspired doorway and molded window headings. Conversely, many examples continued the medieval building tradition of jettying the second floor beyond the first in the form of a reduced hewn overhang, or utilizing a similar treatment for the gable ends, a practice which persisted into the

1780s and 1790s. Well-preserved survivors of this type can be found throughout the Western Uplands. The Sloan-Raymond Fitch House (c.1760-1780) in Wilton, with balanced five-bay facade and beaded-edge clapboards, exemplifies the type (Photograph 2). Additional regional examples include the homes of the Reverend Richard Mansfield (Derby, later Ansonia, 1748), Captain Moses Dimon (Easton, 1750, Aspetuck Historic District)), Nathaniel Richardson (Middlebury, 1750-1800), and Nathaniel Lattin (Newtown, 1750), and the gambrel-roofed Jabez Bacon House (Woodbury, 1760).

The Western Uplands' most prosperous and influential residents of the eighteenth century occasionally constructed houses in the impressive Georgian style, an English manifestation of Renaissance architecture which incorporated classically inspired entries, quoins, pilasters, Palladian windows, and two-story entry pavillions. Introduced in England around 1700, these elegant homes first appeared in America in large coastal communities, often constructed by members of the mercantile elite. The style then migrated to more rural areas, carried inland by the most cosmopolitan and affluent residents. In interpreting the style, local builders frequently relied on imported pattern books, such as James Gibbs' *A Book of Architecture.*

The home of the Reverend Joseph Bellamy in Bethlehem (c.1754-1790) is one of the best surviving examples of the Georgian type in the Western Uplands (Photograph 3). Bellamy was a leading preacher, author, and educator, and conducted a theology school in this house. He supported the Great Awakening which shook New England Congregationalism to its roots. Initially constructed before the American Revolution, the Bellamy House was remodelled in the Georgian style c.1790, perhaps the work of regional builder William Sprats, who completed several similar projects in surrounding communities. The design is dominated by a two-story Palladian entry pavillion exhibiting prominent quoins, Ionic columns, Palladian window, and modillioned eaves. Other good surviving examples of this rare type include the pre-Revolutionary Stiles House (1762) in Southbury (Southbury Historic District No.1) and the postwar Asahel Bacon (1784) and Nathan Smith (1797) Houses, both in Roxbury (both Roxbury Center Historic District).

Community meetinghouses, which fulfilled important religious and political functions as the scene of town meetings and required worship services, were the most important structures raised in any town, and constituted an important architectural subtype. Early examples were often square, or nearly so, surmounted by a hipped roof, or rectangular, crowned by a gable roof, with the entrance centered on the long elevation, and the pulpit opposite the entry. Large buildings contained interior galleries on three sides. Only towards the end of the colonial era did builders begin reorienting the meetinghouse, placing the belfry, and finally the entry, in the gable end.

The Ripton (Shelton) Parish meetinghouse raised in 1744 was typical of the many pre-Revolutionary community structures erected throughout the Western Uplands. The two-story building measured 50 x 36 feet, with a gable roof and the entry centered on the long elevation. The raised pulpit was placed on the far wall directly opposite the door, and a belfry stood at the gable end on the left. Though important in their day, meetinghouses received hard use and were continually modified, rebuilt, and replaced as needs warranted. Despite many examples having

been constructed between 1660 and 1775, none of the Western Uplands' pre-Revolutionary meetinghouses survives.

III. AGRICULTURAL AND EARLY INDUSTRIAL PERIOD 1780-1850

Between 1780 and 1850 Connecticut evolved from a relatively dispersed, isolated, and homogeneous society of farmers, loyal to an established Congregational Church and engaged in essentially deferential no-party politics, into a complex differentiated society with competing religious denominations, a vigorous two-party political system, new ethnic groups, and rapidly growing industrial centers. Factories, mill villages, turnpikes, and railroads helped reshape both the economy and society of the Western Uplands. For many citizens it was a period of optimism, energized by a general faith in progress and improvement, modernization, inventions, national expansion, rising prosperity, and religious revival. For others, especially those laboring in the agricultural sector, it constituted a period of raised hopes, followed by sharply diminished opportunities.

Transportation

During the decades between the end of the American Revolution and the middle of the nineteenth century, dramatic changes in modes and organization of transportation and communication greatly impacted the pace and nature of virtually all aspects of life in the Western Uplands. These changes which so altered the scale and tempo of social and economic activity became known as the transportation revolution. Transportation improvements speeded the flow and lowered the cost of goods. They allowed more people to travel farther and faster. They permitted industrialists to acquire adequate supplies of raw materials, facilitating exploitation of regional and national markets. They caused some municipalities to grow and expand and become cities, while other communities, bypassed by transportation improvements, languished and declined. New forms of communication exercised a similarly liberating effect. Improved communications included publication of many newspapers, reorganization of the postal system, and introduction of telegraph service. More information of greater variety, speedily disseminated, united people in a way heretofore impossible to achieve.

The first significant transportation changes began with incorporation of turnpike companies--privately owned firms which either took over town roads and improved them or constructed new routes in exchange for the right to charge tolls. Connecticut's earliest turnpike (in New London County) received its charter in 1792. Dozens of others quickly followed throughout the state, and by the 1820s virtually all towns in the Western Uplands enjoyed access to one or more turnpike routes, more than 20 in all. Improved highways generally radiated outward from larger centers such as Danbury, Waterbury, Bridgeport, New Haven, and Hartford. Early roads included the Southbury and Derby (1795), Norwalk and Danbury (1795), Bethel and Weston (1797), Saugatuck (1797), Straits (1797), New Milford and Litchfield (1797), Ousatonic (1798), Rimmon Falls (1798), and Derby and New Haven (1798) Turnpikes. Other important regional routes chartered in the next three decades included the Farmington and Bristol (1801), Bridgeport and Newtown (1801), Waterbury River (1802), Newtown and Norwalk (1829) roads.

Some turnpikes served as major through routes. The New Milford and Litchfield Turnpike traversed Litchfield, Washington, and New Milford, intersecting other roads to Hartford, Bridgeport, and New Haven. The Straits Turnpike ran 36 miles from Litchfield to New Haven, the Bridgeport and Newtown linked New Milford and the coast, and the Ousatonic and Derby routes joined New Milford and New Haven. The Rimmon Falls and Waterbury River Turnpikes headed north from New Haven to Waterbury to the Massachusetts line. The Washington and East Middle Turnpikes joined in Woodbury and then headed southwest, eventually splitting into the Newtown and Norwalk and Branch routes, both of which entered Norwalk and the Old Post Road. Not all new routes traversed long distances, and many turnpikes served as short connectors, such as the Monroe and Zoar Bridge which joined the Ousatonic and Bridgeport roads, or the New Milford and Roxbury which linked those two communities.

A combination of events spurred investors to begin construction of so many turnpikes in the late eighteenth century. War in Europe catapulted America into a role as the world's leading neutral maritime carrier, and investors eagerly contemplated vastly increased flows of foodstuffs heading from the Connecticut Hills to Long Island Sound ports, including New Haven, Bridgeport, Westport, and Norwalk. These same expectations caused investors to construct New Haven's important Long Wharf. The Straits, Rimmon Falls, and Derby Turnpikes all provided access to New Haven port facilities, while the Black Rock and Weston route was designed to speed the flow of produce through Fairfield to Black Rock Harbor.

New routes exerted tremendous influence on local life and regional businesses. They linked towns to each other, and to larger cities and the coast. With creation of stagecoach lines and post towns, turnpikes accelerated the movement of goods, passengers, and ideas. They helped establish population nodes where artisans, taverns, doctors, lawyers, courts, and retail stores converged. Businesses used improved roads to export bulky products and import raw materials. The Litchfield and New Milford Turnpike, which also traversed the Town of Washington, passed through several small industrial villages along its route, including Bantam Falls, Bradleyville, Woodville, New Preston, Marbledale, and Northville. Businesses using this particular route to export goods included paper mills, a nickel mine, an iron furnace, several marble quarries and stone sawmills, and wool and cotton factories. Derby and Waterbury shipped metal products south to Bridgeport and New Haven, while southern tier towns like Easton, Redding, Weston, and Wilton utilized several routes to transport their agricultural surplus to market.

In many places Connecticut's current road network incorporates early turnpike routes. Route 202 follows the path of the New Milford and Litchfield Turnpike, while Route 63 from Litchfield to Waterbury has taken the place of Straits Turnpike. Route 25 linking Newtown and Bridgeport via Monroe and Trumbull began as the Bridgeport and Newtown Turnpike. To this day Route 58 in Easton retains its original name, Black Rock Turnpike, while Route 136 in Easton and Weston began as the Westport Branch of the Bridgeport Turnpike. Other modern roads first laid out in the turnpike era include Route 67 (New Milford and Roxbury), Routes 47 and 132 (Washington), Route 8 (Waterbury River), Route 34 (Derby), Route 6 (Branch and East Middle), and Route 111 (Monroe and Zoar Bridge).

As a condition of incorporation, turnpikes generally exempted certain classes of citizens from paying tolls, including town residents conducting ordinary farm business or hauling grain to local mills, and travellers attending church, town meetings, funerals, and militia musters. Over time, costs of maintaining roads began to exceed toll revenues, and by the middle of the nineteenth century many companies forfeited their charters and ownership of the roads reverted to towns. A few, however, remained active for many decades, such as the Derby Turnpike, which did not cease operations until 1895, the last in the state to do so.

Commencement of viable steamboat service following the War of 1812 also affected life in the Western Uplands as many local residents began to avail themselves of rapid transport to New York, Providence, Boston, and elsewhere aboard sleek packets which raced along Long Island Sound and glided up the Connecticut River to Hartford. Steamboat service on the Housatonic River as far as the head of navigation at Derby Landing commenced in the 1820s and continued intermittently for decades thereafter. Vessels plying this route included the *Lafayette, Ousatonic, Caroline, Maria, Naugatuck,* and *Ansonia.* Local dreamers and planners even attempted to participate in the canal mania which gripped much of the nation in the early decades of the nineteenth century by incorporating the Ousatonic Canal in 1822 and the Saugatuck and New Milford Canal in 1829. Neither project, however, actually reached the construction stage.

Introduction of the railroad instigated by far the most dramatic transportation changes in the region during the first half of the nineteenth century. In the space of a single generation laborers (often Irish) laid down a web of track, altering the landscape and the lives of people who lived there. Railroads further reduced the cost of moving goods and passengers. They moved town centers, as in Washington, where the original settlement on the hill gave way to a new village in the valley known as Washington Depot. By delivering great quantities of raw materials and fuel and hauling finished products away for regional and national distribution, railroads allowed manufacturing centers to flourish. It was no mere coincidence that industrial sites such as Waterbury and Derby doubled in size within a decade of the railroad's arrival.

Between 1840 and 1850 the Western Uplands acquired three important rail routes. The first, the Housatonic Railroad chartered in 1836, headed northward from Bridgeport to Brookfield, and then on to Sheffield, Massachusetts, serving iron, limestone, granite, and marble works along its path. Despite delays caused by the financial panic of 1837, the line, promoted vigorously by urban boosters and investors in Bridgeport, actually reached New Milford in 1840 and Massachusetts by 1842. A second important line, the Naugatuck Railroad, was chartered in 1845, largely through the efforts of Bridgeport's Alfred Bishop, the city's leading promoter. The route wound upriver to Waterbury and Plymouth (Thomaston) by 1849, and later continued to Winsted. Both railroads connected with Connecticut shore routes and provided rapid access to New Haven and New York. A third route, the Hartford, Providence and Fishkill Railroad, reached Bristol in 1850 and Waterbury shortly thereafter. Though just outside the borders of the Western Uplands, the Danbury and Norwalk Railroad, which opened in 1852, offered still another outlet for shippers, especially those in Bethel, Redding, and Wilton, while also facilitating the arrival of summer visitors.

Transportation improvements reinforced simultaneous changes in communication. Establishment of post towns (e.g., Oxford 1795, Derby 1798) and mail routes in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries depended on extension of the turnpike network. Growing population centers and improved transportation encouraged publication of more newspapers, which in turn fostered greater readership, greater variety, and lower prices. As early as 1800 statewide newspaper circulation reached 20,000. Papers published in, or circulating within, the Western Uplands in this period initially included many from Bridgeport and Danbury, later joined by the Waterbury *American* (1844) and the Derby *Journal* (1846). Introduction of postage stamps in the 1840s improved postal service and thus contributed to more rapid and regular flow of information. In the same period telegraph lines began snaking across the landscape, providing revolutionary access to news.

Commerce

Political separation from Great Britain following the American Revolution severely disrupted Connecticut's trade with the West Indies, the leading prewar market for local agricultural surpluses. By the early 1790s, however, widespread warfare in Europe created new opportunities for American merchants and shippers as the United States emerged as the world's leading neutral maritime carrier. Derby, in particular, served as a significant port, with sloops of 80-100 tons carrying cattle, horses, barrel staves, casks, and farm produce southward in exchange for sugar and rum. Height of the renewed trade occurred between 1793 and 1807 when Derby counted more locally registered vessels than New Haven. Through this outlet many Western Uplands hill towns directed their surpluses to Caribbean markets. Middlebury, for example, exported large quantities of casks and barrel staves. Farmers in more southern towns such as Easton, Redding, Trumbull, Weston, and Wilton moved goods through Stamford, Fairfield, Bridgeport, and Norwalk. During the same period investors in Derby and New Haven chartered the Derby Fishing Company with a capitalization of $200,000, intending to earn profits via the Newfoundland fisheries and European carrying trade.

The boom in agricultural exports came to an abrupt halt with imposition of President Thomas Jefferson's Embargo in late 1807, followed a few years later by the War of 1812, which brought British warships to American waters and cut off virtually all foreign trade. After the war Derby rapidly gave way to New Haven as an important commercial outlet, though shipbuilding, a significant local industry since colonial times, continued for several decades thereafter. Hallock Brothers, for example, launched 52 vessels between the 1820s and 1868.

During the postwar period many farmers and merchants turned their attention to domestic rather than overseas markets. Turnpikes allowed wagons loaded with butter, cheese, vegetables, fruits, and firewood to supply growing communities like Bridgeport, Danbury, New Haven, and Waterbury. After loading similar cargo, as many as 20-30 small packet sloops operating from Long Island Sound harbors serviced New York City and ports farther south. Bridgeport also maintained a limited trade with the Caribbean.

Agriculture

In the first half of the nineteenth century agriculture constituted the principal occupation of most residents of the Western Uplands, but with diminishing importance in some areas, and under increasing strain virtually everywhere. Many towns, however, remained entirely dependent upon agriculture, or nearly so, often of an extensive and subsistence nature. Within Connecticut as a whole, as late as 1845 the value of hay production exceeded that of both cotton and woolen goods manufactured in the state's burgeoning factories.

The years between 1790 and 1807 were generally good ones for farmers in the Western Uplands. Post-Revolutionary turmoil abated, a new national government commenced operations, and overseas demand for American agricultural goods soared. Many Connecticut towns exported agricultural surpluses, horses, and wood products to the Caribbean islands. Several Western Uplands communities also produced wooden casks and barrels for the West Indies market. Despite the Embargo of 1807-1809 and the War of 1812, which curtailed most of this trade, certain long-term trends seemed favorable for agriculture. Improved roads and turnpikes promised to speed the flow and reduce the cost of moving farm produce to market. Growing manufacturing communities generated increased demand for foodstuffs, while woolen mills required large quantities of fiber.

Farmers in the Western Uplands typically practiced mixed husbandry, that is, production of many different items, rather than concentrating on one or two staples. Popular crops included grains, cattle, fruit, hay, sheep, hogs, and dairy products. Over time, increasing commercialization caused some towns and regions to begin specializing. Those areas best suited for pasture concentrated on raising sheep as well as beef and dairy cattle, and sale of butter and cheese. In the 1830s, for example, Woodbridge enjoyed a statewide reputation for large quantities of butter shipped to the New Haven market. In the same period a state gazetteer described Bethlehem as considerably hilly, and thus best adapted to grazing. Monroe, Morris, Trumbull, and Watertown enjoyed similar reputations. Some towns, such as Brookfield, Newtown, and Wilton, possessed topography and soil conditions more conducive to production of grains and specialized in raising wheat, rye, or oats.

As in other areas of Connecticut life, agriculture inspired reform efforts on the part of concerned observers. Organizations like the New Haven Agricultural Society, formed in 1803, and the Connecticut Agricultural Society, established in 1817, advocated improved varieties of animals and crops and scientific farming techniques. In 1818 the Hartford County Agricultural Society conducted its first field day. General David Humphreys of Derby, former ambassador to Spain, proved particularly active, operating a model farm and importing a large flock of rare Merino sheep from the Iberian Peninsula in an effort to improve wool-bearing animals of his state. At the same time a few local dairymen and cattlemen began purchasing imported Devons and milking Shorthorns from England. Commercial nurseries appeared, selling fruit trees, plants, and seeds. Improved tools and equipment also became available--cast-iron plows, potato diggers, seed drills, and then mowers and reapers. On some homesteads lighter, quicker horses replaced more

ponderous oxen. Farmers also subscribed to a growing range of agricultural newspapers, such as the Albany *Ploughboy* and the *New England Farmer*.

Over time, however, it became increasingly apparent that Connecticut's destiny lay elsewhere than on the farm. Relatively poor soil and overcrowding caused by large families initiated a late-eighteenth-century rural exodus which only intensified after 1800 as waves of emigrants departed for Vermont, western New York, and Ohio, eventually causing severe depopulation in exclusively agricultural towns. By 1820 the outward flow of population had swelled to a torrent. Such conditions certainly prevailed within much of the Western Uplands. Bethlehem, for example, lost more than one-third of its population between 1810 and 1840. Roxbury, Southbury, and Wolcott also experienced sharp drops, while many towns registered lesser declines. A gazetteer's description of Bethany in the late 1830s captured the essence of the situation. The town was termed hilly, some parts mountainous, with many areas not fit for cultivation. Residents were principally farmers, while population had been stagnant for 20 or 30 years.

A variety of factors combined to undermine Connecticut farmers' ability to earn a living selling familiar staple crops. Soil and topography in much of the Western Uplands had always been marginal at best, especially in the northern reaches, with many steep hillsides unwisely cleared by those possessed of few viable alternatives. Various travellers' accounts and gazetteers offered similar descriptions of regional growing conditions. One observer commented upon the apparent sterility of many Prospect fields, strewn with large boulders. Bristol was described as hilly, rocky, and infertile; Southbury was termed hilly and rocky, with a rough and sterile appearance, the soil hard, while Monroe was stony and rough, and Plymouth hilly and uneven.

Several additional factors hampered farming. Diseases such as wheat rust and pests like the Hessian fly largely eliminated commercial production of wheat, an effect accelerated after 1825 by the appearance of Midwestern grain on Eastern markets transported via the Erie Canal. A series of financial panics, competition from European mills, and increased wool production west of the Appalachian Mountains similarly affected Connecticut mills and sheep farmers who depended upon them. During these same years the center of beef and hog production also moved into the Midwest, further undercutting local efforts, an effect heightened by introduction of railroads in the 1840s and 1850s.

In such a harsh economic environment, agricultural improvements appeared slowly and haltingly, despite endorsement by public officials, influential citizens, and farmers' newspapers. Hilly topography often thwarted mechanization. The conservative outlook and steady habits of Connecticut farmers also slowed adoption of new ideas and new technology, while comparatively small markets, high cost of new equipment, and uncertain payback further eroded initiative.

Industry

Even as Connecticut agriculture experienced the debilitating winds of Western competition, poor soil, and overcrowding, local industry entered a period of dramatic growth destined to transform the face of the state and the nature of society. In the decades following the American Revolution, and with heightened energy after 1800, entrepreneurs in virtually every Western Uplands town attempted to tap waterpower sources to manufacture goods intended for expanding regional and national markets. In just a few years innumerable small enterprises dotted the region.

Causes for this important development were many and interrelated. Declining agriculture generated surplus rural population--men, women, children--able and eager to seek alternate employment. President Thomas Jefferson's Embargo during 1807-1809 cut off supplies of imported European manufactures, thus providing markets to be exploited by American makers. The Embargo also idled merchant capital, which then sought new investment outlets. Growing cities and a rising national population spawned increased demand for manufactures of all kinds, while protective tariffs enacted in 1816 and 1828 sheltered infant companies.

Industrial enterprise in the immediate post-Revolutionary period continued and broadened activities inaugurated in the colonial era. These included an enormous number of rural grist, cider, fulling, and sawmills located throughout the region, soon joined by carding mills which prepared wool for spinning. Amos Galpin's Sprain Brook sawmill in Washington, though rebuilt in 1853, began operations in the eighteenth century, and continued working until 1926. Iron forges and furnaces perpetuated older skills, as did marble quarries located in New Preston and Brookfield.

Formative industrial activities in the Western Uplands tended to be small in scale and dispersed throughout the region. Over time, entrepreneurs turned to new products--yarn and thread, textiles, clocks, buttons, brass goods and hardware, and rubber products. Soon industries began focusing on the best waterpower sites, and this meant the Naugatuck and Housatonic Rivers and smaller streams like the Shepaug and the Pequabuck. Industrial concentration quickly ended even distribution of population across the land, while local specialization allowed Waterbury to emerge as a leading producer of brass goods. Naugatuck dominated the new rubber industry. Bristol, Terryville, and Thomaston manufactured clocks for both national and international markets. Individual firms became larger, more capital-intensive, and organized along corporate lines.

Transportation improvements, both turnpikes and railroads, greatly aided industrial expansion. By facilitating importation of raw materials and shipment of finished goods, better roads and trains permitted exploitation of larger regional and then national markets. Improved postal and telegraphic service also furthered growth in manufactures, as did rise of a modern financial system based upon proliferation of banks and corporate investments. In addition to institutions in Bridgeport, Danbury, Litchfield, and New Haven, manufacturers in the Western Uplands drew upon resources of the Derby Bank (1809/1824), Derby Savings Bank (1848), Waterbury Bank

(1848), Waterbury Savings Bank (1850), Seymour Bank of North America (1851), Waterbury Citizens Bank (1853), and Naugatuck Savings Bank (1853).

Transition from an agricultural to an industrial society was challenging, and changes induced by such a shift proved far-reaching. For investors and entrepreneurs the path to financial success was paved with the bones of numerous failures. Early industrial projects were very risky, and often fell afoul of inexperienced management, shortages of capital, poor market conditions, natural disasters, national and international crises, fierce competition, and technological obsolescence. For workers and the general public, effects of industrialization could be equally dramatic. Practically overnight an enormous abundance and variety of new products became available. In less than two generations the rise of industry virtually ended home manufactures and helped transform women from producers into consumers. This trend diminished the role of housework and made many wives more dependent on their husbands. Wealthier women were freed to seek better education and augmented rights, as well as pursue activities within the church or social welfare/reform movements. For poorer women and children, the change meant employment in the mills. For artisans, factories and mass production tended to devalue certain traditional skills, causing loss of pride in their trade and far greater dependence on factory and employer.

Early mills were often run in a strictly patriarchal manner and workers enjoyed few rights and little bargaining power. Over time, entire families became dependant on employers for lodging and credit. Long hours were the norm, wages were generally low, and inflation could hit hard. In the early 1830s men earned barely $1 per day, while women received just 35 cents, and children only 25 cents for the same period. As faster and more efficient machines became available, the original slow pace of work accelerated. With greater production and increased competition, prices dropped, as did wages. Many mills and shops offered unsafe environments and Connecticut lawmakers provided little in the way of social welfare or protective legislation.

Though industry developed throughout the Western Uplands, the greatest concentration blossomed along the banks of the Naugatuck-Housatonic River system. Factories and villages which emerged here rapidly coalesced into one of New England's most important industrial complexes, world leaders in production of brass and rubber goods, and clocks of all kinds. One of the first such communities, Humphreysville/Seymour, was located beside the Naugatuck River at a site earlier known as Rimmon Falls. General David Humphreys, former American ambassador to Spain, established a factory village here in the early nineteenth century following his 1803 purchase of the important waterpower site, as well as an existing sawmill, two fulling mills, and clothier's shop. In 1806 Humphreys constructed a substantial wood-frame factory to manufacture woolen yarns. With the aid of domestic and imported English workmen, the site eventually produced both woolen and cotton goods.

In 1810 Humphreys incorporated the Humphreys Manufacturing Company with capital of $500,000, a very substantial sum for that era. Humphreys initially conceived his new venture, one of the first industrial villages created in Connecticut, as a model community, a republican enterprise which would avoid the notorious conditions associated with England's textile mills. His factory employed mostly women and children. Humphreys paid female workers 50 cents to

$1 per week, while men earned $5 to $25 per month. At first private families performed most weaving, but after 1815 power looms were installed in factories. After 1822 the company generally emphasized production of cotton goods. By the mid-1830s Humphreysville contained 50-60 houses and three or four stores, as well as a large four-story factory more than 100 feet long, which accommodated as many as 200 workers. An early monitor-roofed structure on the grounds of the much later Waterman Pen Factory in Seymour may date to the Humphreysville era, as does the surviving General David Humphreys House in Ansonia.

The business suffered great losses during the economic downturn of the late 1830s, and was sold in 1845. New owners revitalized the firm, however, and by 1849 workers annually turned out 500,000 yards of shirting from 50 tons of cotton. Other industries clustered near the falls included Eagle Silk Mill, built on the site of General Humphreys' old grist and paper mills, New Haven Copper Company, American (railroad) Car Company, and a factory producing hard vulcanized rubber goods. Humphreysville, later renamed Seymour, was well on its way to becoming a major industrial center.

The present urban center of Derby, situated south of Seymour at the junction of the Naugatuck and Housatonic Rivers, began as the village of Smithville (later known as Birmingham, then Derby), named after entrepreneur Sheldon Smith, who in 1834 commenced creation of an industrial village across the Housatonic River from Derby Landing. He improved the waterpower site by constructing dams and a 1-1/2-mile-long power canal that had locks to maintain navigation capability. Soon 20 houses and three stores had been erected, and a variety of industrial plants were scheduled to begin operations, including producers of sheet and wire copper, pins, augers, carriage springs and axles, nails and tacks, flannels and satinets. The Anson Phelps Copper Mills operated here from the mid-1830s until 1854. In 1850 the Birmingham Iron and Steel Works commenced production. Derby experienced even more substantial growth in the second half of the nineteenth century.

Along with Derby and Seymour, Ansonia emerged in the first half of the nineteenth century as an important industrial site. In time it grew to be second only to Waterbury in industrial prowess. Situated on the Naugatuck River between Derby and Seymour, Ansonia began as a manufacturing village created by businessman Anson Phelps within the Town of Derby. Born in Simsbury in 1781, by 1815 Phelps had achieved considerable success in New York City as a metals importer. In the 1830s he joined with Sheldon Smith to develop the waterpower site at Smithville-Birmingham-Derby. In the 1840s he purchased additional land farther upstream, improved the site, and proceeded to erect mills, stores, and hotels there. Workmen completed the dam and races for Phelps' new brass mill in 1846. The following year Almon Farrell built a small foundry and machine shop, eventually employing 100 men and producing heavy iron castings and forgings. Phelps' copper mill commenced operation about the same time, and in 1854 Phelps' original Birmingham/Derby mill relocated to the new site. Other businesses eager to exploit available waterpower included the David Plumb Woolen Mill, formerly of Birmingham, and Wallace and Sons Brass and Copper Company.

While Seymour, Ansonia, and Derby emerged as important producers of textiles and metal goods, Naugatuck, a few miles south of Waterbury, grew to prominence based on the work of

Charles Goodyear, who developed a vulcanizing process for rubber between 1839 and 1843, spawning an entirely new industry. In 1843 the inventor-entrepreneur moved to Naugatuck seeking investors. The following year Naugatuck became an independent town, incorporating portions of Waterbury, Bethany, and Oxford. Goodyear made his patents available to a range of partners, thus creating several regional enterprises, including the Goodyear Metallic Shoe Company, Goodyear India Rubber Glove Company, and Naugatuck India Rubber Company. In nearby Beacon Falls investors erected a dam in 1850, and in 1853 the American Hard Rubber Company commenced operations. Also at mid-century Josiah Tomlinson established the Goodyear Rubber Packing Company in Newtown, while in neighboring Sandy Hook Meyer and Poppenhusen built a rubber mill in the early 1850s. The American Suspender Company, founded in Waterbury in 1843, manufactured elastic suspenders and garters in a 5-1/2-story brick mill.

America's brass industry blossomed in the Naugatuck Valley, with Waterbury its undisputed capital. In 1802 Abel Porter and his associates began manufacturing brass buttons there. By 1818 Waterbury supported four large button shops and two clock factories. Rapid growth commenced after 1820, with many new industrial, commercial, and residential buildings erected. In the mid-1830s the central village contained 1,500 inhabitants and more than 150 houses, and already enjoyed a statewide reputation as an important industrial center producing gilt buttons and brass and copper goods, with 600-700 men and women employed in local metal factories.

Destined to create Waterbury's most important manufacturing concern, J.M.L. and W.H. Scovill acquired the old Porter button shop in 1827 and soon commenced primary production of brass in the form of sheets, bar, and wire for other companies' finished goods such as brass clocks. Scovill began manufacturing daguerreotype plates in 1842 and the firm incorporated in 1850. In the same era Aaron Benedict's button shop, which opened in 1812, grew into the very large Benedict and Burnham Company, which produced both brass sheet and wire, as well as finished consumer goods. Benedict and Burnham's allied firms included American Pin Company and Waterbury Button Company. In the early 1850s Holmes, Booth and Hayden began producing rolled brass sheet, drawn wire, builders' hardware, and daguerreotype plates. Other important metalworking firms included Brown and Brothers Brass Mill, Brown and Elton Brass Mill, Hitchcock Button Company, and Waterbury Brass Company.

In addition to textiles, and then brass products, several Western Uplands communities manufactured clocks, and quickly emerged as world leaders in that industry. Important local entrepreneurs such as Eli Terry and his sons (Terryville), Seth Thomas (Thomaston), and Enoch Welch, Joseph Ives, and Chauncey Jerome (Bristol) produced shelf and wall clocks, with both 30-hour and eight-day mechanisms, utilizing either wooden or brass works. As production increased, prices dropped dramatically, and Connecticut clocks were sold throughout the United States. After 1840 exports to Great Britain also rose rapidly.

Famed clockmaker Eli Terry opened his first shop in 1793 and by the early 1800s manufactured 3,000 clocks per year. In 1808 he began using machine power, and by 1814 had developed a popular shelf model. His sons carried on the work, and by the 1830s Terryville in Plymouth contained seven clock factories. At Plymouth Hollow (later Thomaston) Seth Thomas opened his own factory in 1813 after a period of partnership with Eli Terry and Silas Hoadley. His initial

workforce of 20 employees grew to more than 200 by the 1840s. As early as 1818 much of Bristol's labor force had turned to manufacturing, with one factory annually producing 2,000 clocks. By 1835 the number of local clockmaking establishments had grown to 16, producing 100,000 brass and wooden-works clocks per year.

While large industrial plants clustered along the Naugatuck and Housatonic Rivers and the cities they spawned came to dominate the economic scene, rural areas of the Western Uplands also supported many industrial enterprises in the first half of the nineteenth century. More rugged sections to the north and west possessed marble quarries and marble sawmills, especially in New Preston and Brookfield, whose products found ready markets as house foundations, window sills and lintels, entrance arches, and gravestones. Washington and Brookfield contained iron furnaces and forges which turned out substantial quantities of pig iron and castings. Though constructed in the 1860s in an unsuccessful attempt to exploit locally available ore deposits, the Roxbury ironworks at Mine Hill (operated 1866-1871) is the best-preserved of the region's mid-nineteenth-century ironmaking operations, the remains including a 30-foot-square, 35-foot-tall blast furnace, as well as foundations of the puddling house, casting house, engine house, and ore roasting ovens.

Several small industrial centers in outlying communities also exploited abundant waterpower sources. In the 1830s Sandy Hook (in Newtown) prospered as a flourishing village with a fine millstream powering a cotton factory, two woolen factories, a machine shop, a hat factory, a comb factory, and an establishment for working brass. Redding supported a variety of industrial enterprises as well, including iron smelting, a woolen mill, a hat factory which supplied the West Indies market, and the Gilbert and Bennett shop, which manufactured iron wire and brass screens. In nearby Bethel two dozen small shops in the 1840s produced combs and hats, an industry shared with Danbury, its parent community. Southbury supported a paper mill, tinware factory, foundry, turning mill, hat shop, and strawboard factory. Industrial output also included mousetraps from Watertown, iron candlesticks from Woodbridge, and friction matches from Prospect. Many small shops and factories survived well into the late nineteenth century, with a few still operating in the early twentieth century as well.

Town Development

Evolution of population centers in the Western Uplands between 1780 and 1850 reflected divergent economic and demographic trends. Initially, towns tended to be more alike than different, all basically agrarian, with small villages and isolated homesteads scattered across the landscape, and small nodes of industrial activity situated along accessible waterpower sites. Three generations later, due to the rise of manufacturing and relative decline of agriculture, some of these same agrarian villages had been transformed into major industrial or commercial centers with rapidly growing populations, while other towns stagnated or even lost a considerable proportion of their inhabitants.

Emergence of industrial centers marked a clear break with earlier settlement patterns. Waterbury, for example, increased in population from approximately 2,900 in 1830 to over 5,000 in 1850 (and then doubled to 10,000 by 1860), while Derby expanded from 2,100 residents in 1820 to better than 6,000 by 1850. Bristol doubled in size between 1810 and 1850, spurred in large measure by the presence of so many clock factories. Other industrial centers, some of them not yet separate municipalities, also emerged in this era, including Ansonia, Beacon Falls, Naugatuck, and Thomaston. The rise of distinct urban-industrial population centers eventually caused the General Assembly, usually at the behest of local businessmen, investors, and entrepreneurs, to create boroughs within towns, distinct legal entities ("a body corporate and politic") divided into wards and governed by a warden-burgess system and empowered to assess taxes, elect officers, maintain courts, and provide fire and police protection. The central village of Newtown became a separate borough in 1824, followed by Waterbury in 1825, Birmingham (Derby) in 1851, Bethel in 1855, and Ansonia in 1864. In 1853 the Borough of Waterbury obtained a new municipal charter making it the first city in the Western Uplands. Even as the Western Uplands' nascent manufacturing sites attracted workers and sprouted mills and houses, however, many rural towns experienced marked outmigration and falling populations. In some cases declines exceeded 30 percent.

Urban centers and small rural villages evolved in very different ways. Emerging cities tended to be relatively cosmopolitan, sophisticated, and industrialized, experienced substantial growth, supported significant immigrant populations, generated and proved receptive to technological advances, and functioned as centers of politics, education, commerce, law, and communication. By 1850, for example, Waterbury possessed banks, a newspaper, a Catholic church, large stores, and an elegant "rural" cemetery, Riverside. By contrast, farming communities proved more parochial, revered tradition, believed in very limited government and were opposed to utilizing it as an instrument of social change, and seemed reluctant to invest in internal improvements, economic development, or social services. Such attitudes, however, were never absolute, and many rural communities mobilized local resources to construct bridges, roads, and town poor farms. Rural/urban differences, apparent by the end of the 1840s, grew much stronger in succeeding decades as cities came to dominate Connecticut's economy and public life.

Equally as important as differentiation between communities which developed in the first half of the nineteenth century was the sheer number of new towns which emerged in the same period. Prior to the American Revolution only five large towns encompassed all the land included within the Western Uplands: Derby, Newtown, Redding, Waterbury, and Woodbury. And of these, Redding, incorporated in 1767, was the only municipality less than 75 years old. In the decades which followed the war, however, 25 new towns "hived off" from older communities (see Table of Town Chronology), no less than 13 by 1800, and another dozen by 1856. Reasons for this explosion of civic subdivision were many, including a legacy of dispersed settlement which characterized colonial life and throughout the eighteenth century led to creation of numerous separate ecclesiastical societies and school districts. Contention over siting local meetinghouses, schools, and other public structures and offices also caused great controversy in an era of enforced attendance and painfully slow travel. The Revolutionary experience which necessitated frequent town gatherings to address critical issues and emphasized augmented local control, as well as the liberating ideology of participatory democracy, also militated in favor of creating new

smaller towns whose organs of government lay closer to the people who created them. In sum, the "Yankee" world which emerged in the late eighteenth century based on democracy, individualism, discord, and local control precipitated creation of two dozen new towns in the Western Uplands in the post-Revolutionary and early national eras.

Politics, Education, and Social Reform

Despite its well-deserved reputation as a land of conservatism and steady habits, Connecticut nonetheless experienced profound change in the first half of the nineteenth century. Broad sectors of public life undergoing transformation included religion, education, race relations, and politics. Even before the American Revolution, Anglican missionaries and their followers, adherents of the Great Awakening known as "New Lights," Baptists, and an array of disaffected Congregationalists challenged Connecticut's orthodox religious establishment. The anti-institutional ethos of the American Revolution greatly accelerated the trend, with inhabitants of the Western Uplands proving themselves receptive to both Baptist and Methodist missionaries. In 1784 dissenters gained the full rights of ecclesiastical societies, and by 1790 one-third of Connecticut's parishes adhered to dissenting faiths. Itinerant preacher Jesse Lee established the region's first Methodist congregation in Stratfield (part of Fairfield), and other groups quickly followed, including Redding in the 1790s, and then Easton in the early 1800s. Concurrently, many former Anglican parishes reorganized after the hiatus caused by the American Revolution. Ten Episcopal clergymen met in late March 1783 at Glebe House, home of Woodbury minister John Marshall, who had been licensed by the Bishop of London in 1771. At that meeting they chose Samuel Seabury as the first Episcopal bishop in the United States. Seabury journeyed across the Atlantic and was consecrated in Aberdeen, Scotland, in 1784.

The General Assembly in 1795 transferred direction of local schools from ecclesiastical societies to new secular school boards. Final disestablishment of the Congregational Church and abolition of religious taxation by the new state constitution of 1818 ended a practice almost two centuries old and gave still further impetus to the spread of diversity. In 1843 Connecticut's small Jewish population also secured full religious equality.

The variety of organizations competing for adherents throughout the Western Uplands amply defined the altered religious landscape, a far cry from earlier Puritan belief in one community/one church. In the 1830s, for example, Newtown contained Congregational, Baptist, and Episcopal churches, as well as gatherings of Universalists and Sandemanians, a local sect. Shelton supported two Congregational and two Episcopal parishes, as well as Methodist and Baptist churches. Easton contained Baptist, Congregational, Episcopal, and two Methodist churches. During the same period Derby counted five churches, while Oxford, Waterbury, Woodbridge, Bristol, and Monroe each had four.

Towards the end of the period the Western Uplands' emerging Irish-Catholic population began gathering for worship as well. Many had migrated to the area to work on the railroads and in the mills. Waterbury first counted a measurable Catholic population in the 1830s, a fact which

elicited loud opposition from some local elements and led to plans (never carried out) to expel them by force. In the late 1840s Waterbury's Catholics acquired a lot on which to erect a church, secured additional property for a consecrated cemetery, and welcomed their first resident priest. Dublin and Emerald Streets in Waterbury's South End documented the Irish presence. In the 1840s Humphreysville-Seymour became a mission station for the church in Waterbury. A local group obtained a site for a separate church building in 1851. Derby's Catholics built their first small church in 1845, while Naugatuck's Catholics first celebrated mass c. 1850 and raised a small church a few years later. Parochial schools opened in Derby in 1852 and in Ansonia in 1853.

Widespread faith in progress, reform, and modernization held by influential segments of the local population extended to active support for educational improvement. This support took physical form in the Western Uplands with construction of numerous academies designed to augment education provided by local common schools and prepare certain youngsters for entry into New England's growing number of colleges. In the state as a whole nearly 40 academies appeared before 1840. Among the very first, Staples Academy in Easton opened in 1795, financed with a bequest from one of the town's most distinguished citizens, Samuel Staples, who required that all young scholars be admitted, regardless of ability to pay. Other important schools included Yale graduate Azel Backus' Bethlehem Academy, also begun in the 1790s and later described as highly and deservedly celebrated. Backus went on to become the first president of Hamilton College in Clinton, New York (1812-1816). Other noted schools in the Western Uplands during this era included Middlebury Academy (1814), Hawley Olmstead's Wilton Academy (1818), Yale graduate Samuel Beardslee's Monroe Academy (1828), Newtown Academy (1837), and Frederick Gunn's Seminary and Boarding School, which opened in Washington in 1839.

Though attendance at many of these schools was restricted to boys, a few coeducational academies also flourished, and Squire James Morris' academy in the South Farms district of Litchfield (later the Town of Morris) was one of the most important. Born at South Farms in 1752, Morris graduated from Yale College in 1775 and served in the Continental Army throughout the American Revolution. In later years he was elected a church deacon and town officer. After some theological study he opened his academy in 1790, and for the next several decades between 40 and 70 young men and women attended each year, more than 1,400 by 1812, including students from 12 states and two Caribbean islands.

Academies were often created through local subscription or the largesse of private benefactors like Samuel Staples. Curricula emphasized classical languages, religion, mathematics, history, and composition. Newly established academies usually occupied important locations within their communities, frequently on or near the town green, and adjacent to the meetinghouse or town house which symbolized the other important pillars of local life. Staples Academy in Easton, for example, faced the local Congregational Church. The Newtown Academy building, constructed in 1837, typified many early nineteenth-century schools: a modest gable-end clapboarded structure with a cupola holding a bell. Establishment of "social libraries" throughout the Western Uplands also evidenced growing faith in knowledge and education. By 1819, 29 libraries operated in Litchfield County, 23 in Fairfield County, and 28 in New Haven County. Within the

Western Uplands Bristol and Newtown each had three such facilities, with others situated in Brookfield, Oxford, Roxbury, Southbury, Watertown, Woodbury, and elsewhere.

After 1830 educational reform efforts touched common schools in many towns. In the second quarter of the nineteenth century communities within the Western Uplands constructed dozens of new one and two-room district schools to replace earlier buildings erected during the colonial and early national eras. In 1838 the General Assembly responded to growing demands for improvement by creating a Board of Commissioners for Public Schools. Reforms which followed included prescribing educational standards, lengthening the school year, founding normal schools to educate teachers, publishing the *Connecticut Common School Journal*, and establishing graded schools and high schools.

Motivated by a belief in progress, impressed with rising prosperity, new inventions, and an expanding nation, and energized by religious revivals which reached nearly all strata of society in the first half of the nineteenth century, many Connecticut residents directed their energies towards reforming society's ills. Some citizens established peace societies. Others worked to obtain women's rights. Still others fought "Demon Rum" by campaigning for temperance or prohibition. Litchfield (including Morris) created a temperance organization as early as 1789. Most churches joined the fight against liquor, and in 1829 activists formed the statewide Connecticut Temperance Society. Bristol residents organized a local temperance society the following year.

The campaign to abolish slavery, both within the state and elsewhere in the nation, constituted the greatest and most controversial reform effort. During the colonial era slavery in Connecticut was concentrated in river and coastal communities where the local gentry, merchants, ministers, and wealthy farmers held slaves, though significant numbers might also be found in a few rural towns. With the outbreak of war with Great Britain many Connecticut masters offered their bondsmen freedom if they enlisted. In Woodbury approximately 25 slaves took advantage of this offer, including a man known as "Jeff Liberty," formerly owned by Jonathan Farrand.

According to the first United States census taken in 1790, Connecticut counted 2,764 slaves in a population of 237,946, a little over 1 percent of the total. Concentration of slaves varied greatly, however, from town to town. Within the Western Uplands only three slaves resided in Brookfield. The same situation prevailed in other hill towns such as Bethlehem (four slaves) and Washington (five slaves), and very few slaves resided in Woodbury, Waterbury, or Woodbridge. In other communities, however, the numbers were significantly larger. Redding contained 32 slaves, about 2 percent of the population. A similar proportion prevailed in Derby. Newtown's 64 slaves accounted for two-and-one-half percent of local residents, while Huntington's (Shelton) 120 slaves held by 67 families comprised nearly 5 percent of the population. Overall, slaves tended to be concentrated in older, more southerly communities, those with gentler terrain, greater access to markets, and more highly developed commerce and agriculture. Ironically, during the next 50 years Connecticut's white population evidenced increasing opposition to slavery as an institution, but also greater prejudice against African Americans.

Connecticut took its first steps towards emancipation in 1777, permitting voluntary manumission by individuals, a move which followed a 1774 prohibition on importation of slaves. In 1784 the General Assembly required that slave children born after that date be freed by the age of 25. (Further legislation in 1797 lowered the age to 21.) In 1788 the legislature specifically prohibited the slave trade, and in 1790 several citizens formed Connecticut's first antislavery society. Other anti-slave groups existed in Wilton and Litchfield. Two years later legislators outlawed transportation of slaves out of state for purposes of sale. Due to these gradual emancipation statutes, only 97 slaves remained in Connecticut in 1820 and fewer than two dozen remained in 1848.

The workings of this process can be gleaned from contemporary legal papers filed throughout the Western Uplands, including a number which survive from Wilton. In January 1811 Samuel Middlebrook manumitted Phebe, his slave. In February 1812 another Wilton resident, Matthew Marvin, freed "Betty, a black woman." A revealing document dated January 1824 described William Belden's sale of Grace, aged 17 years, four months, to Hiram Betts, but only for a period of three years, eight months, at which time Grace would reach the age of 21 and become free under state law. During the intervening years new owner Betts contracted to provide food, medical care, and comfortable and decent clothes. At the end of her period of servitude Grace would receive two new sets of clothes, one for everyday and the other for holiday/church use.

Despite Connecticut's steady efforts to end slavery within its borders, newly freed African Americans endured a marginal and mostly segregated existence. In Easton, for example, a remote burying ground, known as "Den Cemetery," was established in the early 1800s for the small community of free blacks who inhabited the distant northwest corner of the town. The often hostile reaction helped account for the very slow growth of Connecticut's African American community in the first half of the nineteenth century, from approximately 5,330 in 1800 to 7,693 in 1850. At mid-century no large concentration of blacks existed in the Western Uplands, with Woodbury, for example, counting 70 African Americans, Waterbury 21, Roxbury five, and Naugatuck just one.

Attempts to create schools and academies for African Americans in the early 1830s led to passage of Connecticut's "Black Law" which permitted local officials to ban such efforts, the Prudence Crandall controversy in the Town of Canterbury in the Eastern Uplands being the most famous example. This case, reported widely throughout the state, polarized public attitudes concerning the role free blacks should play in Connecticut society. The generally unsympathetic attitude evidenced by the state's political establishment also militated against increased rights or opportunities for former slaves, as did the growing presence of Irish laborers who competed fiercely for available work. Many communities in the Western Uplands and elsewhere supported colonization societies which advocated repatriation of former slaves to Africa. By a wide margin state voters defeated an 1847 proposal to extend voting rights to African Americans, and not until 1848 were Connecticut's remaining handful of slaves freed by legislative fiat.

Efforts to organize abolition societies also faced stiff opposition, with Connecticut the last New England state to create such a group (1838). A council of ministers in Litchfield County condemned Quakeress and abolitionist Abby Kelley as "that old Jezebel," while founders of the

Litchfield County Anti-Slavery Society were mobbed as they attempted to organize. When an anti-slavery orator spoke at the Congregational Church in Redding, opponents blew up the building. The Wolcott Congregational Church simply barred abolitionists from speaking. By contrast Frederick Gunn, founder of Gunn's Seminary and Boarding School in Washington, proved to be an outspoken abolitionist. When those sentiments became known, however, attendance at his school dropped precipitously, and he was forced to leave Washington and teach in Pennsylvania for a few years.

The question of reform also insinuated itself into the political arena, with Jeffersonian Republicans and then Democrats railing against the entrenched Federalist establishment. The electoral system of the day favored the party in power and certain men and families served repeatedly, a group known as the Standing Order. Jeffersonian Republicans, however, opposed special privileges for the Congregational Church and the standup voting law, and wished to ease suffrage restrictions, consistently portraying themselves as the party of the common people. Negative popular reaction to Federalist maneuverings at the Hartford Convention, and united efforts by Baptist, Methodist, and Episcopal voters, finally brought Republicans to power in 1817-1818. Republican displacement of the Federalist establishment led to the Constitution of 1818, which eliminated the standup law, liberalized voting laws, and disestablished the Congregational Church. Other changes sponsored by Republican leaders in the 1820s included ending imprisonment of women for debt, simplification of alien land purchases, and creation of separate senatorial districts.

Rise of the Jacksonians in the late 1820s and 1830s led to more insistent calls for change, including demands for manhood suffrage, tax reform, greater accountability of public officials, and complete abolition of imprisonment for debt. Workingmen's groups, which first appeared in the 1830s, expressed special concern over low wages, long hours, loss of social status, lack of educational opportunities, mandatory militia service, debtor laws, and discrimination against the poor. Though Connecticut's inherent conservatism and the influence of substantial businessmen prevented any radical makeover of political and economic systems, significant incremental reform was achieved in this era. More notable acts included passage of a limited 10-hour workday law for children (1842), granting of religious equality to Jews (1843), extension of protection for married women's property, wages, and inheritance (1845), and ending required militia service (1847). Other changes encompassed final abolition of debtors' prison, repeal of the poll tax, passage of a mechanics' lien law and a general incorporation law, simplification of divorce proceedings, and a steady movement towards greater popular control over legislative and judicial officials.

Neo-Classical and Romantic Architecture

The decades between 1780 and 1850 witnessed dramatic changes in architectural styles within the Western Uplands. Following the American Revolution, and especially after 1790, popular taste moved away from traditional central-chimney Saltboxes, New England Farmhouses, and Capes as prominent citizens began erecting homes in the new Federal style which emphasized

classical design details and had gained wide acceptance in cosmopolitan urban centers. Based on the work of English architects Robert and James Adam, and more refined and delicate than its Georgian predecessor, the Federal style was popularized along the Atlantic coast by Charles Bulfinch and his peers, while others carried the design theories inland, most notably Asher Benjamin, who published a series of pattern books which penetrated all levels of society.

The most impressive examples of the Federal style, usually built by local notables, mimicked Roman temple forms by moving the entry to the gable end of a two-story structure (thus creating a sidehall floorplan) and exhibited a fully pedimented facade, often embellished with modillions, mutules, and denticulation. In addition to gable-end structures which emulated classical temples, rural builders in the Federal era also constructed blocky rectangular houses with end chimneys and shallow hipped roofs. The additional area provided by the broad facade often accommodated a Palladian window above the entryway. End chimneys meant houses could incorporate a center-hall floor plan, complete with elaborate stairways.

Most homeowners in the Western Uplands, however, eschewed Roman temples or hip-roofed houses and instead retained the older gable-roofed form with five bays, central entry, and central chimney, but embellished the structure with stylish doorways, cornices, and gable ornaments. Builders lavished special care on the entry, incorporating elaborate surrounds consisting of classically inspired pilasters, sidelights, and molded entablatures. The Federal-era preference for the oval and ellipse found expression in semicircular and segmental transoms with keyed molded arches, often with delicate leaded fanlights, as well as elliptical and demilune gable ornaments containing leaded lights or wooden louvers. Though urban examples of the Federal style quickly adopted larger lights placed in six-over-six sash, rural builders utilized small-pane twelve-over-twelve sash well into the nineteenth century. While most such rural Federal houses were built of wood, a few were constructed of red brick with contrasting window sills, lintels, and doorway arches of light-colored marble, limestone, or granite. Federal design elements, especially doorways and moldings, could also be added to update traditional Capes.

Many examples of the Federal style survive in the Western Uplands, both residences and religious and municipal structures. Often they were the work of talented master builders who combined vernacular practices and details drawn from contemporary pattern books. The Wheeler-Beecher House in Bethany, a David Hoadley-designed 1807 building with elaborate entry surround, Palladian window, and molded/dentil cornice, is a particularly fine example, as is the 1820 David Hotchkiss House in Prospect, a more traditional five-bay Federal. Rapid replacement of colonial-era meetinghouses in the early decades of the nineteenth century led to construction of many Federal-style churches. These include Woodbury's First Congregational Church, erected c.1816-1819 following a lengthy period of disagreement within the parish over the proper location for a new meetinghouse (Photograph 4). In fact, a second church, North Congregational, was erected less than one mile away. First Congregational Church incorporates a variety of period details, especially its full-height Doric pilasters, triglyph-and-metope frieze, pedimented gable and modillioned eaves, projecting two-story porch with tripled entrances, each surmounted by a keyed, arched transom, and two-stage spire exhibiting arched louvers. Other representative period structures include Newtown's 1808 Congregational Church built by Isaac Scudder, Derby's 1820 Congregational Church raised by Amos Williams and Nathaniel Barnum,

and the Congregational Church of New Preston Hill, built in 1824 of locally quarried stone by Theodore Cadwell of Windsor and Leman Ackley of New Preston. The David Hoadley-designed Bethany Episcopal Church of 1809-1810 maintains a rare surviving mid-nineteenth-century carriage shed. The Federal style also proved popular for municipal structures, especially after disestablishment of the Congregational Church in 1818 led some communities to construct separate town offices. Two fine local examples include the town houses in Wilton (1832) and Redding (1834).

During this same era builders in the southern tier of Western Uplands towns erected numerous examples of a popular regional variant of the Federal style, a three-bay side-gable house with offset entry and sidehall plan, often incorporating a small single-story wing or similar ell in the rear. They commonly appear in Fairfield County communities, in neighboring Westchester County, and across the Sound on Long Island. These sidehall houses exhibited a range of Federal-era design details, especially prominent entries with sidelights, elliptical transoms, and molded pilasters and pediments, molded window heads, and molded and keyed demilune windows in the end gables. Several excellent examples are located in Easton, including the c. 1830 Baptist Parsonage.

In the 1830s the Federal style began giving way to a new architectural fashion, the Greek Revival, with the transition nearly completed by 1840. Many social and political trends account for the shift, including admiration for ancient Greek democracy coupled with the rise of Jacksonian democracy at home, enthusiasm for Greek independence in that country's contemporary struggle with the Ottoman Empire, dissemination of information regarding archaeological discoveries of the past half century, and pursuit of classical studies by nearly all educated Americans of that era. A general hiatus in building caused by the financial panic of 1837, followed by a rash of new construction in the early 1840s when prosperous times returned, made the shift in taste even more pronounced.

These new buildings, however, represented an evolution, rather than a complete repudiation of Federal architecture. Significantly, Greek Revival structures retained and even augmented the temple-front gable-end orientation of their immediate predecessors, often incorporating columned porticos. An alternative form, generally square or rectangular with a shallow hip roof, enjoyed widespread popularity as well. In all cases builders employed a classical stylistic vocabulary, but with important modifications, largely abandoning the Federal arch and ellipse. Detailing became flatter and more rectilinear in form. Doorways became even more pronounced, incorporating wide flat pilasters and strongly molded horizontal entablatures. Other typical details included wide friezeboards, frieze ("eyebrow") windows, especially in side and rear ells, wide flat cornerboards or pilasters, and six-over-six sash. In all, the Greek Revival style constituted a stronger, bolder, simpler architectural statement.

Communities in the Western Uplands contain a wealth of attractive Greek Revival structures, everything from mansions and meetinghouses to shops and even rare doctors' and lawyers' offices. The c. 1831 Franklin Ambler House in Trumbull (Nichols Farms Historic District, Photograph 5) incorporates paneled corner pilasters, a wide frieze punctuated by windows, and a full-width porch supported by stout fluted Doric columns, while the Theodore Terry House

(1831) in Bristol exhibits a monumental two-story gabled portico on the street elevation. Other prominent regional examples include the George Nichols (1835), E. P. Nichols (1845), G. B. Ambler (1846), and Charles Fairchild (1857) Houses in Trumbull (all Nichols Farms Historic District); the Phineas Smith Office (1840) in Roxbury (Roxbury Center Historic District); and the stone John Howe House (1850) in Derby. Woodbury's c. 1840 Masonic Temple is a small jewel, a perfect Doric temple perched on a rocky outcropping overlooking the community. Local builders also adapted the popular three-bay side-hall residences which first emerged in the Federal era to the new Greek Revival style by simply modifying doorways, porches, and other decorative details in accordance with pattern books produced by architects such as Asher Benjamin and Minard Lafever.

Dozens of institutional buildings in the Greek Revival style were also erected after 1830, especially meetinghouses and academies. Good examples of these white clapboarded structures survive in the Western Uplands, and many are still in use. Typical features include gable-end orientation, prominent two-story porticos with monumental columns, pilaster-and-lintel door surrounds, louvered blinds (shutters), and square belfries with classical pilasters. Illustrative of the type are Southbury Methodist Church (1832), Bethlehem Congregational Church (1836), Newtown Academy (1837), Middlebury Congregational Church (1840), Morris Town House (1861), Redding Congregational Church (1837), Roxbury Congregational Church (1838) and Chapel (1844), Wilton Center Congregational Church (1844), Wilton's Zion Hill Methodist Church (1840), and Easton Congregational (1836) and Baptist (1829) Churches.

Despite its enormous popularity, the Greek Revival style proved relatively short-lived in its reign, soon giving way to newer architectural innovations. Design theorists and architects like Andrew Jackson Downing and Alexander Jackson Davis, who criticised the sterility and blinding whiteness of "Greek" buildings, promoted the Gothic Revival style as a more romantic and picturesque alternative. Builders incorporated such medieval precedents as steeply pitched roofs with cross gables, asymmetrical massing, tall chimneys, decorated vergeboards, trefoil and quatrefoil motifs, lancet and bay windows, window dripmolds, board-and-batten siding, and porches with flattened pointed (Tudor) arches.

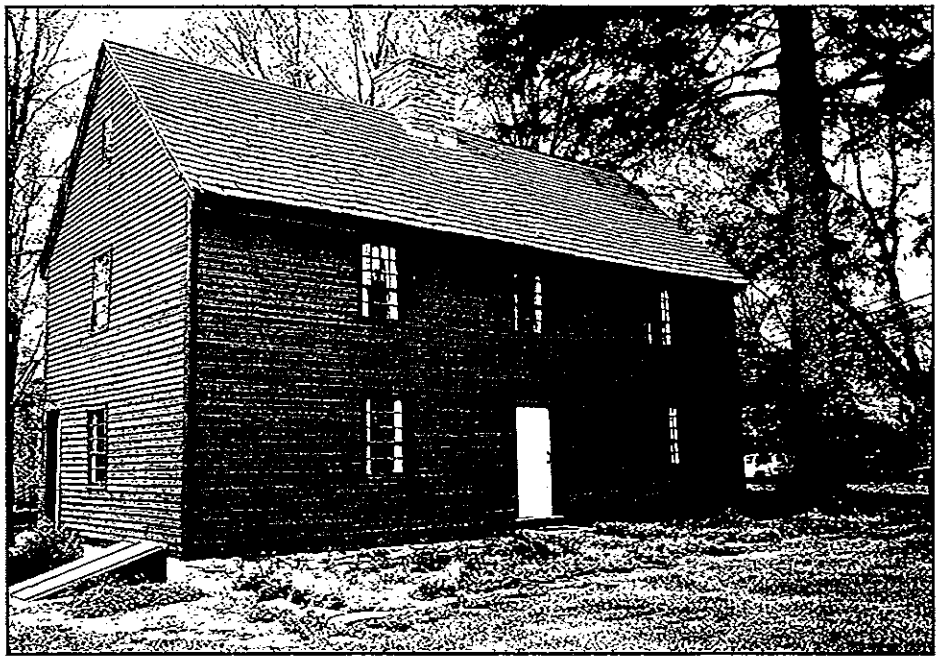
Early examples of Gothic Revival architecture in the Western Uplands were largely confined to ecclesiastical structures, especially Episcopal churches, which drew heavily on the English Gothic heritage. A good representative of the type is Washington's St. Andrew's Church, built in 1822-1823, a brick structure which utilizes large lancet windows in the nave, flanking the entry, and surmounting the entry as well. Lancet forms also define the louvered ventilators in the belfry, which is topped by a Gothic spire and four pinnacles. Bethlehem's Christ Episcopal Church, erected in 1828-1832, follows a similar design. By contrast, very few secular buildings in the Gothic Revival style appeared in the Western Uplands prior to 1850. Instead, local builders tended to graft occasional design elements onto otherwise traditional structures.

By mid-century, however, the Gothic Revival style had gained many more adherents, especially among the urban elite, and one of the most important residences of this type was constructed in Waterbury in 1852 for industrialist William Scovill, a leading brass manufacturer

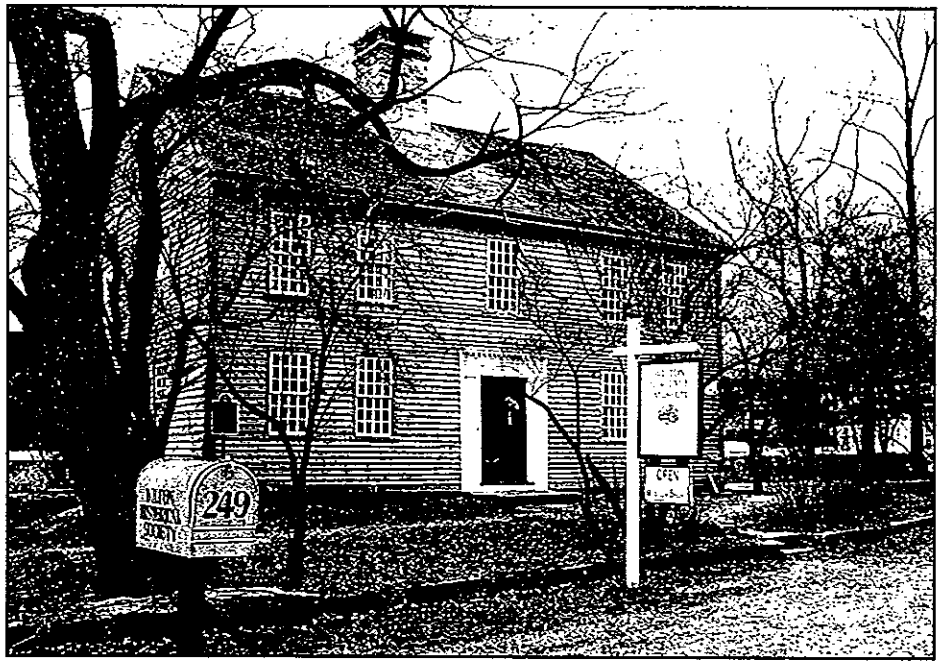
(Photograph 7). Called Rose Hill by its owner, the house was designed by Henry Austin (1804-1891), one of Connecticut's premier nineteenth-century architects. Austin's plans for this substantial home incorporated steep cross gables, quatrefoil porch balusters, lancet windows, and finial-and-drop elements in the side gables.

Buildings in the Italianate or Italian Villa style also enjoyed great popularity in the mid-nineteenth century, though generally after 1850, and were similarly promoted as romantic alternatives to the dominant Greek Revival style. They displayed low-pitched roofs, asymmetrical massing, wide overhanging eaves supported by large decorative brackets, and chamfered porch columns. Windows were often larger and taller than in earlier homes and typically contained two-over-two sash. Many windows, frequently round-arched, were surmounted by prominent molded hoods and entablatures. Bay windows were commonly employed as well, as were visually balanced (though not always symmetrical) facades, elaborate porches, towers, and square cupolas (belvederes). The c. 1850 Glover and Frederick Sanford House in Bridgewater, enlarged and remodelled from an earlier residence, is one of the earliest and purest examples of the Italian Villa style to be found in the Western Uplands (Photograph 6). The Sanford family were important hat manufacturers.

The Italianate style truly came into vogue after mid-century, with its popularity lasting for several decades. Later notable examples include the Hiram St. John and Aaron Davis Houses in Redding (both c. 1860, Georgetown Historic District), the George Grannis House and the F. J. Kingsbury Villa in Waterbury (both Hillside Historic District), and the c. 1876 Judge Benjamin Griffin House in Brookfield (Brookfield Center Historic District). When parishioners remodelled the Seymour Episcopal Church after 1857, they incorporated round-arched windows in the nave, bracketed eaves, and round-arched louvers in the belfry. Bethel's c. 1865 Congregational Church exhibits extensive Italianate detailing as well.

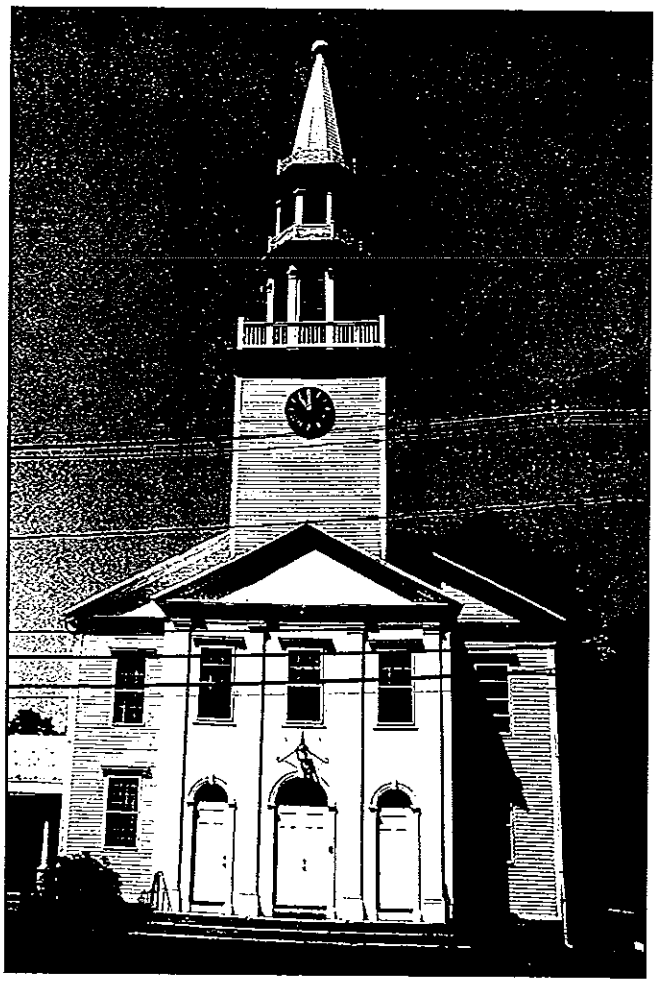


1. Hurd House, Woodbury Historic District No.1, Woodbury. Post-medieval style, c. 1680. View northwest.



2. Sloan-Raymond-Fitch House, Wilton. New England Farmhouse style, c. 1760-1780. View northwest.

3. Joseph Bellamy House, Bethlehem. Georgian style, c. 1754-1790. View north.

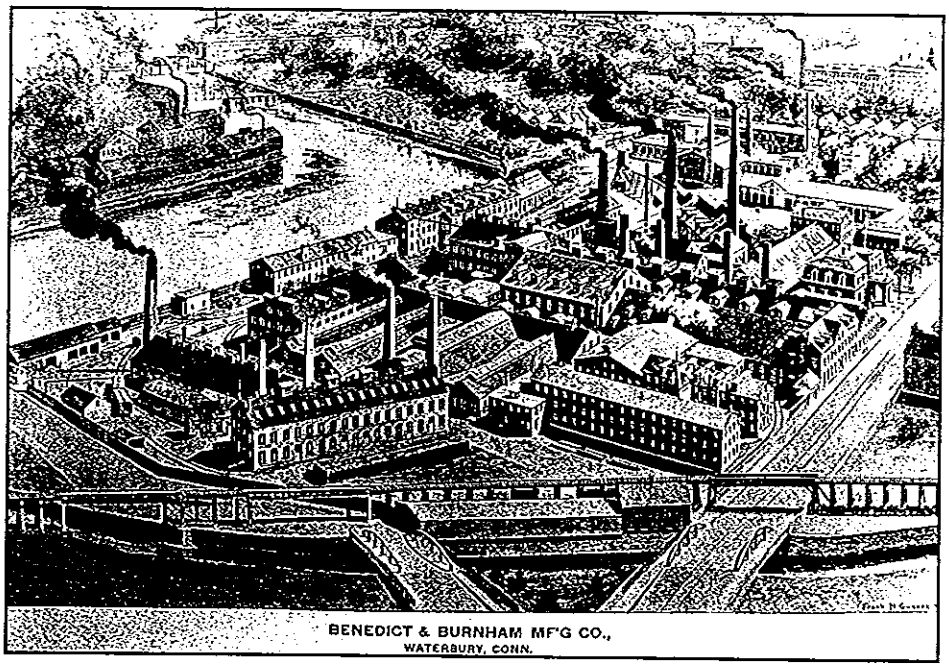


4. First Congregational Church, Woodbury Historic District No.1, Woodbury. Federal style, c. 1816-1819. View west.

5. Franklin Ambler House, Nichols Farm Historic District, Trumbull. Greek Revival style, c. 1831. View north.

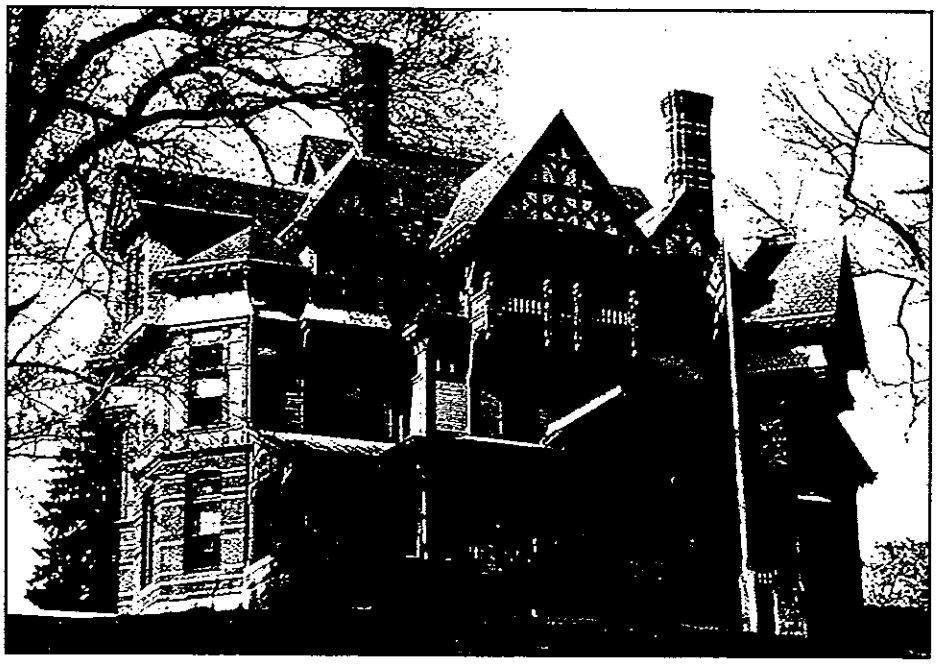
6. Glover Sanford House, Bridgewater. Italianate style, c. 1850. View southeast.

7. William Scovill House (Rose Hill), Hillside Historic District, Waterbury. Gothic Revival style, 1852. View north.

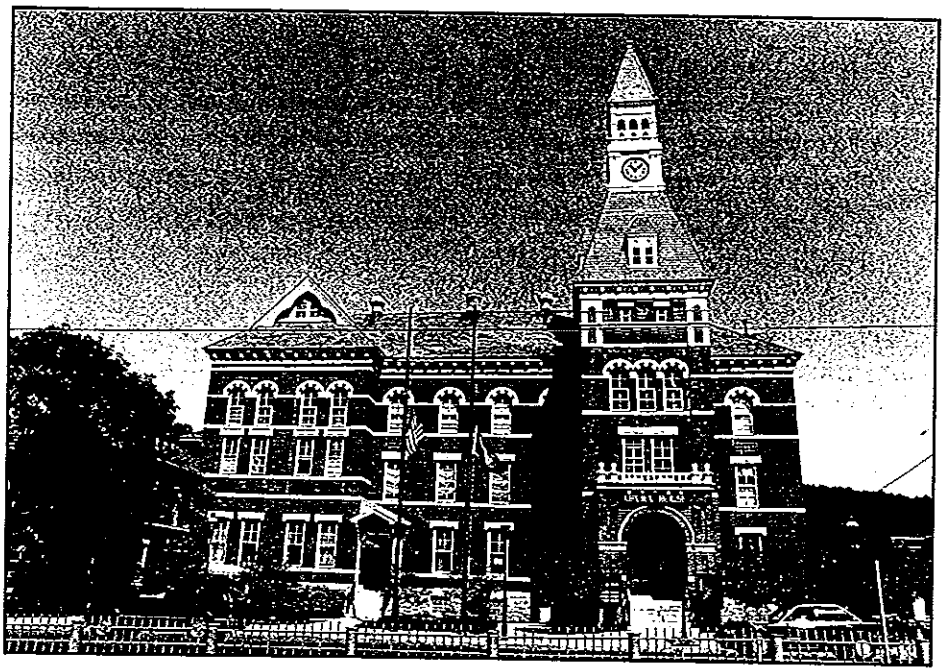


8. Benedict and Burnham Manufacturing Company, Waterbury. Historic engraving, birdseye view, c. 1893. View west.

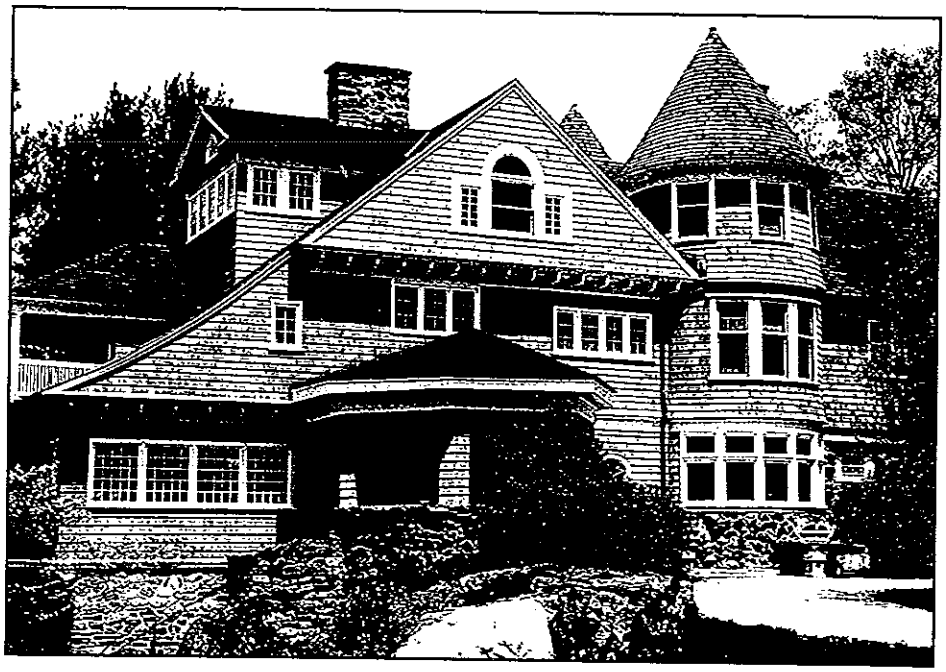
9. Bronson Tuttle House, Naugatuck. Historic photograph, Queen Anne style, 1879-1881. View west.



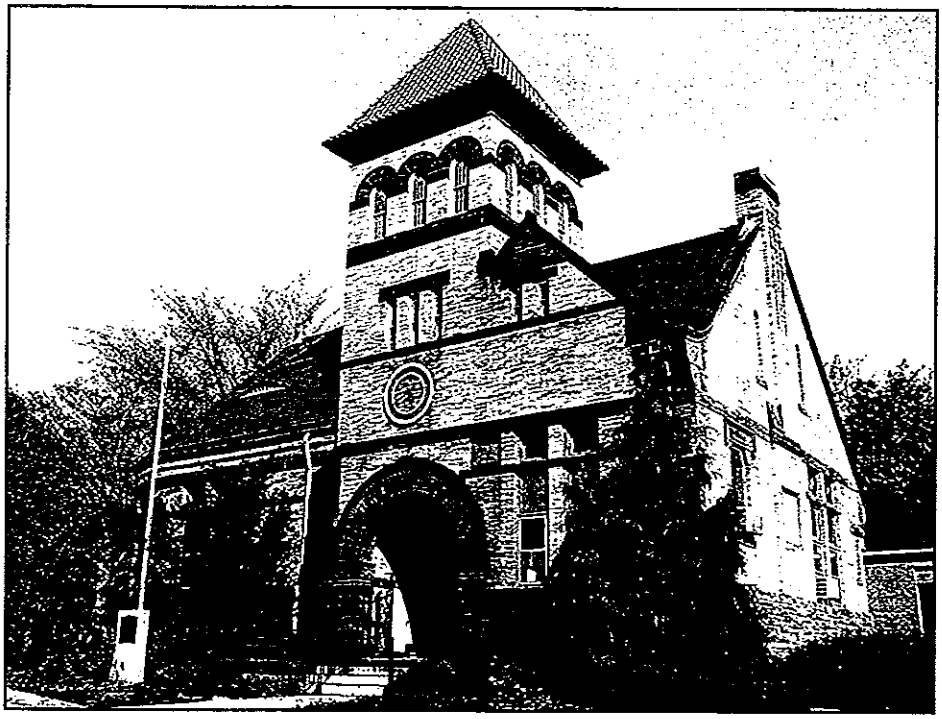
10. Charles Benedict House, Hillside Historic District,Waterbury. Stick style, 1879. View north.



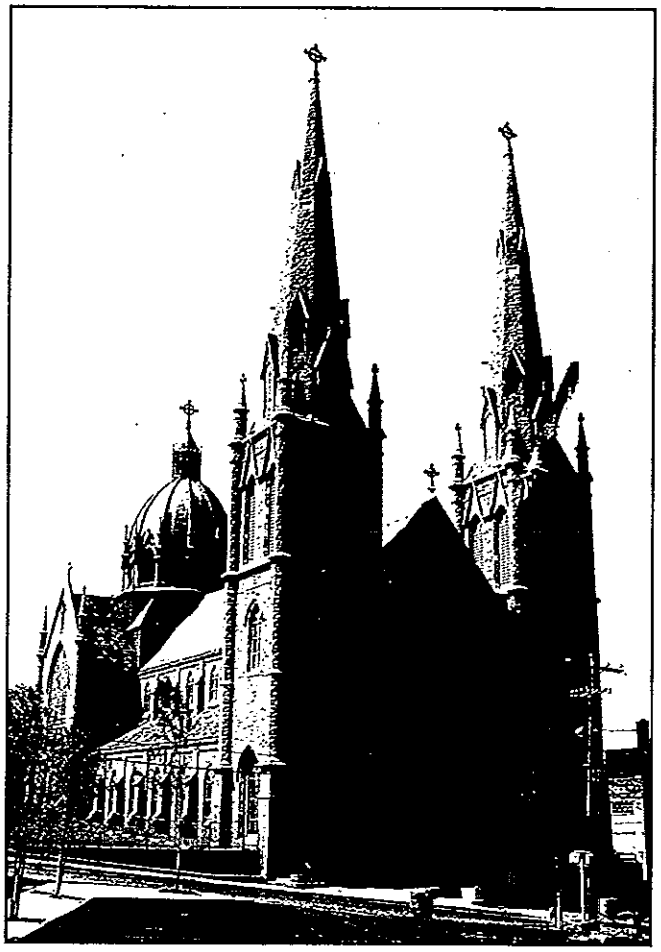
11. Thomaston Opera House/Town Hall, Thomaston. Victorian Eclectic style, 1883-1885. View west.



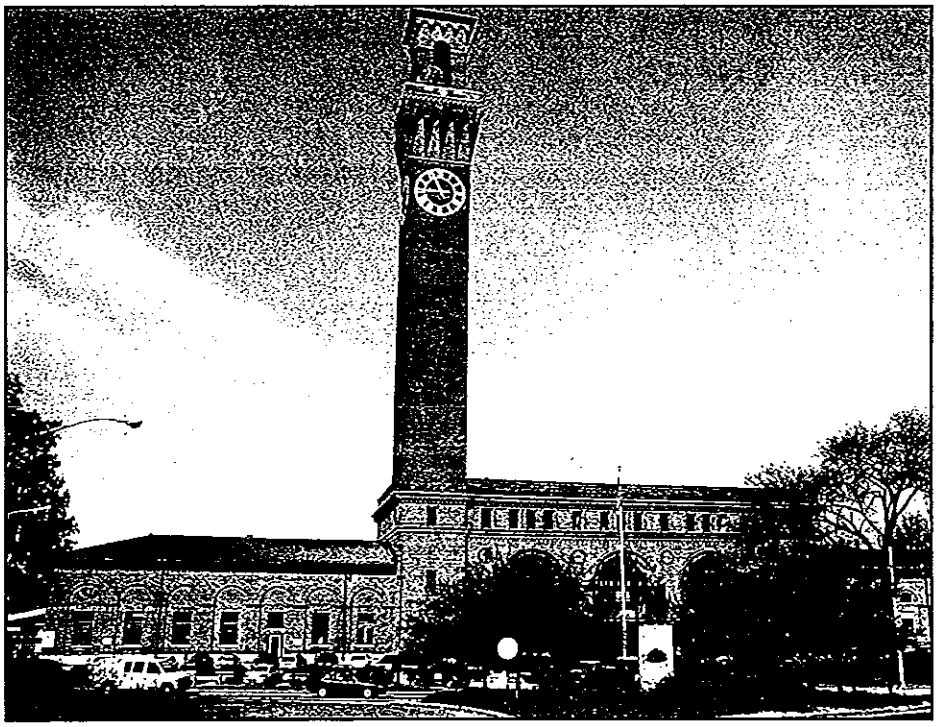
12. Erik Rossiter House (The Rocks), Washington Green Historic District, Washington. Shingle style, 1888-1889. View north.



13. Plumb Library, Shelton. Romanesque Revival style, 1895.

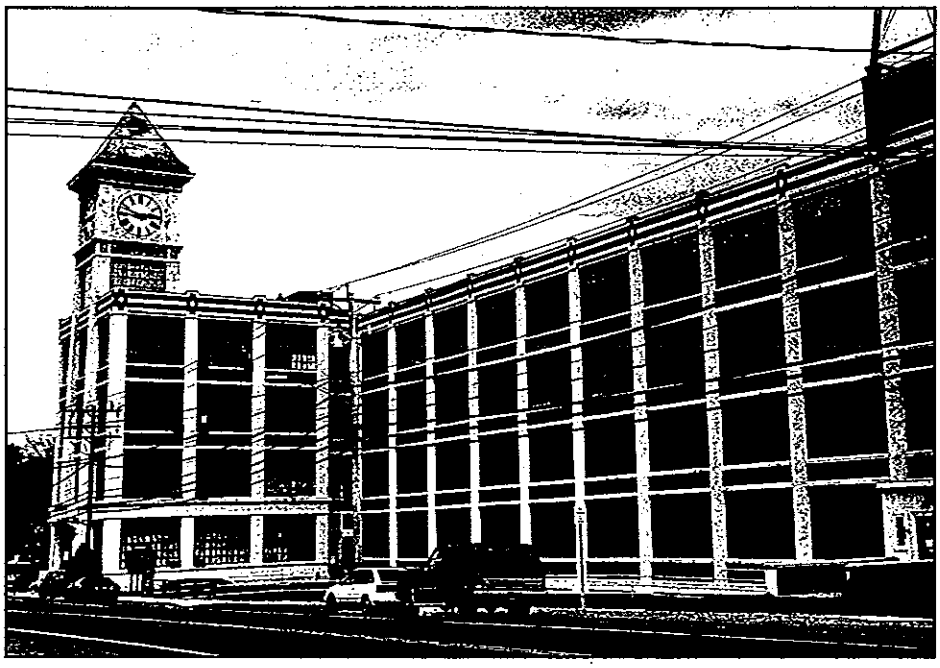


14. Anne's Church, Waterbury. Ecclesiastical Gothic style, 1906. View south.



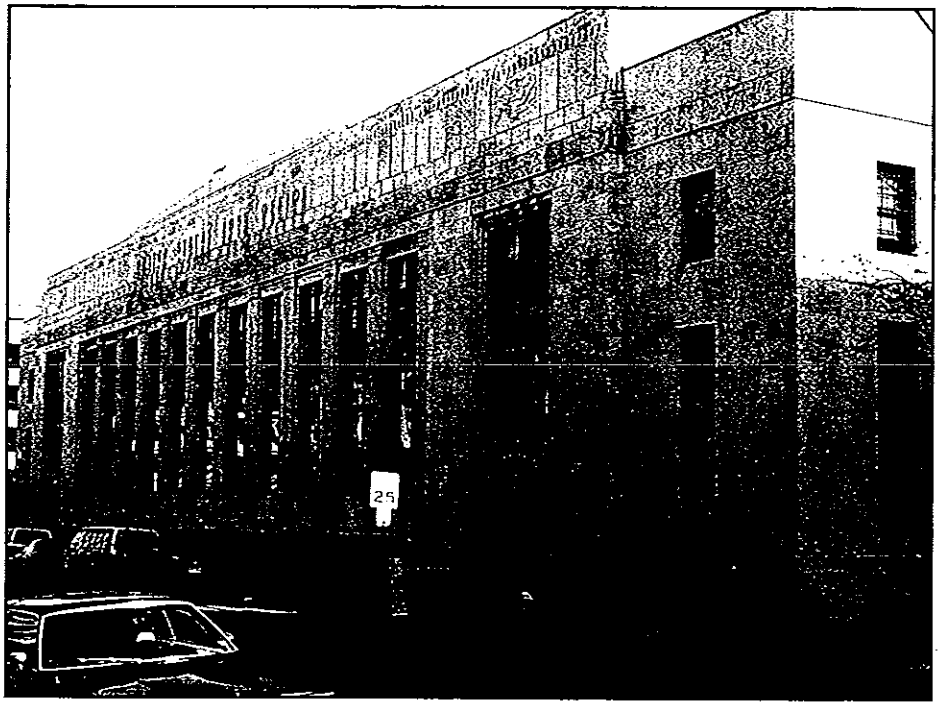
15. Union Station, Waterbury. Renaissance Revival style, 1909. View west.

16. Henry Barnes House (Chimney Crest), Bristol. Tudor Revival style, c. 1925. View southeast.

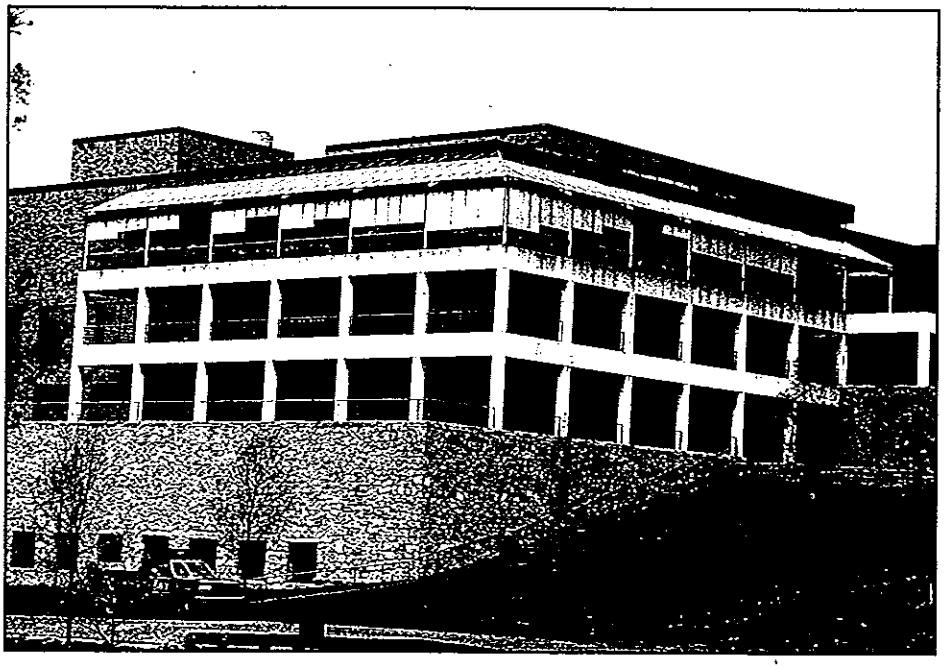


17. Seth Thomas Clock Company Factory, Thomaston. 1915. View northeast.

18. Edmond Town Hall, Newtown. Colonial Revival style, 1930. View west.



19. Waterbury Post Office, Downtown Waterbury Historic District, Waterbury. Art Deco style, 1931. View southeast.



20. IBM Offices, Southbury. 1987-1988. View east.

IV. INDUSTRIAL AND URBAN GROWTH PERIOD 1850-1930

After 1850, and especially following the Civil War, the processes of social and economic change in Connecticut accelerated rapidly. Manufacturing grew by leaps and bounds, and new technologies led to new industries. Agriculture experienced damaging competition and embraced greater commercialization and specialization. Rural towns tended to lose population, while cities grew explosively. Several enormous waves of European immigrants brought ethnic and religious diversity to the chiefly homogeneous state, and population soared. Industrialization, urbanization, and immigration drastically altered the physical landscape and fundamentally restructured society as Connecticut's new multi-ethnic urban industrial culture supplanted the traditional Protestant culture of rural towns. Revolutionary advances in transportation and communications introduced interurban trolleys, automobiles, airplanes, telephones, and radios. By 1930 suburbanization was well underway.

Civil War

Questions regarding slavery, abolition, free soil, and emergence of the Republican party roiled Connecticut politics in the 1840s and 1850s. Candidate Abraham Lincoln's swing through the state in 1860, including a visit to Waterbury, focused attention even more keenly on the burning issues of the era. The situation came to a head with the Confederate attack on federal Fort Sumter in South Carolina on April 12, 1861. While some elements of Connecticut society had supported accommodation with the South and stoutly opposed expanded rights for African Americans, the assault in Charleston Harbor united the populace, and in the next four years more than 50,000 state residents joined the Union Army. Many of these came from the Western Uplands. Waterbury, for example, supplied more than 800 volunteers, Bristol a further 385, and Naugatuck counted 236 recruits. Every town carried its share of the burden. Places like Newtown, Plymouth, Washington, and Watertown each yielded 100-125 volunteers, and even smaller towns such as Bethlehem, Morris, and Roxbury each sent 15-60 young men off to war.

In many cases single towns filled the ranks of individual infantry and artillery companies, often recruited by local officers. Bristol, Derby, and Waterbury each sent one or more companies. When officials began recruiting for the Eighth Regiment, they found a ready response in the Western Uplands where young men from Bethel, Brookfield, Newtown, Southbury, and Washington joined Company I. Connecticut also contributed substantial manpower to two infantry units composed of African American volunteers, the Twenty-Ninth and Thirtieth Regiments. Both were recruited from all regions of the state, with the Western Uplands' small black community providing scores of volunteers. White officers commanded these soldiers, Colonel William Wooster of Derby in the case of the Twenty-Ninth Regiment. African Americans supplied the non-commissioned officers and rank-and-file, however, men like Sergeant John Weston of Woodbridge and Corporal William Mitchell of Oxford. Bridgewater

sent five men to the Twenty-Ninth, with other recruits hailing from Derby, Newtown, Plymouth, Watertown, Woodbury, and elsewhere.

In addition to manpower losses caused by battle, disease, and imprisonment, the war placed a tremendous strain on local society as well. With so many men in the army, women were forced to shoulder an even greater share of the workload on area farms. In Naugatuck the high school closed temporarily for lack of students. To encourage enlistments, town governments borrowed money and raised taxes to pay bounties which eventually reached $500 per man in some communities. Municipalities also provided relief for families of men in service.

The war also dramatically affected industry within the Western Uplands. In a few cases the impact was negative, especially to those firms which had cultivated trade with Southern customers in the antebellum era. In Plymouth, for example, Augustus Shelton watched his sales of carriages plummet. Other firms, however, prospered in the face of increased demand for a wide range of products. Brassmakers supplied shell casings and percussion caps. Scovill buttons gleamed on the uniforms of thousands of Union volunteers. Iron foundries produced heavy reinforced hubs for artillery caissons and wagons. In Beacon Falls, Naugatuck, Newtown, and Waterbury rubber manufacturers supplied soldiers with ponchos, blankets, mittens, boots, and gloves. Demand for labor-saving agricultural implements soared.

With the return of peace in 1865, Western Uplands veterans and residents sought ways to commemorate the deeds and sacrifices of soldiers. Within a few years entire communities celebrated Decoration Day with parades, picnics, orations, and visits to cemeteries to place flowers on graves of the fallen. Bristol erected a war memorial in 1866, and Derby followed in 1883. The next year Waterbury dedicated on its green the grandest monument of all, a great bronze personification of Liberty designed by Poughkeepsie sculptor George Bissell. The veterans themselves soon formed the Grand Army of the Republic, a fraternal organization dedicated to commemorating their wartime activities and furthering the aims of the Republican Party. Derby organized its GAR post in 1868 with 64 charter members, later joined by a sons of veterans group, and similar GAR posts appeared throughout the region.

Industry and Transportation

The second half of the nineteenth century and early decades of the twentieth constituted a period of explosive industrial growth in Connecticut, marked by formation of huge firms with massive output. The Naugatuck Valley reigned as brass center of North America, with a string of factories from Torrington to Bridgeport (Photograph 8). Due to rapid consolidation there were generally fewer firms as time passed, but much larger ones, more heavily capitalized, and counting their workforces not in scores or even hundreds, but in thousands. In addition to earlier industrial centers, new factory communities such as Beacon Falls also emerged. Shelton flourished following completion of a monumental new waterpower project undertaken by the Ousatonic Water Company in 1867 which included an 870-foot dam across the Housatonic River and a 5,600-foot power canal. By 1884 the Naugatuck Valley controlled three-quarters of the nation's

brass rolling and manufacturing. In 1895 Waterbury, the state's third-largest industrial center, produced 61 percent of America's sheet brass. By 1900 three major firms had consolidated much of the industry--Scovill, American (later Anaconda), and Chase (later Kennecott). Waterbury also supported a wide range of important secondary industries, including fabrication of buttons, fasteners, clocks, and watches.

In addition to enormous brass conglomerates, regional industrial centers supported a wide range of manufacturing enterprises. In Naugatuck several independent firms, such as the Goodyear Metallic Shoe Company and the India Rubber Glove Company, merged in the 1890s to form the United States Rubber Company with more than 2,000 employees. Factories from Shelton to Thomaston produced vast quantities of clocks, buttons, pins, heavy machinery, iron forgings and castings, horseshoes, carriage hardware, bolts and tacks, tableware and cutlery, and jewelry. Thomaston alone produced 100,000 clocks in 1880. In Seymour the Waterman Pen Company pioneered the development of hard rubber (case) fountain pens. To the east Bristol supported a vigorous and diversified industrial establishment which included the Sessions Foundry, Bristol Brass and Clock Company, Wallace Barnes, American Silver Company, and Horton Manufacturing. These and related firms produced clocks, cutlery, brass goods, iron castings and forgings, and bells.

The latter decades of the nineteenth century also witnessed the emergence of labor unions within the region, and renewed efforts by employees and their allies to improve the lot of working men and women. Workers had not fully benefited from increased productivity, and living conditions within immigrant neighborhoods frequently proved abominable, with racial and ethnic prejudice common. Nascent labor organizations sought to reduce hours and raise wages, regulate children's and women's work, and gain union recognition. The Knights of Labor, organized in 1878, managed to elect 37 members to the General Assembly of 1885 where they advocated restoration of the Bureau of Labor Statistics (a *cause celebre* in its day), the secret ballot, shorter hours for women, a minimum child labor age, and weekly payment of wages. Following demise of the Knights in the late 1880s, the American Federation of Labor emerged as the leading workingmen's organization, favoring skilled workers, concentrating its efforts on achieving higher wages, shorter hours, and better working conditions, and preferring collective bargaining to the strike. The organization counted 14,000 members in 1900 and more than 30,000 in 1902, about 10 percent of the state's manufacturing workforce. Bristol employees formed their first union, the Bristol Metal Polishers, in 1899. By 1903 Waterbury supported 45 small craft unions, including the Lady Brass Workers.

In the face of unremitting hostility from much of the business community, labor advocates achieved limited gains in the name of workers' rights. The Bureau of Labor Statistics was indeed restored in 1885. Other gains included legislation of a 60-hour weekly maximum for women's work, weekly payment of wages, and use of the secret ballot. The General Assembly set a minimum work age limit of 14 in 1895 and outlawed the blacklist in 1897. Lawmakers improved the factory inspection law in 1909, and limited workers' compensation went into effect in 1913. Labor also made some political gains. At the turn of the century Ansonia voters selected socialist Stephen Charters as mayor, while labor leader George Sullivan became mayor of Derby.

Despite some amelioration, life in the mills and foundries remained hard and dangerous, and the typical work week consisted of 48-60 hours of toil. In 1916, a year of rapid production increases generated by World War I, Waterbury brass giant Scovill recorded 16,000 accidents (including 518 wrist, 977 hand, 7,967 finger, 912 arm, and 877 eye injuries) requiring 60,000 surgical dressings. Many employees suffered from ailments caused by breathing metal fumes and dust, including the dreaded "spelter shakes" and "brass founders' ague."

World War I provided even greater impetus to regional industrial expansion, as demand from the Allied powers set off a production boom. By August 1915 brass factories in the Naugatuck Valley had all the orders they could fill, prices doubled, and Scovill stock soared from $145 to $500 per share. Increased employment and rising wages triggered greatly increased spending on real estate and consumer goods such as automobiles. Most companies commenced huge construction programs to increase production capacity. Soon thousands of out-of-state workers poured in, causing an acute housing shortage. Bristol Brass housed 100 of its new employees in tents, while the New Departure Company, also in Bristol, went into the homebuilding business, creating the Endee Manor subdivision containing 102 frame houses set on small lots on three adjacent streets in the northwest sector of the city. Other Bristol firms which constructed workers' housing developments in this era included Bristol Realty Company, Bristol Brass, and National Marine Lamp Company. Scovill in Waterbury also erected housing for workers, building 150 brick homes which sold for $4200-$4700, along with several barracks and boarding houses. During the war Scovill operated night and day, producing 2,000,000,000 shell casings, 19,000,000 75mm shells, 443,000,000 bullets, 21,000,000 fuses, and 500,000,000 other brass items, with a work force which jumped from 3,500 in 1915 to 13,500 in 1918. In Bristol the number of employees at Bristol Brass more than tripled between 1915 and 1918. The Beacon Falls Rubber Shoe Company produced gas masks, survival suits, flotation devices, military boots and shoes, and life rafts.

The end of World War I and rapid cancellation of war orders threw Connecticut's manufacturing economy into turmoil. Soaring food prices, high housing costs, return of demobilized veterans, and anti-Bolshevik hysteria evidenced in many communities created tense and explosive times. Thousands of laid-off workers departed the state as quickly as they had arrived. Those remaining initiated a series of strikes. In 1919 almost 3,000 employees walked off the job at U. S. Rubber in Naugatuck. Most of the large brass mills and foundries from Ansonia to Waterbury were hit, first in 1919 and again in 1920. Government responded by mobilizing police and state guardsmen and arresting hundreds of suspected Bolshevik agitators in Waterbury, Ansonia, and Bristol. At the same time officials in Waterbury, Naugatuck, and Ansonia petitioned the General Assembly for funds to construct new National Guard armories to help maintain order.

Relative calm returned to Connecticut by the early 1920s, with corporate executives now acting as acknowledged leaders, and throughout the decade the state economy generally prospered, but with a rate of growth lower than in other parts of the country. In fact, there were 40,000 fewer manufacturing employees in 1929 than there had been in 1919. Textiles and hardware were particularly hard hit. Southern competition, combined with high railroad and energy costs, initiated a decline that became even more visible after 1930. In response, Connecticut turned increasingly towards higher-skilled manufacturing, including specialty parts for automobiles,

electrical power equipment, and aviation engines. Bristol's New Departure Company, for example, flourished, producing vast quantities of ball bearings, a product practically invented by the corporation, and automobile parts for General Motors.

Throughout the period changes in transportation complemented changes in industry. Investors first upgraded and completed the railroad network begun in the 1830s and 1840s. In 1855 the Boston, Hartford and Erie line reached Waterbury. A decade later the General Assembly chartered the Derby and New Haven Railroad. The company organized in 1867, began construction in 1868, and completed the line in 1871. In 1869 stockholders held the first meeting of the Shepaug Railroad, construction began in 1870, and workers drove the last spike in 1872. The new 32-mile route ran from Litchfield to Hawleyville in Fairfield County, with connections to destinations farther south, providing access for passengers and freight in Western Uplands hill towns. Short-haul connections linked Derby and Bethel in 1868, Watertown and Waterbury in 1870, Hawleyville in Newtown and Waterbury in 1881, and Waterbury and Westfield in 1888. Also in the 1880s several cities constructed horse car and trolley lines, followed by electric interurban lines in the 1890s and early 1900s, all of which provided thousands of workers and excursioners with rapid inexpensive transportation for commuting or recreational purposes.

In the twentieth century the automobile emerged as an important mode of transportation. In 1908 Connecticut mapped out a system of Trunk Line Roads linking the state's principal communities and smaller State Aid Roads which intersected the larger routes. In 1913 the General Assembly authorized creation of 14 Trunk Roads, one of which ran from Danbury to Providence, Rhode Island (present U. S. Route 6), cutting through the Western Uplands. In 1915 the state assumed control of bridge construction, one of the first projects being a lengthy concrete-arch span across the Housatonic River at Derby. Individual cities such as Waterbury began issuing building permits for garages and initiated large-scale local paving programs. The 1920s brought substantial paving and building projects, including construction of hundreds of small highway bridges which are still in daily use. Receipts from gasoline taxes underwrote much of this work. By 1930 many of the present numbered state routes were in place and Connecticut counted 4,000 miles of paved roads and 400,000 licensed drivers.

Immigration and Urbanization

Development of large-scale manufacturing required thousands of workers, and migration from Connecticut farms initially played an important role in creating an industrial labor force. After the 1840s, however, immigration from Europe supplied most new employees. Continuing with little respite until World War I, this population shift completely changed the demographic face of Connecticut, causing cities and towns to grow in both number and geographic extent. In a short period the formerly rural and agricultural state became very urbanized. By 1890 Connecticut counted 623,000 citizens living in cities and large towns, and only 123,000 in rural areas. In the next 20 years rural population declined slightly to 115,000, while urban population soared to 1,000,000. The state's top 15 cities and towns alone contained 56 percent of the total population.

Urban areas grew in spectacular fashion, especially when compared with earlier experiences. A major center like Waterbury jumped from 20,000 residents in 1880 to approximately 100,000 by 1918. Similarly, Derby leaped from 3,800 in 1850 to 11,000 in 1920, while Ansonia's population increased from 5,000 in 1880 to 20,000 by 1930. Naugatuck and Bristol also experienced explosive growth, the former expanding from 1,700 inhabitants in 1850 to 15,000 by 1920, and the latter from 2,900 in 1850 to 28,000 by 1930. Though not every community grew at the same rate, or at exactly the same time, the general trend was clear and dramatic.

Massive physical expansion and related construction programs characterized Connecticut's growing cities, including street after street of workers' cottages, rowhouses, two and three-family homes, affluent residential districts, and, by the end of the nineteenth century, suburban subdivisions. By that time class and ethnic lines clearly delineated urban neighborhoods. Cities also grew through annexation or consolidation, Waterbury, originally chartered in 1853 as a compact city within the larger Waterbury town boundaries, being a classic example. In the 1890s the General Assembly made city and town boundaries coterminus, increasing the size of the city by a factor of six. Even as cities expanded, however, transportation improvements such as horse cars and electric trolleys all focused attention on new downtown/central business districts which soon acquired paved streets and street lamps.

A vast stream of European immigration underlay dramatic urban growth. Fleeing hard times, political oppression, and famine, Irish immigrants came first, to work on the railroads and canals in the 1830s, then gravitating to mills and foundries soon thereafter. The first influx of Irish immigrants in the 1830s were drawn by economic opportunities present in the expanding American economy. An even larger surge of immigrants in the 1840s fled ravages of the potato famine. Germans followed in the late 1840s and 1850s, and population changes emerged very rapidly. In 1844 Connecticut contained approximately 4,800 Catholics, a figure which jumped to 50,000 by 1853. Some communities felt the impact almost immediately. As early as 1850 one-quarter of Waterbury's population was foreign-born (mostly Irish) and by the mid-1870s immigrants and their children accounted for 43 percent of the total. Despite this initial influx, Connecticut in the 1870s remained a largely Yankee state, with four-fifths of the overall population native-born.

Thereafter the flow increased even more sharply. Irish and German immigrants continued to arrive in large numbers, but were joined as the century progressed by Russians, Poles, Jews, Lithuanians, French Canadians, and Italians. Inevitably, this influx greatly affected ethnic composition of the state's population. By 1900 only 41 percent of Connecticut residents were native born of native parents, and by 1910 only 35 percent. Waterbury in the 1890s, for example, counted 19,000 inhabitants of native lineage and 40,000 of foreign extraction. Early in the twentieth century immigrants and their children comprised 60 percent of Bristol's population. Overwhelmingly, immigrants found employment in the state's burgeoning factories. By 1920 Connecticut's metal workers included 75,000 native-born men and women, but over 240,000 immigrants or children of immigrants.

Newcomers, often ill-treated by natives, clung fiercely to their cultures, traditions, and languages, and worked to recreate familiar institutions--churches, newspapers, community

centers, beer halls, religious schools, mutual aid societies, milita units, and sickness and death benefit plans. In Waterbury, which contained several large ethnic communities, a series of impressive churches constructed in those neighborhoods in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries attested to strong group loyalties. St. Patrick's in Brooklyn and St. Francis' in the South End had largely Irish congregations. Polish and Lithuanian parishioners attended St. Joseph's, while French-Canadians patronized St. Anne's. Waterbury also maintained two militia companies in the Connecticut National Guard, with Company G, Sedgewick Guards, being a predominantly Irish unit. Many individuals emerged as important leaders within their communities. Frederick Nuhn, a German immigrant, became a successful entrepreneur. He erected a brewery and beer garden and helped organize the Waterbury *turnverein*, a kind of gymnastics club. Ethnic groups created athletic teams and singing societies, and sponsored innumerable picnics and socials. In the 1920s Portuguese workers at Scovill founded the Portuguese Scovillites, a soccer team.

The presence of so many immigrants often generated considerable antagonism. Much of this feeling proved to be anti-Catholic, anti-labor, and anti-socialist in nature. Critics of immigrants banded together in the 1880s to form organizations such as the American Protective Association, which inveighed against dangers to American civilization caused by foreigners. Opponents identified immigration as a serious threat to the state, with the newcomers' high birth rates, unfamiliar customs, uncertain patriotism, political views, and Catholic faith causing special concern.

Sheer numbers, however, eventually allowed immigrants, especially the Irish, to achieve a measure of power and acceptance, particularly in large industrial communities. By the turn of the century, for example, Edward Kilduff served as mayor of Waterbury, joined by city treasurer Patrick Bannon, street inspector Edward Reilley, chief of police George Egan, and aldermen Patrick Halpin, Daniel Mahoney, and John Phelan, as well as state senator Finton Phelan.

Despite record levels of immigration and intense demand for labor, the number of African Americans living in the Western Uplands throughout this era showed only minimal increases, even during World War I. At the turn of the century Waterbury counted 540 black residents out of a total population of approximately 45,000, many of these post-Civil War immigrants from Virginia and North Carolina. A modest influx during 1914-1918 raised the number to 951 in 1920 (approximately 1,300 counting Cape Verdeans) in a city population of almost 92,000, with most (76 percent) living in the First and Second Wards situated east and west of North Main Street. In this group 175 were schoolchildren, with 67 more under the age of five. Approximately 550 adult men and women worked, generally in unskilled and semiskilled jobs. Chase Brass, Scovill, American Brass, and Randolph-Clowes employed significant numbers of black workers, while many women worked as domestics or in hotels. Very few of Waterbury's African Americans were homeowners. The Mt. Olive Chapel of the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church, first organized in 1879 on Pearl Street, served as a center of community life and sponsored a boy scout troop.

Waterbury was the only municipality within the Western Uplands to support an African American community of any significant size. Neighboring Naugatuck, a rapidly growing

industrial center, was home to just 31 blacks in 1900, while Woodbury contained but 37, down from the 1850 total of 70. Small towns such as Bridgewater, Easton, and Roxbury counted fewer still, in many cases less than 10.

Changing Communities

Development of large-scale industry and attendant population growth changed the look and nature of many Connecticut communities. Population densities in urban areas soared. In 1880 Waterbury averaged 704 residents per square mile, increasing to more than 3,180 per square mile by 1920. Population spread outward as well, as cities annexed nearby territories, and new subdivisions marched up hillsides or covered former farmland. Concentration of population and industrial development also heightened intraregional differences. The 1900 state *Register and Manual* identified 10 principally industrial communities in the Western Uplands, as well as 16 that relied almost wholly upon agriculture. Part of this process included creation of new and separate urban jurisdictions, set off from rural hinterland. Beacon Falls (1871) and Thomaston (1875) emerged as new towns, while creation of independent boroughs, a process begun in the first half of the nineteenth century, continued, leading to charters for Shelton (1882), Bristol (1893), and Naugatuck (1893). Many towns and boroughs soon evolved into cities, among them Ansonia (1893), Derby (1893), Bristol (1911), and Shelton (1915).

Growing cities depended upon improved transportation to maintain their cohesiveness, most often in the form of horse-drawn street railways, followed by electric trolleys. Birmingham and Ansonia operated their first street railway in 1876, followed by Waterbury in 1882 and Derby in 1885. Electrification of the lines followed quickly, in Derby in 1888 and Waterbury in 1894. In 1890 Derby streetcars carried more than 1,500 passengers per day. Thereafter the spread of both trolley and interurban lines accelerated rapidly, to the urban periphery and well beyond. In Waterbury electric lines reached Waterville in 1897, Thomaston and Oakville/Watertown in 1900, Cheshire in 1902, Woodbury by way of Middlebury in 1908, and Town Plot in southwestern Waterbury by 1910. At the same time electric trolleys joined Waterbury and Naugatuck. Elsewhere in the Western Uplands steel rails linked Ansonia to Derby, Bethel with Danbury, Bristol with Hartford, and Shelton with Derby and Stratford, and then Bridgeport and New Haven. By 1920 motorized buses served many areas, penetrating communities too small to support interurban lines.

Urban concentration and growth completely remade Western Uplands communities as central business districts emerged, along with large industrial zones, extensive working-class residential neighborhoods, new suburban subdivisions, and elite enclaves. Political, civic, and business leaders encouraged, directed, and underwrote lavish construction programs in urban centers, which now contained clusters of impressive municipal and commercial structures, including multistory brick stores and shops, railroad stations, city halls and court buildings, hospitals, large public high schools, theaters, state-funded armories, libraries, hotels, churches, and fire and police stations. Important architects with national reputations designed many local structures, especially the firm of McKim, Mead and White and Beaux Arts proponent Cass Gilbert

(1859-1934). Naugatuck industrialist and philanthropist John H. Whittemore utilized both his municipal prominence and personal fortune to commission 11 works by McKim, Mead and White between 1887 and 1905, including schools, churches, libraries, and private residences. Urban centers also supported the work of significant regional designers like Robert Hill (1828-1909) of Waterbury, Hartford's George Keller (1845-1935), and New Britain's Walter Crabtree (1873-1962).

Impressive business structures reflected the prosperity and confidence of bustling new downtowns. In Seymour could be found the imposing Seymour Trust Company offices and commercial Humphreys Building. Downtown Waterbury boasted the Buckingham Building, Chase Building, American Brass Building, and Waterbury National Bank. In Ansonia the new Ansonia Savings Bank opened its doors. Bristol proved equally proud of its Bristol Trust headquarters, while Shelton possessed the impressive Pierpont Block. Waterbury opened its massive new train station in 1909, and other stations appeared throughout Naugatuck Valley towns. Important commercial structures also included new opera houses in Ansonia, Derby, and Thomaston, and department stores, such as Waterbury's Howland-Hughes Company. Congregations throughout the Western Uplands consecrated a score of monumental new churches.

Proud cities eagerly appropriated funds to erect imposing municipal edifices as well. During this era Waterbury built not one but two new city halls (the first burned). Waterbury also opened a large state armory in 1883, one of Connecticut's first, followed by an even larger replacement in 1921, while Ansonia obtained its first state armory the same year. Bristol's new armory opened a few years later. Large modern post offices opened in Ansonia and Naugatuck. In 1910 Waterbury Hospital completed a fine new structure which overlooked the city. New public libraries appeared in Ansonia, Derby, Naugatuck, Shelton, and Waterbury. Construction of new and larger schools consumed a substantial portion of the capital budget in several expanding cities. These included outstanding buildings in Naugatuck, Seymour, and Waterbury, where municipal budgets financed a dozen superb structures between 1889 and 1929. In Waterbury prominent local architect Robert Hill completed plans for eight schools erected before 1900. After the turn of the century, the local firm of Thomas Freney and Joseph Jackson designed several more impressive educational edifices in Waterbury. Many communities also erected elegant and substantial firehouses to accommodate their new professional departments. The bell tower of the Seymour Firehouse (1892) still graces that community's skyline.

Much of this municipal planning and construction reflected the contemporary City Beautiful movement which transformed the appearance and layout of many American cities in the early twentieth century. In Waterbury a citizens' commission spearheaded by the Chase family drew on the talents of architect Cass Gilbert and the landscape design firm of Olmsted and Olmsted to remake the city's urban core. Over a period of 15 years Grand Street was straightened, vaudeville houses razed, the Silas Bronson Library moved, and a new park laid out. Construction projects included a new city hall, railroad station, Chase Brass Company headquarters, Waterbury National Bank building, Lincoln Memorial building, Chase Dispensary, and state armory, all arrayed to create a vista punctuated by grand Renaissance Revival architecture.

Rapid urban concentration also spawned the rural cemetery movement as citizens began to relocate burying grounds away from city centers and into the surrounding countryside. Cambridge, Massachusetts' Mount Auburn Cemetery and Brooklyn, New York's Greenwood Cemetery served as models for similar creations in the Western Uplands, the most significant being Waterbury's Riverside Cemetery. In 1849 Dr. A. S. Blake suggested a new cemetery be created west of the Naugatuck River to replace the crowded burial ground on Grand Street. An association was formed for that purpose in 1850, with a 34-acre plot purchased the same year. Trustees were many of Waterbury's industrial and commercial elite, including William H. Scovill, Julius Hitchcock, and R. E. Hitchcock. Grading and landscaping for the romantic rural cemetery commenced in 1852 according to surveys prepared by Howard Daniels of New York City and John North of Bridgeport. In 1884 the trustees erected a Gothic Revival memorial chapel designed by prominent Waterbury architect Robert Hill. Affluent residents in Watertown embarked on a similar enterprise in 1854 when they purchased a 4.5-acre plot north of the town center, laid out lots, and landscaped the grounds of the new Evergreen Cemetery. During the same era citizens of Ansonia created Pine Grove Cemetery just west of the Naugatuck River.

Growing populations and advancing technology generated increased, modernized, and ever more complex municipal services. Derby organized its first fire department in 1854, followed by a municipal water company in 1859, gas company in 1871, and electric company in 1885. In similar fashion, Waterbury welcomed its first gas company in 1862, followed by municipal water in the 1860s and electrical and telephone service in the early 1880s, as well as the first modern sewer lines. By 1917 Waterbury had installed 60 miles of sewers. During the same era Waterbury increased capacity of its municipal water system from 180 million to 4 billion gallons. The booming brass city also reorganized its fire department on a professional basis, creating a force of 85 officers and men stationed in a series of brand-new firehouses designed to accommodate modern ladder, pumper, and chemical equipment. Introduction of expanded municipal services impacted rural communities as well. Creation of a public water system for Bridgeport literally remade the topography of Easton through construction of several massive dams, resulting in impoundment of large lakes which flooded valleys and old mill sites and caused destruction or removal of scores of venerable homes.

Industrial cities also spawned extensive working-class neighborhoods adjacent to expanding factories. At first modest frame cottages lined the streets, but as the century ended they were replaced by rowhouses, larger multiple-family dwellings, and eventually massive triple-deckers and "Perfect Sixes" erected on narrow lots. The latter were three-story symmetrical oblong structures with two apartments on each floor, flanking a central entrance, hallway, and stairwell. The same cities also supported extensive clusters of affluent and middle-class residents--shopkeepers, managers, professionals--whose substantial single-family homes proliferated in a variety of contemporary styles. Bristol's Bellevue Avenue, largely developed after 1880, contained an outstanding assortment of substantial Queen Anne, Stick, Shingle, and Georgian Revival residences. Such enclaves nearly always occupied the heights overlooking the city and factories. These included Waterbury's Hillside and Willow West neighborhoods in the late nineteenth century, and then developer Cornelius Cables' vast Overlook subdivison of the early twentieth century. In similar fashion Shelton's Coram Avenue ran along the heights

paralleling the Housatonic River, while Naugatuck's affluent residents purchased homes along Hillside Avenue and Fairview Terrace.

In time the middle class began pushing towards the urban periphery, creating entirely new neighborhoods, in Waterbury to areas like Bunker Hill, Town Plot, and Hopeville. Suburban realtors utilized evocative labels to entice homebuyers, names like Elmhurst, Cedar Hill Park, Sunnyside Park, Edgewood, Pond Hill, and Grandview Heights. Municipal authorities responded by embarking on a new round of construction, erecting schools and firehouses. Development also spread beyond the city limits. As early as 1908 developers of Westview Heights, a subdivision in Middlebury just beyond the Waterbury line, touted their site by noting its verdant setting and rapid access to the downtown area via a newly completed electric trolley. Investors had only recently opened that line to provide access to the amusement park at Lake Quassapaug. Completion of a trolley line from Waterbury to Wolcott led directly to creation of the Birches and Barker Terrace commuter subdivisions there.

Rising automobile ownership after 1910 only accelerated the trend towards dispersed living patterns. The process was in full swing after World War I as cities like Ansonia, Derby, and Waterbury spawned automobile suburbs, while formerly rural communities such as Easton, Orange, Watertown, Weston, Wilton, Wolcott, and Woodbridge received their first great influx of suburban residents and construction. Developers in Woodbridge, for example, laid out an initial suburban subdivision, Westville Park, in 1899. In 1911 the Woodbridge Civic Association extolled the community as quaint, unassuming, and beautiful, with varied scenery and a healthful atmosphere, and just minutes from New Haven. Real estate activity accelerated dramatically after 1920, with much farmland quickly given over to subdivisions such as Woodbridge Park and Wepawaug Estates, many of which maintained deed restrictions concerning lot and building size, setbacks, and cost. The need to accommodate new residents caused many rural towns to consolidate schools, construct new municipal centers, and enact zoning and building codes.

Recreation and Leisure Time

In the second half of the nineteenth century recreation emerged on a mass scale, encouraged by accelerating urbanization, shorter workweeks, rising prosperity for the middle class, changing attitudes towards leisure, and transportation improvements. Within cities, growing numbers of theaters, such as Jacques Opera House in Waterbury and new opera houses in Ansonia, Derby, and Thomaston, attracted large audiences. Fine hotels such as Waterbury's Elton, situated on the green and the acknowledged regional leader, offered excellent accommodations, luxurious restaurants, and elegantly appointed public rooms for dances, banquets, and other social gatherings. Frederick Nuhn's brewery and beer garden at the end of the trolley line on Bank Street in Waterbury welcomed throngs of visitors throughout the summer months. Derby's driving park, opened in 1886, sponsored trotting races which drew large crowds. Bristol also supported a driving course at Hickory Park, while Waterbury horsemen formed the Waterbury Driving Club. New municipal parks such as Riverside Park in Shelton and Hamilton Park in Waterbury accommodated urban residents. At the turn of the century Hamilton Park contained a

wide variety of attractions, including a swimming pool with fountain, rustic lakeside pavillion, and arbored rose garden. Community baseball teams proved especially popular, while rollerskating attracted large numbers of enthusiasts, with several rinks constructed in major cities, including Waterbury and Ansonia.

Both immigrant and native residents created teams and sportsmen's groups, choral societies, and fraternal organizations which sponsored endless rounds of dinners, concerts, picnics, and outings. At the turn of the century Waterbury supported many such groups, including Daughters of the American Revolution, BPO Elks, Photographic Society of Waterbury, Masons, Knights of Pythias, International Order of Oddfellows, Young Men's Christian Association, International Order of Red Men, Waterbury Harmonic Society, Brooklyn Athletic Club, and Mendelssohn Society.

Rural communities also provided urbanites with recreational opportunities. As early as the 1840s Bristol residents visited nearby Lake Compounce to enjoy picnics and boating. In the decades which followed, owners added bowling greens, revolving swings, two-story casino, restaurant, dance hall, bandstand, carousel, and other amusements. A similar pleasure resort opened in 1874 at Lake Quassapaug in Middlebury, with hotel, rowboats, and small steam yacht. Farther along the shore Richardson's Grove provided 16 acres of landscaped grounds, cottages, and shore dinners. Patrons could enjoy bandstand concerts, dances, and refreshments. Around the turn of the century construction of trolley lines allowed many more city residents to visit expanded amusement parks. Others travelled to scenic rural destinations for simpler pleasures such as fishing or strolling along country lanes. For Connecticut's thousands of devoted "wheelmen," the 1880s and 1890s were the heyday of the bicycle craze, providing good exercise and generating persistent demands for better roads. The Waterbury Wheel Club was just one of many bicycling organizations. Introduction of the automobile simply expanded the range of opportunities still farther, with visits to more distant locales now within easy reach. In the early years of the twentieth century Waterbury's leading newspaper carried a feature called "Where Shall We Motor Today?" which offered readers possible destinations, such as the Berkshire Hotel in Litchfield or the Southington Inn. Motor tours through the northwest hills seemed particularly popular.

For affluent citizens, rural towns became retreats from the hurly-burly of city life, with numerous boarding houses and hotels catering to their desires. The wealthy also constructed rural estates, often gentlemen's farms, such as Naugatuck businessman John H. Whittemore's summer home in Middlebury named Tranquillity Farm, erected in 1894 according to plans developed by the prestigious New York architectural firm of McKim, Mead and White. Farther north in Washington, textile entrepreneur, state senator, and one-time Adjutant General Lucius Barbour commissioned the firm of Rossiter and Wright to create Rockgate, a large rural estate. The region's hills, streams, and lakes also attracted a substantial contingent of well-known authors and artists, including famed muckraking journalist Ida Tarbell in Easton, renowned author Mark Twain in Redding, sculptor Anna Hyatt Huntington in Washington, and noted impressionist painter J. Alden Weir, who owned a farm in Wilton and Ridgefield. In 1990 Weir's property was established as the Weir Farm National Historic Site, the only such designation in Connecticut.

Following World War I Russian emigre authors George Grebenstchikoff and Count Ilya Tolstoy established a summer retreat (known locally as Russian Village) for compatriots who had escaped the Bolshevik Revolution and made their way to the United States, many to settle in or near New York City. Between 1923 and the late 1930s more than 45 seasonal cottages were built on a hilly wooded site in Southbury near the junction of the Pomperaug and Housatonic Rivers, clustered around St. Sergius' Chapel, a substantial stone structure. The refugees, many from the Ukraine and Siberia, included writers, military officers, artists, and professionals.

During this same period many in Connecticut became concerned about the poor condition of the state's forests and the possibilities of providing urbanized populations with recreational opportunities. In 1887 the Israel Putnam Memorial Camp in Redding was placed in the charge of a special state commission, thus arguably becoming Connecticut's first state park. In 1895 several interested parties organized the State Forestry Association, the third such group in America. Six years later the Connecticut Agricultural Experiment Station hired its first forester, and two years later the state purchased its first tract of forest lands. In 1911 Connecticut received a gift of 180 acres on Mount Tom in Litchfield/Washington, and in 1913 the General Assembly created the State Park Commission, with the first park, Sherwood Island in Westport, opening the following year. By 1930 state authorities had acquired more than 10,000 acres for recreational purposes. In the last half century a great many areas in the Western Uplands have been set aside for conservation and public recreation, including Mattatuck State Forest, Naugatuck State Forest, and Paugusett State Forest. State parks located in the region include George C. Waldo State Park in Newtown, Southford Falls State Park in Oxford, Black Rock State Park in Watertown, and Indian Well State Park in Shelton. Within these areas opportunities for camping, fishing, hiking, and swimming abound.

Though not recreational ventures, several elite educational institutions also embraced the supposed advantages of rural life, i.e., fresh air, plenty of space for athletic fields, and separation from the temptations of city lights. These included Washington's Gunnery School; Westover School in Middlebury, established in 1909 by well-known educator Mary Hilliard and designed by noted woman architect Theodate Pope Riddle; and the Taft School in Watertown, opened in 1893 under the patronage of Horace Dutton Taft, brother of future president William Howard Taft.

Agriculture and Rural Life

Contrasting sharply with the growth and prosperity experienced by Connecticut's urban centers, post-Civil War conditions for many rural communities and the agriculture which sustained them proved especially difficult. Improved transportation links to the Midwest and other farming regions facilitated increased competition from more efficient producers, while urban growth and the industrial boom drew residents away from old homesteads in search of increased opportunities and better wages. The quantity of improved acreage in the state peaked in 1860, dropped slowly until 1880, and then fell by 50 percent betweeen 1880 and 1920, as former pastures and hayfields reverted to brush and forest. Undersold in their own backyards, farmers gradually abandoned cereal, beef, sheep, and cheese production and turned instead to perishable

products such as fruits, vegetables, chickens, butter, and milk which commanded good prices in nearby cities. Woodbridge's truck farms and market gardens, for example, supplied milk and produce for Ansonia, Derby, New Haven, Seymour, and Shelton, while growers in Easton and Weston sent milk, fruit, and chickens to Bridgeport.

Government at both state and national levels attempted to stem the rural decline. In 1866 the General Assembly created the State Board of Agriculture, and in 1874 established the first Agricultural Experiment Station at Wesleyan College (soon moved to New Haven). The Storrs Agricultural School opened its doors in 1881, followed by the Storrs Agricultural Experiment Station in 1888. In 1914 the County Extension Service began its campaign to aid farmers. The federal goverment encouraged or underwrote many of these activities through legislation such as the Morrill Land Grant College Act (1863), Hatch Act (1887), and County Extension Act (1913).

Connecticut's stubbornly independent farmers also took steps to improve their futures, supporting the Grange movement of the 1870s, patronizing cooperative creameries, and creating organizations like the Connecticut Dairy Association. Wholesale technological changes and improved breeding techniques led to introduction of silos, milking machines, corn harvesters, Babcock butterfat testers, and pedigreed cows such as the Jersey, Guernsey, Ayrshire, and Holstein breeds. A few growers experimented with new crops. In Bridgewater, for example, many farmers in the late nineteenth century supplied tobacco to cigarmakers operating in New Milford.

Despite these actions, the rural exodus continued as long-term owners abandoned farms and moved West or to the city, partially replaced by immigrants eager to begin a new life. By 1910 recent immigrants operated one-fourth of Connecticut's farms, by 1920 one-third. These included farmers from Poland, Czechoslovakia, Italy, and Russia, often aided by organizations such as the Baron de Hirsch Fund established in 1891 and its American affiliate, the Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society, both headquartered in New York City, and the Italian Credit Association of Bridgeport. These organizations underwrote acquisition of several farms in Easton in the early twentieth century. In Woodbridge Italian farmers settled in an area known as the Flats where they created successful market gardens, while immigrants from Central Europe occupied homesteads along the town's western border, serving customers in Derby and Ansonia. The town also contained a few dairy farms occupied by recent arrivals from Denmark. Even with an infusion of new owners, however, rural population fell. Statewide the number of rural residents declined from 123,000 in 1890 to 115,000 in 1910, even as the urban population jumped by 375,000 in the same period. Modern farms required heavy capital investment and equally high profits. Only large fields and large yields justified purchase of labor-saving machinery, something not often obtainable in the Western Uplands hill country crisscrossed by thousands of miles of stone walls.

Rural industry suffered a similar decline. As late as the 1870s many towns supported small and medium-scale industry, in fact scores of facilities throughout the Western Uplands. These businesses included iron furnaces and foundries, woolen and cotton mills, cutlery and tool factories, and paper and straw board manufacturers. The Depression of 1873, which lingered until the end of the decade, locations along smaller streams which limited expansion possibilities, and growth of giant factories in nearby cities doomed such operations, and most were defunct by

the end of the century. Additional factors spelling the demise of rural industry included takeover of water supplies and rights by larger urban-based factories, as occurred in the Mad River watershed in Wolcott, and loss of mill seats through creation of public water systems, such as the Bridgeport Hydraulic Company's Aspetuck, Easton, Hemlock, and Saugatuck Reservoirs in Easton, Redding, and Weston.

With declining economic opportunities apparent to all, many rural communities in the Western Uplands experienced significant population decline throughout this era. Between 1860 and 1920 Bridgewater's population fell by more than half. Monroe lost one-third of its residents in the second half of the nineteenth century, as did Southbury. Bethany watched two-thirds of its citizens depart between 1840 and 1920. Other communities experiencing significant demographic contraction included Bethlehem, Brookfield, Easton, Middlebury, Morris, Newtown, Oxford, Prospect, Roxbury, Weston, and Wilton. An observer of the Wolcott scene in 1890 claimed there were more ruins of houses in town than residences, with much land returned to a primeval condition. This exodus, in turn, affected nearly all rural institutions, as schools, churches, taverns, and shops closed by the score.

Victorian and Early Twentieth-Century Revival Architecture

Rapidly changing architectural taste and a succession of styles, often exuberant and picturesque, characterized the decades between the Civil War and the Great Depression. It was a period renowned for the pace, diversity, and scale of building programs, an era of construction activity which dwarfed anything that had preceded it. In the field of domestic architecture the Italian Villa gave way to Italianate and Second Empire residences, while the Carpenter Gothic style evolved into Stick and Queen Anne forms. The Shingle style also made its appearance, followed in the early twentieth century by a flurry of designs--Colonial Revival, Tudor Revival, Foursquare, Bungalow, and Dutch Colonial, many of which filled suburbs that sprouted on the periphery of every urban center. The architecture of public buildings, whether civic or commercial, also passed through several stages. Greek Revival forms of the 1840s rapidly yielded after mid-century to Italianate and Second Empire structures, followed by High Victorian Gothic and Romanesque Revival edifices. These in turn were succeeded by buildings executed in the Renaissance Revival, Colonial Revival, or Beaux Arts styles of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Great mills and factories which undergirded the local economy experienced a similar evolution which accommodated new technologies and new styles.

Designers prosyletized many late nineteenth-century building styles through pattern books available from a variety of publishers. Among the most popular were those of Palliser, Palliser and Co., a well-known Bridgeport firm, and Hudson Holley of Stamford. Others enjoying wide circulation included later editions of Andrew Jackson Downing's *Cottage Residences*, George Woodward's *Architecture and Rural Art*, R. W. Shoppel's *Modern Houses*, and plans prepared by William Comstock of New York City titled *Modern Architectural Designs and Details.* Introduction of balloon framing, which replaced the centuries-old craft of timber framing, made rapid construction of residential units possible. Widespread availability of mass-produced

structural and decorative elements further speeded the process, as did expansion of the railroad net which facilitated movement of construction materials. The influx of immigrant workers created a large labor pool which kept construction costs low.

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries great wealth generated by industry and civic pride exhibited by leading citizens both permitted and encouraged the commissioning of scores of impressive structures in the Western Uplands designed by important national and regional architects. The renowned firm of McKim, Mead and White was responsible for many new buildings in the region, as was Cass Gilbert, one of America's most prominent practitioners of Beaux Arts Classicism. Noted Connecticut architects Henry Austin of New Haven and George Keller from Hartford also completed several significant commissions. Less well-known, but deserving of wider study, is the work of Robert Hill of Waterbury, the most active architect in the Western Uplands in the second half of the nineteenth century.

Born in Waterbury, Hill attended local public schools, took drawing classes at the Young Men's Institute in New Haven, and subsequently apprenticed with that city's Henry Austin and with A. C. Nash in Milwaukee. Hill returned to Connecticut in 1858, practiced architecture in Naugatuck for a few years, and in 1863 relocated to the Baldwin Block in Waterbury, where he soon developed an extensive following. He later served as Connecticut state architect between 1881 and 1889. In addition to five armory projects (including Waterbury, 1883), Hill's commissions included the old City Hall and several public schools in Waterbury, Taft School and DeForest Library in Watertown, Litchfield Courthouse, Bartlett School in New Britain, and Thomaston Opera House/Town Hall, as well as many schools, churches, parish houses, and municipal structures in Ansonia, Winsted, and other towns in Connecticut.

The Second Empire style, the first of the new post-Civil War architectural fashions, drew inspiration from a Parisian skyline dramatically overhauled in the 1850s and 1860s during the reign of Emperor Napoleon III. Signature mansard roofs permitted expanded use of attic space, while decorative details, largely Italianate in character, included prominent cornices, ornate iron cresting, projecting towers and pavillion fronts, porches with chamfered columns and scroll-sawn spandrels, patterned slate roofs, and rounded dormers with molded hoods. The style became particularly popular in the United States during the post-Civil War decades, and remained a fixture of the urban and rural scene until the 1880s. The Henry Glover House, erected in Newtown c. 1869, is a fine example of the type.

Picturesque Stick-style residences initially appeared in resort communities in the 1860s, especially Newport, Rhode Island, modeled very loosely on late-medieval rustic country architecture, including decorated chalets of Switzerland and half-timbered cottages of Normandy and Tudor England. They rapidly gained favor in prosperous urban neighborhoods. Buildings in the Stick style were often finished in contrasting colors, ornamental vergeboards and brackets, openwork balconies, patterned shinglework, and purely decorative crisscross timbers, the "stickwork" which appeared on exterior facades. Builders also added king post trusses in the gable peak as decorative elements. The Stick style retained its popularity into the 1880s, and in some form remained common until the end of the century. During the same period it gradually blended into the Queen Anne style, its more popular successor.

Among the most exuberant Stick-style residences constructed in New England, Waterbury's Charles Benedict House was erected in 1879 according to plans drawn by Palliser, Palliser, and Co. (Photograph 10). Benedict was president of the Benedict and Burnham Manufacturing Company, one of the Naugatuck Valley's great brassmaking concerns, and had served as Waterbury mayor in 1860. His new home with its tall chimneys and multiple gables embellished with elaborate stickwork dominated the city skyline. The nearby George Tracy House (Hillside Historic District), designed by Nelson Welton and constructed in 1880, though less grandiose than the Benedict House, is nonetheless a close cousin. Elsewhere in the Western Uplands, the c. 1880 William Sessions House on Bellevue Avenue in Bristol (Federal Hill Historic District) well represents this flamboyant architectural style. In Thomaston Richard M. Upjohn (1827-1903), talented partner of and then successor to his father, pioneering Gothicist Richard Upjohn (1802-1878), designed the striking Stick-style Trinity Church.

Queen Anne-style houses garnered enormous popularity in the late nineteenth century. These picturesque residences typically exhibited an eclectic mix of classical, Tudor, Jacobean, and Flemish details, and incorporated steeply pitched, complex roofs, asymmetrical massing, frequently a dominant front-facing gable, patterned shinglework, molded brick and terracotta, oriels, cutaway bay windows, towers, and prominent porches. They also utilized spindlework and Eastlake-style decoration, occasional ornamental half-timbering, and patterned masonry, as well as variegated paint schemes. Most commonly they rested on rockfaced ashlar granite or brownstone foundations. Later examples incorporated Colonial Revival details such as classical columns, pedimented gables, modillions and dentil courses, molded window entablatures, Palladian windows, and keyed oval stairwell windows. Many of these substantial homes were architect-designed, while others drew on contemporary pattern books.

Queen Anne houses began appearing in the Western Uplands in the late 1870s and remained popular for many decades. Robert Hill's 1879 design for Naugatuck businessman Bronson B. Tuttle (1835-1903) is an excellent example of the type (Photograph 9). Tuttle was an important Naugatuck industrialist and partner of John H. Whittemore, and also served as a trustee of the Naugatuck Savings Bank and Naugatuck National Bank. He later helped organize the National Malleable and Steel Castings Company of Cleveland, Ohio. Hill's design, for which scores of original drawings survive, incorporated a four-story tower, varied wall claddings, boldly detailed gables, and an extensive wraparound porch. Other fine regional examples of the Queen Anne style include Anson Abbott's c. 1878 home in Waterbury (Hillside Historic District) and Bristol's c. 1895 William Tracy House (Federal Hill Historic District), which stands on Bellevue Avenue.

Shingle-style houses first appeared in the 1880s, with some of the most significant examples constructed in New England and New York by prominent contemporary architects like Henry H. Richardson and the firm of McKim, Mead and White. Favored for coastal locations, Shingle-style houses appeared in large numbers at seashore retreats from Bar Harbor, Maine, and Nahant, Massachusetts, to Watch Hill, Rhode Island, and East Hampton, New York. Completely sheathed in shingles, they incorporated massive gambrel roofs, long sloping eaves, ganged windows, towers, prominent stone and brick chimneys, integral porches, and Colonial Revival detailing. Though enthusiastically adopted by affluent vacationers, the Shingle style also enjoyed

a second incarnation in cottage form in new suburban neighborhoods, the most common type being a relatively square structure with prominent intersecting cross-gambrel roof, integral porch, and signature shinglework, either sheathing the entire house or filling the large gables.

Paris-born New York architect Erik Rossiter's (1854-1941) sprawling vacation home, The Rocks, completed in 1889 in Washington, is an outstanding example of the style, with a conical three-story tower, Colonial Revival detailing, multiple gables, and continuous shingle sheathing (Photograph 12). Lucius Barbour's c. 1885 Washington estate, Rockgate, also the work of Rossiter, and Tranquillity Farm in Middlebury (now demolished), a c. 1894 summer retreat designed for Naugatuck businessman John H. Whittemore by McKim, Mead and White, utilized this architectural form. George Lamb's c. 1889 residence in Waterbury's Hillside Historic District is a good example of the Shingle style transposed to an urban setting.

After the turn of the century the dominance enjoyed by Queen Anne houses gave way to a plethora of new residential styles, including the Colonial Revival, Craftsman, Foursquare, Dutch Colonial, and Tudor Revival. Of these, the Colonial Revival quickly emerged as the most popular form of architectural expression, a position held for several decades. The largest and most elaborate residences were architect-designed and combined a variety of historical features, usually Georgian, Federal, and Dutch, to recreate the "feel" of earlier American buildings. Designers tended to exaggerate individual elements, however. They emphasized front entries and classical porches, along with balanced facades. Palladian windows frequently appeared in gables and street elevations. Symmetrically arranged windows utilized double-hung multi-pane sash. Earlier examples tended to retain complex rooflines and asymmetrical massing of the Queen Anne style, while later buildings generally replicated the Georgian/Federal house form with a simple gable roof and the long elevation facing the street.

Bristol's c. 1915 Townsend Treadway House, designed by Murphey and Dana, is a good example of the Colonial Revival style, as is the nearby Ernest Burwell House, a Neo-Classical Revival home erected in 1918 according to plans developed by New Britain architect Walter Crabtree. Developer Cornelius Cables' huge Overlook subdivision in northern Waterbury constructed between the late 1890s and early 1930s contains several hundred Colonial Revival residences, ranging from great mansions to modest "tract" homes.

Closely related Dutch Colonial houses employed a defining gambrel roof, often with long shed dormers, solid panel shutters, and Federal or Georgian entries. Such houses were almost universally oriented with the long elevation to the street and utilized a central entry incorporating a small gabled entry porch with Tuscan columns or a gabled or arched entry hood supported by stout brackets. Builders employed both cobblestone and concrete foundations. These houses enjoyed their greatest popularity between 1920 and 1935 and were constructed in suburban subdivisions throughout the region. Many good examples survive in the Bunker Hill section of Waterbury, a streetcar suburb on the northwestern edge of the city which experienced considerable growth after 1900.

Nearly ubiquitous in some urban neighborhoods, the American Foursquare house type provided the maximum quantity of livable space per construction dollar. Generally square, as the name

implies, and standing two and one-half stories tall, they appeared in many styles, ranging from Colonial Revival to Prairie, to Craftsman, to Shingle. Common features included cobblestone foundations, full-width front porches, hip roofs, and gabled or hip-roof dormers centered on each plane of the roof--left, center, right.

Contemporary Arts and Crafts impulses found architectural expression in the Craftsman style, especially the work of California architects Charles and Henry Greene and popularizer Gustave Stickley. Craftsman Bungalows, the most common type, usually one and one-half stories tall, rested on cobblestone foundations and exhibited low-pitched roofs, ganged windows, exposed rafter tails, substantial shed or gable dormer centered in the street elevation, and prominent eaves brackets. They were typically oriented with the long elevation to the street, with stout battered columns or half-columns supporting full or partial integral porches. More modest cottages employed similar detailing in a simplified gable-end structure. Though Craftsman-style houses could be substantial and expensive, they enjoyed their greatest popularity among working-class buyers. Many were marketed by Sears, Roebuck & Co. and similar firms as ready-to-build kits. The gymnasium erected in 1907 for the Curtis School in Brookfield (Brookfield Center Historic District) also exhibits many Craftsman features, including broad eaves, stout knee brackets, and cobblestone masonry construction.

In the early decades of the twentieth century designers also offered a variety of picturesque "English" structures embracing everything from enormous "Jacobethan" manor houses to apartment complexes, to collegiate dormitories, to small suburban cottages. All were loosely derived from British precedents of the late medieval period. Typical features of these structures included steeply pitched gable roofs, asymmetrical intersecting gables, decorative half-timbering, tall narrow casement windows, and massive external chimneys. Chimney Crest, a substantial Bristol residence designed c. 1925 for prominent industrialist Henry Barnes by the firm of Delbert Perry and Earle Bishop, is a good example of the type (Photograph 16). Barnes was a principal in the Wallace Barnes Company, member of the city council, and director of the Bristol Savings Bank and Bristol Bank and Trust Company. Frank and Mary Jane Kendall constructed several attractive Tudor "cottages" along Easton's lower Sport Hill Road in the late 1920s. Other fine groupings of picturesque "English" homes stand on Guernseytown Road in Watertown, adjacent to the Tudor-style buildings of the Taft School designed by Waterbury architect Robert Hill at the turn of the century, and along Country Club Road in Waterbury, near the newly opened campus of St. Margaret's School for Girls.

Many architects practicing during the "American Renaissance" (1885-1920s) trained at Paris' Ecole des Beaux Arts, and the work they produced represented a formal reinterpretation of classical styles ranging from those of ancient Greece and Rome, to Italian and French Renaissance, to the Baroque and Neo-Classical work of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Residences executed in one of these styles were almost universally constructed on a grand scale, either as urban rowhouses, suburban estates, or country retreats. Their numbers, however, were relatively limited, except in or near the nation's largest cities. A good example is Bristol's Beleden, a c. 1910 brownstone Renaissance Revival mansion designed by Boston architect Samuel Brown.

Due to their size and number, multiple-family homes constructed to accommodate industrial workers and less affluent white collar employees dominated much of the urban streetscape in the early twentieth century. Evolving from two-family Queen Anne-style houses which appeared in the 1880s and 1890s, massive frame triple-deckers erected c. 1900 and later initially utilized popular Queen Anne design elements, especially engaged three-story corner towers, fancy shinglework, and nicely detailed full-width wraparound and balcony porches with turned columns, sawn brackets, spindle friezes, and decorated vergeboards. After 1910 triple-deckers interpreted in Craftsman, Colonial Revival, or Shingle styles supplanted older Queen Anne models. Actually the same house in different guises, they differed in detailing rather than form. All utilized cobblestone, poured concrete, or molded concrete-block foundations, with the buildings oriented gable-end-to-street. To provide additional space at the third-floor level, builders almost invariably added large cross gables, often jettied over two-story bay windows. Full-width porches, sometimes stacked three high, dominated street elevations. Decorative details varied according to the style employed, and ranged from battered half-columns and vertical three or four-over-one sash (Craftsman) to Tuscan columns, Palladian windows, and dentil courses (Colonial Revival). Great rows of these structures lined the streets of working-class neighborhoods in Waterbury, Ansonia, Naugatuck, and elsewhere. In a few neighborhoods even larger three-story multiple-family homes known as "Perfect Sixes" appeared.

In addition to residential architecture, rapidly growing cities of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries erected a broad array of commercial and civic structures which also reflected popular design trends, and urban centers within the Western Uplands are replete with buildings from this expansive, prosperous, and self-confident era. Usually designed by architects with national or regional reputations, important structures include scores of schools, libraries, town and city halls, fire stations, offices, churches, retail stores, factories, banks, armories, and railroad stations erected in an age when municipal pride found expression in stone and brick.

The Second Empire style originated as an urban rather than rural mode, and the nation's most impressive examples appeared in the city, such as the United States State, War, and Navy Department building adjacent to the White House in Washington, D. C., and contemporary city halls in Boston and Philadelphia. Robert Hill's design for Waterbury's 1869 City Hall (now demolished) typified the style. Shelton's 1887 Ferry School, recently converted to condominiums, is another representative building.

Between 1860 and the 1890s many municipalities turned to High Victorian Gothic and Italianate styles. An outgrowth of earlier romantic revivals, these eclectic structures were typically constructed of brick and incorporated steeply pitched roofs, multiple dormers, elaborate decorative terracotta, towers with steep pyramidal roofs, and parapeted gable-end walls. Round or pointed arches, often compound or arcaded and outlined in contrasting polychrome brick or stone, defined entries and windows. Decorative details derived from a wide range of Flemish, Dutch, French, English, and Italian precedents. This style enjoyed considerable popularity in Western Uplands urban centers. Robert Hill's dramatic Thomaston Opera House/Town Hall constructed 1883-1885 combines Romanesque, Gothic, and Italianate features (Photograph 11). Other local examples include the Ansonia Opera House (1870), Derby's Sterling Opera House

(1889), and Seymour's High School (1885), Beach Block (1890), Humphreys Building (1891), and Fire House (1892).

Large urban churches constructed in the second half of the nineteenth century frequently employed the ecclesiastical Gothic style. Patterned after great medieval cathedrals in Europe, they were frequently executed in stone (occasionally brick) and exhibited an array of Gothic features, including lancet and rose windows, buttresses, three-part porches with compound arched entries, spired towers, and ornamental stonework replete with trefoils, quatrefoils, pinnacles, and gargoyles. Waterbury, as the largest community in the Western Uplands, contained several of these impressive edifices, including St. Patrick's (1881), St. Francis' (1903), and St. Anne's (1906), all Catholic churches, as well as St. John's Episcopal Church (1873) and Trinity Church (1884), the work of architect Henry Congdon. St. Anne's, with its soaring twin spires and elegant ribbed dome, dominates the Waterbury skyline (Photograph 14). Equally impressive structures appeared in nearby communities, including the Church of the Assumption in Ansonia (1889-1907) and St. Francis' in Naugatuck (1882-1892).

The Romanesque Revival style, which emerged around mid-century, was brought to the fore by architect Henry H. Richardson in the 1870s. Romanesque structures of the late nineteenth century exhibited robust masonry and rich surface textures. Characteristic features included heavy rockfaced round arches, squat dwarf columns, rounded engaged towers, parapeted end walls, deeply recessed windows, and densely carved decoration with interlaced motifs. Many commercial and institutional buildings in this style were constructed before it began losing favor after 1890. Shelton's Plumb Library exemplifies this style (Photograph 13). Erected in 1895 according to plans developed by Charles Beardsley (1861-1937), Plumb Library incorporates a deep round-arched entry portal and three-story tower with arcaded round-arch windows. Beardsley had been born in neighboring Derby and maintained offices in Bridgeport. Another fine regional example of the Romanesque style is architect Robert Hill's Bank Street School (1889) in Waterbury. Additional structures of note include Waterbury's First Methodist Church (1889), Second Congregational Church (1895), and Waterbury *American* Building (1895). Ansonia's George Keller-designed Public Library constructed in 1892, Derby's Franklin School, Robert Hill's DeForest Library in Watertown, and the fine stair towers at the Home Woolen Company mill in Beacon Falls are equally impressive representatives of the powerful Romanesque Revival style.

By the late 1890s the Beaux-Arts Classicism which dominated design efforts at the 1892-1893 Columbian Exposition of the World's Fair in Chicago had gained widespread popularity. The style seemed particularly appropriate for large municipal and business structures. Typical features of these often grandiose buildings included great copper or patterned-slate mansard roofs, prominent pedimented dormers, broad pediments filled with allegorical statuary, rusticated foundations, limestone and terra cotta cartouches, prominent cornices with classical balustrades, and grand Corinthian porticos and colonnades. Many excellent examples of this style were erected by communities and businesses desirous of making a physical statement documenting their recent rise to prominence. Among important municipal structures are the Seymour Post Office, designed in 1916 by McKim, Mead and White, and the Seymour Trust Company erected in 1922, as well as Bristol's Post Office built in 1900 and Bristol Trust Company headquarters,

constructed in 1908 according to plans developed by Walter Crabtree. McKim, Mead and White also designed Naugatuck's imposing 1904 High School and 1906 Congregational Church. Nearby stand the Beaux-Arts Naugatuck Savings Bank and Public Library. In Ansonia the Post Office designed by Oscar Wenderoth (1914) and the Ansonia Savings Bank (1900) are worthy of special note.

The Renaissance Revival style, one of the more popular Beaux Arts subtypes, enjoyed enormous popularity in urban centers from the late 1800s until the 1920s. Generally academic in approach, such buildings frequently incorporated design elements drawn directly from specific Roman, Florentine, or Venetian prototypes. Characteristic features of these rigidly symmetrical buildings included boldly rusticated stonework, robust molded cornices, quoins, wrought-iron grills, limestone or molded concrete roof balustrades, and oversized windows with prominent pedimented and segmental entablatures. Designed almost exclusively by professional architects, several outstanding examples appeared in the Western Uplands during this era. McKim, Mead and White's Union Station, which opened in Waterbury in 1909, has become the signature building for the entire city, its slender campanile towering above everything in sight (Photograph 15). Naugatuck's 1916 Post Office, the work of James Wetmore, and the nearby Salem School constructed in 1903 are also worthy of particular note, as are several structures located in neighboring Waterbury, including the c. 1898 Barnard School, Buckingham Building (1906, McKim, Mead and White), American Brass headquarters, Waterbury National Bank (Cass Gilbert), Chase Building and City Hall (Cass Gilbert), Lady of Lourdes Church (1909), Immaculate Conception Church (1928), and Elton Hotel.

Many communities preferred the Colonial Revival style for some municipal buildings, though often on a scale far larger than eighteenth and early nineteenth-century prototypes. Federal and Georgian designs predominated, usually of brick construction, with wood-framed double-hung sash windows, classical entries, gabled porticos, and gable or hip roofs being typical features. Architectural details included pedimented dormers, molded cornices with modillioned and denticulated courses, flat (gauged) arches, swags and garlands, Palladian windows, and prominent quoins set into brick masonry laid in Flemish bond. A good regional example is the Derby Public Library with its Flemish gables, designed by Hartley Dennet and erected in 1902. Also worthy of note is Bristol's 1906 City Hall, the work of New York architect Wilson Potter.

Smaller rural communities containing large numbers of surviving colonial and early national-era homes and meetinghouses also employed the Colonial Revival style for new municipal structures erected during the first stages of suburbanization. Woodbridge's Town Hall (1919) and Center School (1929), as well as Easton's Staples Elementary School (1930), typify this preference. Particularly impressive examples include Newtown's Edmond Town Hall (Photograph 18), erected in 1929, and Wilton Town Hall, built the following year. Both incorporate monumental two-story gabled porticos.

The prosperity underwriting residential, business, municipal, and institutional structures that adorned Western Uplands communities depended on production and profits generated in huge mills which dominated much of the contemporary landscape. A typical large mill or factory of the mid and late-nineteenth century was constructed of red brick and stood from two to five

stories high. Long and narrow to optimize natural light and transmission of power to machinery, it was crowned by gable, clerestory, or sawtooth roofs, often supported by elaborate wooden trusses. Flooring systems were also framed of wood, though frequently undergirded with cast-iron columns. Rows of identical windows paraded along the sides, set beneath flat, segmental, or round-arch lintels, and filled with double-hung wooden sash. Modillioned or corbelled brick cornices ran beneath the eaves. External stair towers with hip, pyramidal, or mansard roofs, often with bracketed or corbelled eaves, provided access to work floors. Typical examples include the American Suspender Company mill in Waterbury (1843), Gilbert and Bennett Wire plant in Bethel (1874), New York Belting and Packing Company factories in Newtown (1856), Home Woolen Company mills in Beacon Falls (c. 1865), and Sessions Hardware factory in Bristol (1907).

The great brass and iron companies of the late nineteenth century introduced a distinct factory type suited to their specific needs. To accommodate foundries and rolling operations which employed massive machinery, designers developed a long narrow single-story brick structure, surmounted by a gable roof and narrow monitor at the ridge. With brick sidewalls reaching 25 feet high, these buildings commonly contained three bays, the roofs supported by iron columns and trusses. Important surviving examples include foundries or rolling mills constructed for Plume and Atwood in Thomaston (1875), Farrell Foundry and Machine in Derby (c. 1890-1895), and Bristol Brass (c. 1885).

In the early twentieth century innovations in construction and design and introduction of electric power greatly broadened the range of factory and mill structures appearing throughout the Western Uplands. Masonry and wood-frame construction rapidly gave way to structural steel, concrete block, and reinforced concrete for piers and floors, with curtain walls composed of brick, concrete, and broad expanses of metal-sash industrial windows. Flat or sawtooth roofs replaced gabled and clerestory designs. Poured concrete replaced stone as the required foundation material. At the same time, buildings became progressively larger, especially those constructed during World War I and later. The Scovill rolling mill erected in 1915-1916 to meet wartime demand measured 850 x 310 feet overall and utilized a sawtooth roof resting on steel trusses. Other innovative structures completed between 1900 and 1930 included a World War I-era Bristol Brass rolling mill (1915) with sidewalls composed of reinforced concrete and industrial metal sash and a second rolling mill (1917-1918) built with corrugated steel walls overlaying a steel girder skeleton; the Seth Thomas clock factory in Thomaston (c. 1915, Photograph 17) constructed of reinforced concrete with brick curtain walls; and the five-story New Departure Company plant in Bristol (c. 1930) built of reinforced concrete framing and brick pier exterior walls. The latter also incorporates a variety of Art Deco features, including decorative brickwork and external buttresses with cast-concrete caps.

V. MODERN PERIOD 1930-1995

Major events of the modern period, 1930-1995, have included the Great Depression, World War II, postwar industrial and urban decline, suburbanization, and maturation of the service economy. The Great Depression caused massive unemployment and drastic production cuts, paving the way for a shift in the state's economic base as much of the nineteenth-century manufacturing infrastructure eroded. World War II's boost to local industry proved rather short-lived. There followed, instead, a marked increase in nonmanufacturing employment and a dramatic turn to suburban living and suburban employment. In the countryside introduction of electricity and telephones, widespread paving projects, and school consolidation transformed rural life. At the same time, agriculture declined sharply, with most farms abandoned in the face of rising costs, increased competition, and extensive real estate development. As automobile mobility and suburban growth decentralized the workplace, city centers lost their vitality, while entertainment and retailing moved to the periphery with construction of strip shopping centers and malls. Downtown theaters and department stores closed, and factory and commercial buildings stood vacant. Many cities endured repeated cycles of urban decay and urban renewal.

The Great Depression and Wartime Recovery

The Great Depression hit Connecticut like a hurricane. From 1930 to 1932 unemployment increased from 7.5 percent of the workforce to approximately 25 percent (150,000 in 1932), with many thousands more employed part-time or at sharply reduced wages. More than 1000 firms went bankrupt in 1932, with 50 banks liquidated or merged, including the Bristol Trust Company. In Waterbury a private bank owned by the Traurig family also succumbed to the financial onslaught. Statewide, manufacturing employment fell by 45 percent, business activity by 50 percent, and total manhours by 70 percent. Bristol Brass laid off one-third of its workforce, and Bristol's New Departure Company trimmed payrolls by 3,000. The number of men and women seeking work in Waterbury topped 11,000. At Scovill orders fell from $37 million in 1929 to only $16 million in 1932.

Initially, many government and industry leaders thought the problem would be temporary, and old responses adequate. Municipalities attempted to aid local residents, and by the end of 1930 three dozen cities had established special commissions to address relief needs, while the state created small programs to hire men to work in forests ($100,000) and on the roads ($3,000,000). In Bristol unemployment expenses increased 700 percent and more than one-fifth of the population joined the relief roles. Waterbury, with one of the largest programs, tried to mix public employment and relief financed by deductions from salaries and matching contributions from employers, but could not begin to cover the need. By 1932 most communities could no longer afford relief programs. Tax receipts fell and property values plummeted. With borrowing capacity sharply curtailed, municipalities reduced salaries and slashed services.

In 1933 President Franklin Roosevelt and a desperate Congress implemented a series of legislative initiatives labeled the "New Deal," creating an alphabet soup of agencies and programs to aid the distressed, prop up industry and agriculture, and get the economy moving again. Total federal aid to Connecticut reached $90,000,000 by the end of 1934. New agencies included the Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA), Public Works Administration (PWA), Homeowners Loan Corporation (HOLC), Works Progress Administration (WPA), and Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC). The FERA provided home relief to thousands, $37,000,000 in cash and commodities by 1936. PWA projects put 40,000 unemployed workers on the federal payroll almost immediately. The HOLC provided $22,000,000 in loan guarantees. WPA workers carried out a statewide building program, including construction of a new stadium in Waterbury, Southbury Training School in Southbury/Roxbury, a town hall in Seymour, a fire station and high school in Ansonia, a new grandstand for Bristol's Muzzy Field, and a system of roads, ponds, and athletic fields and a swimming lagoon at nearby Page Park. WPA money also helped refurbish and modernize National Guard armories in Waterbury and Ansonia. The PWA alone funded more than 2,500 projects valued at $50,000,000 throughout Connecticut by 1937. The federal government also employed artists, actors, and writers, financing surveys of historic houses and gravestones, production of state and local guidebooks, and artwork for public buildings. Artists Suzanne and Lucerne McCullough crafted murals for the Thomaston Post Office depicting the early days of clockmaking. In Bristol the WPA underwrote the work of a cataloguer at the public library and preparation of a complete index of the Bristol *Press*. In rural areas the CCC put young men to work in forests and parks. Before the program ended, Connecticut's 20 CCC camps employed approximately 30,000 men who planted trees, implemented disease control programs, built roads and trails, and erected firetowers and recreational structures.

As war approached in Europe, Connecticut residents differed sharply concerning America's proper role in the expected conflict. The fall of France in 1940, however, tipped the balance of public opinion in favor of the Allies. Orders from Europe, and then from the War Department as part of America's preparedness campaign, revitalized several local industries, including aircraft, shipbuilding, metals, armaments, and munitions. By the end of 1940 Connecticut industry exceeded 1929 production levels, and the state stood first in per capita value of defense contracts, and second in value of war orders. It can truly be said industry mobilized well before Pearl Harbor plunged the United States into the shooting war. The economic boom fueled by military production initiated a severe labor shortage, a situation exacerbated by massive draft calls and enlistments. Nonetheless, between 1939 and 1944 Connecticut's manufacturing employment jumped from 350,000 to 550,000. This labor force included 150,000 women and 130,000 workers who migrated from out of state.

By 1943 war work monopolized 90 percent of the state's industrial efforts, and factories throughout the Western Uplands produced vast quantities of necessary military supplies. Scovill in Waterbury manufactured artillery fuses, shells, aircraft radios, lifeboat fittings, gas mask fittings, rivets, flare pistols, and medical equipment. Factories in other communities turned out a similar range of wartime equipment. Emphasis on military production, coupled with investment in plant, equipment, and trained workers, carried over into the postwar era as well, ensuring that Connecticut remained heavily dependent on defense contracts for several decades to come.

Industry

Rapid demobilization and cancellation of war orders in late 1945 initiated a period of intense economic readjustment, and Connecticut experienced sharp price increases, some food shortages, and severe cutbacks in industrial employment. Within one week of VJ Day factories laid off 56,000 workers, and thousands of returning soldiers in need of jobs only added to the confusion. With wartime price controls lifted and affordable rental housing disappearing, a period of labor unrest ensued. Ansonia teachers walked off the job for two weeks, and many of the brass mills were hit by work stoppages.

The decades following World War II proved difficult for many Connecticut industries. Southern and foreign competition, changing technologies and products, and obsolescent plants and equipment all exerted a negative impact. Plastic and aluminum replaced copper and brass in many applications. Corporate owners like Anaconda and Kennecott ignored local plants and invested in other technologies and in other parts of the country. In Waterbury all major brass producers closed, American (Anaconda) in 1970, Chase (Kennecott) in 1976, and Scovill/Century shortly thereafter. By the late 1970s Waterbury unemployment topped 15 percent.

A similar process unfolded elsewhere in the Naugatuck Valley. Where once 50,000 workers labored in the brass mills, by 1970 fewer than 5,000 jobs remained, and by 1980 only 2,500 as vast factories, rolling mills, and foundries stood empty. Many industrial communities of the Western Uplands watched their old-line manufacturing base wither away. Seth Thomas ceased production of clocks in Thomaston, while U. S. Rubber abandoned operations in Naugatuck and Beacon Falls. Between 1983 and 1993 Derby suffered a 17.5 percent job loss. Ansonia lost 15 percent, Plymouth 10 percent, Thomaston 8 percent, and Waterbury a further 7 percent. Statewide, the proportion of income derived from manufacturing fell from 31 percent in 1977 to 20 percent in 1991, and has fallen further since.

Despite difficult conditions, remnants of the old Naugatuck Valley economy survive. Ansonia Copper and Brass and Farrell Foundry (both Ansonia) still employ 850 workers. Bristol firms such as Accurate Forging, Associated Spring, and DELCO Chassis manufacture high-quality fabricated metal products. Plume and Atwood, one of the oldest firms in the state, continues to manufacture brass products in Thomaston, while Kerite in Seymour, producers of wire and cable products, traces its origins back to the late nineteenth century. In Waterbury firms like Anchor Fasteners, Anaconda Metal Hose, Chase Brass Forged Components, and Waterbury Buckle all continue a tradition of fine work in metals.

Responding to national and international trends and events, Connecticut's economy evolved further throughout the post-World War II era. After drawing strength from high military expenditures precipitated by the Korean and Vietnam conflicts and the Cold War (which largely counteracted job losses in metals production), the state's defense sector has experienced considerable shrinkage from military retrenchment since the mid-1980s, with corresponding layoffs. Between 1988 and 1994 the number of Connecticut residents employed in

defense-related industries declined from 96,200 to 65,900, with further substantial shrinkage (10,000) envisioned. Major reductions occurred at the largest defense contractors, including General Dynamics (Electric Boat) in Groton, United Technologies (Pratt & Whitney) in East Hartford, and United Technologies (Sikorsky) in Stratford. The latter has been for many years an important employer for residents of the Western Uplands. At the same time, the proportion of the state economy fueled by defense spending fell from 6.7 percent to 2.3 percent (from $5.0 to $2.9 billion).

Manufacturing sectors countering these trends generally fall into the high-tech category, with half the jobs concentrated in the aerospace field and most of the remainder in industries employing advanced techniques. Many high-tech companies now flourish in a variety of Western Uplands communites, producing a range of sophisticated devices, including telecommunications equipment, aerospace instruments, and optical scanners. Shelton is currently home to Practical Automation, Phillips Medical Systems, and EDO-Barnes Engineering Division, while TIE Communications employs 1,100 at its Seymour facility. General Data Communications employs more than 1,700 workers in Middlebury and Naugatuck. Many office and industrial parks have been created to facilitate operations of these new companies, places like 229 Technology Park in Bristol, Commerce Park in Shelton, and Silvermine Industrial Park in Seymour.

In contrast to the difficult times experienced by many manufacturers, the state's export and service sectors have boomed, with the value of overseas sales rising from $3.3 billion in 1987 to $6.3 billion in 1993. In fact, Connecticut has emerged as one of the country's leading exporters on a per capita basis, and second in the nation in percentage of jobs created by exports. Western Uplands firms serving overseas markets include Hubbard-Hall in Naugatuck, manufactuers of chemicals; Transwitch Corporation in Shelton, which sells telecommunications equipment in many countries; Lewis Engineering Corporation of Naugatuck, producers of aerospace equipment; and the Waterbury Company, which sells buttons in Mexico. Other sectors benefitting from continued reorientation of the economy include health services, finance and real estate, wholesale trade, transportation, and retail trade. Economic forecasters predict further growth in pharmaceuticals and biomedical and medical instruments, while the service sector will likely generate 60 percent of all new jobs, though many of these will pay less than former occupations.

Agriculture

Since the 1930s the number of farms in Connecticut has fallen sharply, as has the number of farmworkers. In 1930 1.5 million acres were devoted to agricultural use. By 1970 the number had fallen to 540,000 acres, by 1985 to 450,000, and by 1995 to barely 360,000. To put these numbers in perspective, 65 percent of Connecticut land was used for farming in 1935, but in 1980 only 16 percent, with 2 percent of remaining farmland lost each year to abandonment or real estate development. The 17,000 working farms of 1930 slipped to 4,000 by 1970 and only

3,400 in 1992. Today barely 13,000 jobs out of 1.6 million statewide are farm or agriculture-related, and agriculture accounts for less than 1 percent of state income.

Though dairy farms in many towns continue to struggle against rising costs, falling prices, and increased competition, nursery trees and plants now surpass animals, crops, and dairy products in value. Throughout Connecticut only 40 percent of farms can be classified as full-time operations (with annual sales exceeding $10,000). Formerly agricultural areas in the Western Uplands, even sparsely settled rural towns, now support relatively few farms, only three in Bridgewater, 15 in Woodbury, 13 in Bethel, 9 in Easton. In no Western Uplands town does the farm population exceed 100 residents, just 78 in Morris, 42 in Bethlehem, 26 in Roxbury, and none in Bristol and Waterbury.

Alarmed at the loss of a centuries-old industry, the General Assembly in 1978 enacted a farmland preservation program which allowed the state to purchase development rights to agricultural properties, with the first such purchase in Watertown in December 1979. A total of 18,000 acres and 129 farms have thus far been affected, only a tiny fraction of the total. Throughout the Western Uplands agriculture has rapidly receded. Some towns, especially those within Fairfield County's suburban belt, contain but a handful of surviving operations. Generally rural communities such as Roxbury, Morris, and Bethlehem have also seen farming operations, especially dairying, put under increasing pressure between rising costs and heavy competition from larger, more efficient producers outside the region. As a result the number of dairy farms in these towns has fallen sharply in recent decades.

Suburbanization

Suburbanization, the movement of residents out of the central city to neighborhoods and communities on the periphery, was already underway in the 1920s and 1930s, but accelerated dramatically after 1945, literally changing the face of the state and fundamentally altering the rural landscape. Several factors fueled this vast demographic shift, most significantly growing use of automobiles and related highway construction, availability of G. I. loans which subsidized new home construction, rapid formation of new families and the resulting baby boom, and huge demand for housing previously retarded by the Great Depression and war. Identifying closely with the rural ideal espoused by estate owners in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, new suburbanites sought to recreate this pastoral vision in modest, modified form.

Movement to the suburbs caused important population changes and increasing social and economic decentralization, a sharp contrast with trends apparent between 1830 and 1930. Intense development of rural land rapidly reduced the number of farms, converting them to housing tracts and subdivisions, garden apartment complexes, office parks, shopping malls, regional schools, recreational facilities, and commuter parking lots. Connecticut is now one of the most densely settled states in the nation. Towns closest to the network of improved roads have been drawn increasingly into metropolitan orbits. With no part of the state more than an hour from a major urban center, an exurban movement commenced as well.

The impact of the suburban movement on town growth proved nothing short of historic, in most cases reversing sharp declines which set in during the second quarter of the nineteenth century. Bethany, located midway between Waterbury and New Haven, experienced an increase from only 411 residents in 1920 to 700 by 1940, to 2,400 by 1960, and over 4,600 by 1990. Easton, just north of the Merritt Parkway and a scant half-dozen miles from Bridgeport, lost more than 40 percent of its inhabitants between 1840 and 1930, but recovered that and more by 1950, and then grew by a further 300 percent by 1990. Wolcott, on the outskirts of Waterbury, experienced one of the greatest overall increases, from 1,765 inhabitants in 1940 (already up from 563 in 1910) to approximately 13,700 in 1990. Monroe's population increased by 1,100 percent between 1920 and 1990, Trumbull's by 1,200 percent, and Plymouth's by 1,300 percent in the same period.

Other suburban communities experiencing extraordinary population increases in the post-World War II era included Brookfield, Middlebury, Newtown, Prospect, Redding, Watertown, Weston, Wilton, and Woodbridge. In Southbury developers created Heritage Village during the 1960s, the first large planned residential/retirement community constructed in Connecticut. In all, at least 18 towns in the Western Uplands metamorphosized from rural agricultural communities into bedroom suburbs for larger urban centers such as Bridgeport, Danbury, New Haven, New York City, Norwalk, Stamford, and Waterbury. In similar fashion, the suburban and exurban movement of the last two decades raised both population and incomes in many hill towns throughout the Western Uplands. Washington's population has doubled since 1930 and the number of Roxbury inhabitants increased by 150 percent. Morris experienced a 300 percent population increase, and Bridgewater 149 percent.

Accommodating growth required towns to alter time-honored methods of conducting business. More residents meant more traffic and pollution. Dense populations necessitated installation of sewer systems and effective waste management programs. Legions of children led to construction of scores of modern school buildings, and taxes rose inexorably. Shopping malls and industrial parks jostled for room. Loss of open space and historic homes energized many communities to create land trusts and historic districts. Planning and zoning departments assumed ever-greater responsibilities.

Migration of white-collar workers to suburban towns, especially in the southern tier, and surrounding Waterbury and New Haven, led to striking concentrations of wealth. According to one recent measure, incomes of Weston residents average 240 percent of the state median, and Wilton 204 percent. Other affluent suburban communities include Woodbridge, Redding, and Easton, with 188, 184, and 164 percent of the state's median income, respectively. Populations in these and similar communities account for Connecticut's high ranking in several national comparisons, including average annual pay, percentage of college-educated residents, average teaching salary, median household income, population density, and percentage of workers employed in finance, insurance, and real estate.

Suburbanization of commerce quickly followed residential migration, as both offices and factories moved out of crowded urban centers and set up operations on large office campuses and in industrial parks. Some businesses travelled just a few miles from their former Connecticut

homes, others transferred from New York City, and still other operations arrived from overseas. The trend is most apparent in the southern tier of the Western Uplands closest to New York City, and along major transportation corridors, such as Interstates 84 and 95 or State Route 8. Timex led the way, constructing a major production facility in Middlebury in 1942. More recently relocating firms have included Dun and Bradstreet and Deloitte Touche in Wilton; IBM in Southbury; Duracell International in Bethel; Uniroyal Chemical and General Data Communications in Middlebury; Landstar Systems, Rhone-Poulenc Basic Chemical, and Tetley in Shelton; and Physicians Health Services in Trumbull. Retailing also moved to the suburbs through establishment of many strip shopping centers and creation of large regional shopping malls such as Naugatuck Valley Mall in Waterbury, Trumbull Mall, and Bristol Plaza.

Transportation

The internal combustion engine dominated transportation policy in the decades after 1930, as private cars and long-haul trucks replaced railroads and trolleys. Undergirding this dominance has been the extensive road construction program undertaken since the 1920s to facilitate movement of vehicles and passengers. Planning for the Merritt Parkway, Connecticut's first modern highway, began in 1929. Work commenced in 1934, and the completed project opened in 1940. Fairfield County, state bonds, and the WPA underwrote project costs. This highway allowed residents of the Western Uplands to commute to work in communities situated along the coast, in Westchester County, and in New York City. It also opened up the region to an influx of suburbanites relocating from farther south and west.

Following World War II a partnership of federal and state governments instituted several great road projects. Many planners saw highways as the key to Connecticut's future economic growth, by linking state workers and industries with larger regional and national markets. Work on the Connecticut Turnpike, which paralleled the Merritt Parkway, began in 1953, with construction completed in 1958. Also in the 1950s work began on an improved State Route 8 in the lower Naugatuck Valley. In the 1960s Interstate 84 cut a swath from Danbury to Waterbury on its way to Hartford. At the same time work continued on the new Route 8, which ascended the Naugatuck Valley to Torrington, and thence northward to Winsted as a modern limited access highway. Other projects have included an upgraded portion of Route 202 between Danbury and Brookfield and the Route 25 connector in Trumbull. As a group these roads have greatly impacted communities within the Western Uplands by altering the physical landscape, changing the face of cities, fostering suburbanization, and determining the course of economic development.

Urban Change

The second half of the twentieth century witnessed continuous social, demographic, and economic upheaval in Connecticut's urban centers, and large communities within the Western Uplands experienced the full range of these changes. Suburbanization and industrial decline have

not been kind to many urban centers. Industry downsized or closed plants, moved to the suburbs, or relocated out of state. Most cities lost jobs and population. Central business districts relinquished their retail focus as venerable downtown department stores closed. Large portions of the middle class departed for the suburbs. Within the city many less affluent African American and Hispanic residents took the place of those who left, often living in heavily segregated neighborhoods lacking educational and employment opportunities.

Beginning in the 1950s state and federal governments initiated a series of urban renewal programs designed to stem the decline. The movement was partially motivated by devastation inflicted by the great flood of August 1955, which cut a destructive swath through much of the Western Uplands. American Brass suffered losses of $15 million; damage to U. S. Rubber facilities exceeded $5 million, while destruction in Bristol topped $3.5 million. Hard-hit communities included Ansonia, Beacon Falls, Naugatuck, Seymour, Thomaston, and Waterbury.

Responding to the crisis, as well as the long-term deterioration underway, politicians, government planners, technicians, social scientists, academicians, and corporate executives attacked the issue of urban decay in a process which came to be known as urban renewal. Several communities established planning or redevelopment agencies. Rebuilding plans in Bristol began in 1958 with creation of a redevelopment agency which sponsored clearing much of the downtown, rerouting North Main Street, and constructing Bristol Centre Mall. Programs to facilitate slum clearance and construct low-income housing also commenced. Waterbury began erecting public housing units in the 1950s, such as the Berkley complex at Long Hill, followed by developments like Oak Terrace on Bunker Hill and the Truman complex on North Main Street in the 1970s. More recently (1993) a group of 34 units was constructed on scattered infill sites, a sharp policy change from previous decades.

In many areas transportation projects were linked to urban renewal initiatives. Building the massive Interstate 84/Route 8 interchange in Waterbury led to wholesale demolition in the Brooklyn and South End communities, causing displacement of businesses and housing, most of which never returned. At the same time urban renewal led to much new construction designed to revive the city's downtown core, including a modern Silas Bronson Library and Waterbury Courthouse. In the central district bounded by Grand, Bank, and Elm Streets and Interstate 84, streets were rebuilt and rerouted. Six parking garages appeared. Redevelopment emphasized banking and residential uses, including three mixed financial/commercial structures, two residential towers, two hotels, and a major addition to St. Mary's Hospital. Just west of the city center near Route 8 developers created the Colonial Shopping Plaza on a site formerly occupied by the Waterbury Brass Company. Construction is currently underway on a massive four-anchor regional mall for the former Scovill site in Waterbury. The new retail facility, to be known as Brass Mill Center Mall, is scheduled to open in fall 1997. In some ways, cities like Waterbury envision future renewal through efforts to create a more suburban environment within the existing urban context.

Since the late 1970s renewal efforts have broadened to include rehabilitation rather than just demolition and new construction, including upgrading deteriorated multi-family housing. Changes in federal tax laws and utilization of Community Development Block Grant (CDBG)

and Urban Development Action Grant (UDAG) funds underwrote much of the work. In many communities older homes were recycled, and stores, armories, and schools converted to offices and housing, a process which continues. In Bristol, for example, developers remodeled the Patterson School into luxury apartments, while the former Russell and Mary Abbott Schools in Waterbury have been remodeled into professional offices and apartments, respectively. Communities throughout the region have initiated a variety of programs, including street facade improvements, upgraded parking, low-cost financing, tax inducements, and low-income housing projects. Portions of Bank Street in Waterbury have been converted to a pedestrian mall, and a few blocks away the Buckingham Square project renovated a block of four outstanding Romanesque and Italianate storefronts built in the late nineteenth century.

Despite these programs, many urban centers in the Western Uplands contain large pockets of poverty and have weakened economies, with significant job losses, high unemployment rates, and stagnant or declining populations. Between 1980 and 1992 Ansonia's population fell by 5 percent, while Derby and Waterbury remained essentially unchanged. Income growth in the old Naugatuck Valley milltowns lagged as well. Thus many cities continue to experience economic difficulty.

Throughout the second half of the twentieth century minority communities in the Western Uplands have labored to achieve the same levels of success attained by the region's other immigrant groups. World War II's demand for industrial labor fostered large-scale in-migration of African Americans from New York, the South, and the Caribbean. In the 1950s and 1960s they were followed by large numbers of Hispanics, mostly from Puerto Rico. The trend was most evident in Waterbury, where black and Hispanic residents accounted for more than 25 percent of the population by the early 1980s. This dramatic shift in the city's racial and ethnic balance led to certain tensions, especially over questions of housing, education, political empowerment, and jobs, the latter issue exacerbated by the sharp economic downturn which characterized the local industrial economy after 1960. As Irish and Italian residents moved to other sectors of the city or to nearby suburbs, many African Americans took up residence in the North End, while Hispanics frequently relocated to the South End. St. Anne's Church on South Main Street, originally established in the late nineteenth century by the local French-Canadian population, now serves a largely Hispanic congregation. This is just one example of how neighborhoods' changing ethnic composition can affect existing institutions. The city's current minority population of approximately 28,000 out of a total of 109,000 is equally divided between Hispanic and African American residents.

Elsewhere in the Western Uplands racial and ethnic change has been far less dramatic. Other large industrial centers such as Naugatuck and Bristol have attracted only modest numbers of African American and Hispanic residents. Bristol, for example, the second largest city in the region, with a total 1990 population of 60,000, contains 1,200 black inhabitants and another 1,700 of Hispanic origin, less than 5 percent of the total, compared to Waterbury's 26 percent. Though a few close-in suburbs have attracted small minority populations, a variety of economic and cultural barriers have combined to limit the number of minority residents living in most suburban and rural communities.

end of the structure. The recent addition to the Washington Public Library illustrates the Post-Modernist style in a village context. Retail examples include the Century Plaza shopping mall in Waterbury and the Wilton Campus Shops in Wilton, a sprawling low-rise commercial development.

Even as Modernist designs dominated commercial construction, residential architecture in the Western Uplands generally maintained an allegiance to more familiar forms. Throughout the 1930s and 1940s builders erected thousands of traditional homes--Cape Cod, Williamsburg Colonial (end chimneys, gable dormers), Garrison Colonial, and New England Farmhouse in its Georgian and Federal guises, usually with reduced and simplified historical detail. The finest examples appeared in affluent suburbs ringing large urban centers.

The Colonial Revival style enjoyed continued popularity in the field of civic and institutional architecture well after 1930. Many communities preferred this traditional style for new municipal structures, including Seymour (Town Hall, 1936), Easton (Town Hall, 1937), and Woodbridge (Fire Station, 1936; Clark Memorial Library, 1940). Between 1931 and 1940 the State of Connecticut, utilizing the Colonial Revival style, constructed two large mental health facilities in the Western Uplands: Fairfield Hills Hospital in Newtown and Southbury Training School in Southbury/Roxbury. Plans for the Fairfield Hills Hospital complex were developed by Bristol architect Walter Crabtree and employed elegant limestone porticos, a variety of classical motifs, and specially selected bricks. In Southbury architects Edwin Salmon and Frederick Dixon and landscape architect A. F. Brinckerhoff created a residential campus in the "Academic" or "Institutional" Colonial Revival style derived from Georgian precedents. Aided by WPA funds and workers, construction of the 1200-bed facility was completed between 1938 and 1940.

In the 1940s and 1950s the Colonial Revival style was challenged in the domestic sphere by the California Ranch, which enjoyed tremendous popularity in new residential neighborhoods and eventually spawned both the Raised Ranch and Split-level variants of the 1950s and 1960s. These modest and affordable houses, with a bow to Wrightian principles, promised casual and efficient living, often incorporating open kitchen/living areas, sliding glass doors, patios, and terraces. By the late 1960s popular taste in domestic architecture began shifting again towards styles which embodied traditional forms and detailing, a movement which increased in strength in the following decade. Such dwellings drew upon a wide range of stylistic forebears, and as a group may be termed Neoeclectic. Updated and modified forms have included Mansard, Colonial, French, Tudor, Mediterranean, Classical, and Victorian variants. The Post-Modernist impulse constituted yet another residential stylistic trend in the 1970s and 1980s, rejecting the blandness and starkness of formal modernism and opting instead for contextual structures designed with regard for the specific site, neighboring buildings, and climactic conditions. These homes often look to local vernacular types for inspiration, as well as Colonial, Stick, and Shingle-style precedents, but frequently exaggerate familiar forms in a whimsical fashion.

VI. CONCLUSION

Throughout eons the Western Uplands Geographic Historic Context has experienced ceaseless change. The land rose and was worn away; flowing water sculpted the valleys and defined the mountains. Sheets of ice of depth and breadth beyond imagining scoured the hills, rerouted streams, and left the landscape strewn with the geological debris of Canada and northern New England.

Originally devoid of human habitation, the Western Uplands later provided sustenance for thousands of aboriginal inhabitants who fished its waters, hunted its forests, farmed its soil, and established villages and burying grounds. Following arrival of European immigrants in the mid-1600s, the pace of change accelerated. Within a few generations settlers created a series of new towns, displacing the Native American population in the process. Large families and extensive farming methods led to creation of thousands of homesteads and destruction of the primeval forest.

The Europeans, with their Puritan beliefs, established a simple society, frugal and God-fearing, centering around family, farm, and church. Despite the seeming stability of this rural world, further changes inevitably unfolded. Overpopulation eventually fostered outmigration, religious divisions led to establishment of new towns, and discontent with the imperialism of the colonial structure led to revolution and creation of an independent nation.

In the nineteenth century abundant waterpower, rising consumer demand, and limited farming opportunities ignited an industrial revolution as entrepreneurs dammed and channeled rivers and erected numerous small mills to process fibers into cloth, manufacture clocks, and produce brass buttons and other metal items. By mid-century many early industrial sites had expanded greatly and were well on their way to becoming cities supporting diversified manufacturing facilities.

Introduction of the railroad and arrival of vast numbers of new immigrants accelerated the process by which a society based on urban/industrial life supplanted the older rural norm. The Naugatuck Valley emerged as America's brass-producing capital, and prosperous industrial communities marked their success by erecting great churches, commercial blocks, mills, and municipal structures such as schools, libraries, and city halls. The pride and grandeur of these turn-of-the-century industrial communities is still abundantly evident in the architecture which graces their streets.

In the early twentieth century cities continued expanding, creating suburban satellites as the automobile and a network of new roads replaced trolley cars and railways. World War I marked the high point of industrial expansion with construction of huge manufacturing complexes, a trend reversed when the Great Depression eroded much of the region's economic strength. During the same era agriculture continued its retreat as the number of farms fell sharply.

Since World War II the Western Uplands have undergone further social and economic metamorphosis. The old industrial establishment has given way to an economy dominated by services, finance, and retailing. Cities have stagnated or lost population, while suburbs, exploding in size, now accommodate the bulk of population. Urban renewal and highway construction projects have reshaped the landscape. In most rural towns only a handful of farms survive, as subdivisions and shopping malls replace pastures and cropland.

Extensive physical evidence documents each stage of the great regional evolution. Geology and archaeology reveal the secrets of the prehistoric era. Surviving houses, mills, bridges, cemeteries, barns, highways, churches, and schools record the activities of early European settlers and their diverse successors as each wave of occupants reshaped the environment, preserving, destroying, augmenting. These same resources help shape and direct current activities. Routes driven today were first travelled by Native Americans, colonial farmers, and ambitious turnpike builders. Communities and often houses now lived in were settled and constructed by generations past. Mature trees which line roads, stone walls which delineate fields, and millponds scattered across the landscape represent an inheritance in trust for the future.

But it is also true that change continues, and surely the ancient philosopher was correct in claiming no individual, and no society, can step in the same river twice. New infrastructure projects and demolition of historic buildings to make way for shopping malls or superstores indicate how easily threatened and fragile are the resources and artifacts of the past. If the built environment represents the story of the past captured in masonry and wood, then the chronicle of the future remains to be written.

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While no publication comprehensively examines the history of the Western Uplands, a vast array of sources is available from which to shape such a study. These include general histories and geographies, town and county histories, relevant government publications, nineteenth-century gazetteers, city directories, maps and atlases, nominations to the National Register of Historic Places, and the many historical and architectural resource surveys sponsored by the Connecticut Historical Commission. Though not specifically cited in this volume, information gleaned from manuscript land records, vital statistics, and tax lists compiled by each town undergird the conclusions presented.

One useful starting point is Roger Parks' 1986 publication *Connecticut: A Bibliography of its History.* Valuable overviews of state history include Harold J. Bingham's multivolume *History of Connecticut* and Albert E. Van Dusen's *Connecticut.* Though solid, both would be improved with updating and incorporation of more recent scholarship. Intended for a general audience, the series of paperback volumes published by Pequot Press in 1975 in commemoration of the American Bicentennial deserve continued attention. These include *Puritans Against the Wilderness: Connecticut History to 1763* (Albert E. Van Dusen), *From Revolution to Constitution: Connecticut 1763-1818* (David M. Roth and Freeman Meyer), *Preachers, Rebels, and Traders: Connecticut 1818-1865* (Janice Law Trecker), *From Yankee to American: Connecticut 1865-1914* (Ruth O. M. Anderson), and *A Diverse People: Connecticut 1914 to the Present* (Herbert F. Janick). Connecticut geography and geology are ably handled in *Connecticut: A Geography* by Thomas R. Lewis and John E. Harmon and *The Face of Connecticut: People, Geology, and the Land* by Michael Bell.

Other works with a broader focus which nonetheless inform all examinations of the Western Uplands include William Cronon's *Changes in the Land: Indians, Colonists, and the Ecology of New England,* Bruce C. Daniels' *The Connecticut Town: Growth and Development 1635-1790,* Richard Bushman's *From Puritan to Yankee: Character and Social Order in Connecticut 1690-1765,* Matthew Roth's outstanding *Connecticut: An Inventory of Historic Engineering and Industrial Sites,* and J. Frederick Kelly's *Early Connecticut Meetinghouses.* As yet no comprehensive regional study of Native American history for the period after 1500 has been completed. Earlier works such as Samuel Orcutt's *The Indians of the Housatonic and Naugatuck Valleys* (1882) and John De Forest's *History of the Indians of Connecticut* (1853) contain considerable information, but of a largely anecdotal nature.

Three works from the early nineteenth century provide excellent snapshots of communities throughout the Western Uplands. Timothy Dwight's *Travels in New England and New York,* compiled between 1792 and 1815, offers commentary on local customs and morals, educational, cultural, and economic developments, architecture, agriculture, industry, and whatever else

caught the attention of the peripatetic Yale president. *A Gazetteer of the States of Connecticut and Rhode Island* (1819) by John Pease and John Niles contains descriptions of each county and town in Connecticut, and includes statistical profiles abstracted from the 1810 census, as well as extensive historical, political, economic, topographical, religious, and agricultural information. John W. Barber's *Connecticut Historical Collections* (1836) is similar in scope, with the added advantage of containing numerous engravings depicting town centers and notable structures. Barber's *Collections* provides extensive historical and biographical information, as well as descriptions of the state's many budding industrial enterprises.

In the last three decades of the nineteenth century, publishers throughout the United States began producing substantial, often multivolume county histories. Typically, they offer an overview of topography and historical development, with special sections devoted to economic, transportation, military, political, professional, and religious developments. Individual town histories and gazetteers follow, and often include illustrations of the homes, farms, stores, and factories of prominent citizens. Most county histories also contain extended biographical sections. Volumes which proved helpful in preparation of this study included D. Hamilton Hurd's *History of Fairfield County* (1881), the J. W. Lewis Publishing Company's *History of Litchfield County* (1881), Mary Mitchell's *History of New Haven County* (1930), J. L. Rockey's *History of New Haven County* (1892), and J. Hammond Trumbull's *The Memorial History of Hartford County* (1886).

Many local histories, of varying quality, exist for towns in the Western Uplands. The most substantial work documents the history of Waterbury, the region's leading urban center. Useful sources include Henry Bronson's *The History of Waterbury* (1858), Homer Bassett's *Waterbury and Her Industries* (1887), Joseph Anderson's *The Town and City of Waterbury* (1896), and William Pape's *History of Waterbury and the Naugatuck Valley* (1918), which covers both Waterbury and several other important valley communities. Smaller locales have also generated studies. Good examples include Bruce Clouette and Matthew Roth's *Bristol, Connecticut: A Bicentennial History 1785-1985* (1985), Helen Partridge's *Easton - Its History* (1972), Epaphroditus Peck's *A History of Bristol* (1932), and Hollis Campbell's *Seymour Past and Present* (1902).

City directories published from the late 1860s onward provide a wealth of detailed information concerning nearly all aspects of urban life, and no study of the region's urban centers can be completed without them. Arranged alphabetically by resident, and in the twentieth century alphanumerically by street number, directories allow researchers to determine the ethnic and occupational structure of various neighborhoods and to chart the rate of real estate expansion. They also contain a tremendous volume of advertising which identifies significant employers and illustrates the range of available services. Finally, city directories provide maps and statistical profiles of their respective communities, descriptions of city government and municipal agencies, and indexes of municipal departments, religious groups, fraternal organizations, and professional services. Directories exist for Waterbury from 1868 onward, for Bristol from 1882, and for Ansonia/Derby/Seymour/Shelton from the 1890s.

Large-scale maps and atlases published from the mid-nineteenth century onward are indispensable historic resources. A wide range of wall maps published by the Clark Company of Philadelphia in the 1850s provide overviews of Connecticut, individual counties, and specific towns, including inset maps of important villages and hamlets. They locate and identify virtually all residential, municipal, and commercial properties extant at the time of compilation. The F. W. Beers maps of the 1860s and 1870s are similar in scope and detail, but bound in atlas form. At the end of the century the Sanford Map and Publishing Company published yet another series of map portfolios with the same or greater levels of detail. For urban communities the Sanborn insurance maps of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries offer a street-by-street, building-lot-by-building-lot overview. In addition, large cities such as Waterbury merited their own atlases, including the 1879 Griffith Hopkins compilation and a similar work completed in 1896 by R. H. Pidgeon. With these maps it is possible to trace settlement patterns, chart municipal expansion, locate industrial complexes, and investigate the evolving relationship between transportation improvements and overall economic development.

For the period since World War II, publications of various state agencies and departments are vital to understanding Connecticut's continuing economic, social, transportation, and demographic evolution. The *Storrs Agricultural Experiment Station Bulletin* and reports of the Connecticut Development Commission have been particularly useful. Information regarding historic preservation surveys in the region can be found in *Historic Preservation: A User's Guide to the Connecticut Historic Preservation Collection*, published by the Connecticut Historical Commission in 1991.

National Register nominations and historical and architectural resource surveys completed under the aegis of the Connecticut Historical Commission document a wide range of historic properties in the Western Uplands. Constituting the most substantial and accessible body of information currently available, these reports typically contain historical and architectural overviews combined with maps, photographs, and specific data for individual structures. To date, 95 individual properties and 36 districts within the region have been placed on the National Register of Historic Places, at least one for each town. Historical and architectural resource surveys have been completed in 20 towns, documenting literally thousands of houses, factories, inns, railroad stations, stores, cemeteries, bridges, and monuments. Janice P. Cunningham's study of Woodbridge (1995) is a model of its kind. Despite the number of studies completed, some communities have yet to be surveyed, including Bethany, Bethlehem, Bridgewater, Middlebury, Monroe, Oxford, Plymouth, Prospect, Trumbull, Washington, and Weston.

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The archival copies of the reports may be found in the Special Collections Department located in the Thomas J. Dodd Research Center of the Homer D. Babbidge Library at the University of Connecticut in Storrs. Microfiche copies may be used at the Connecticut State Library and the Connecticut Historical Commission in Hartford, and the Connecticut Trust for Historic Preservation, Hamden.

ANSONIA

Central Business District, Intensive-level, 36 properties. Valley Regional Planning Agency and Connecticut Historical Commission, 1979.

BEACON FALLS

Townwide, Intensive-level, 45 properties. Town of Beacon Falls, 1990.

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REDDING

Townwide Cultural Resources Survey, Phase I, Intensive-level, 119 properties. Town of Redding and Connecticut Historical Commission, 1988.
Townwide Cultural Resources Survey, Phase II, Intensive-level, 120 properties. Town of Redding and Connecticut Historical Commission, 1995.

SEYMOUR

Central Business District, Reconnaissance-level, 38 properties. Valley Regional Planning Agency and Connecticut Historical Commission, 1978.

SHELTON

Central Business District, Reconnaissance-level, 169 properties. Valley Regional Planning Agency and Connecticut Historical Commission, 1978.

SOUTHBURY

Townwide, Intensive-level, 110 properties. Southbury Historical Society and Connecticut Historical Commission, 1991.

THOMASTON

Residential, Phase 1, Intensive-level, 125 Properties. Town of Thomaston, 1986.
Residential, Phase 2, Intensive-level, 49 properties. Town of Thomaston, 1987.

WATERBURY

Central Business District, Intensive-level, 87 properties. Mattatuck Museum and Connecticut Historical Commission, 1979.
Hill District, Intensive-level, 312 properties. Neighborhood Housing Services of Waterbury and Connecticut Historical Commission, 1987.
Overlook Neighborhood, Intensive-level, 300 properties. Neighborhood Housing Services of Waterbury and Connecticut Historical Commission, 1988.
Walnut-Orange-Walsh; New-Pac; and Crown Brook Neighborhoods Survey, Intensive-level, 509 properties. Waterbury Development Agency and Connecticut Historical Commission, 1989.
Willow West; South End; and Brooklyn Neighborhoods Survey, Intensive-level, 343

properties. Waterbury Development Agency and Connecticut Historical Commission, 1992.
Bunker Hill; Waterville; West Side; Hopeville; and East Side Neighborhoods Survey, Intensive-level, 491 properties. Waterbury Office of Community Development and Connecticut Historical Commission, 1994.

WATERTOWN

Oakville, Intensive-level, 50 properties. Town of Watertown, 1989.

WILTON

Townwide, Intensive-level, 310 properties. Wilton Historical Society and Connecticut Historical Commission, 1989.

WOLCOTT

Townwide, Intensive-level, 65 properties. Town of Wolcott, 1987.

WOODBRIDGE

Townwide, Intensive level, 186 properties. Town of Woodbridge and Connecticut Historical Commission, 1995.

WOODBURY

Main Street, Reconnaissance-level, 157 properties. Woodbury Historical Society and Connecticut Historical Commission, 1973.
Townwide (excluding existing historic districts on Main Street and vicinity), Intensive-level, 291 properties. Town of Woodbury and Connecticut Historical Commission, 1992.

Part 2

Management Guide

VII. WESTERN 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
AGRICULTURAL/ SUBSISTENCE	farmsteads/farmhouses/barns/ livestock farms/orchards	farmsteads/farmhouses/barns/dairy farms/orchards	farmsteads/farmhouses/dairy farms/poultry farms/orchards/ greenhouses/windmills	poultry farms/dairy farms/orchards/ nurseries/greenhouses/vegetable farms/ Christmas tree farms
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/docks	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/parking garages/diners
EDUCATION	schoolhouses	schoolhouses	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 university branches/technical schools
IMMIGRATION/ ETHNIC HISTORY	cemeteries	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/workers housing

	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/ quarries/twine mills/printers shops/ potteries/glass factories/sawmills/ gristmills/cider mills/distilleries/oil mills/tanneries/fulling mills/spinning mills/carding mills/weaving mills/ textile mills/paper factories	carriagemakers and wagonmakers shops/wheelrights shops/ blackmsiths shops/coopers shops/ joiners shops/clock factories/ shoemakers shops/clothiers shops/ shipyards/foundries/machine shops/ brass factories/silverware factories/ quarries/sawmills/gristmills/breweries/ cider mills/tanneries/creameries/ textile mills/twine mills/brickyards/ rubber factories/leather goods factories/ gas manufacturing facilities/ electricity generating plants/petroleum storage tanks/bicycle factories	boatyards/grainfeed plants/machine shops/textile mills/founderies/paper and box factories/glass factories/ corporate headquarters/clock factories/ electronic components factories/ electricitygenerating plants/petroleum storage tanks/chemical storage tanks/ metal fabrication shops/sand and gravel quarries/printing plants/rubber factories
MILITARY	privateer vessels/parade grounds/ powder mills/magazines/ encampments	privateer vessels/powder mills/ magazines/parade grounds	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/ alms houses/poor farms/cities/ boroughs/county courthouses/ town houses	post offices/courthouses/municipal buildings/jails/police stations/ firehouses/union halls/widows homes/orphanages/mental institutions/hospitals/water pumping stations/sewage treatment plants/cities/boroughs/greens/ town farms/reservoirs	post offices/courthouses/municipal buildings/jails/state correctional institutions/police stations/firehouses/ mental hospitals/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/parks

	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/Sabbath-day houses/parsonages	cemeteries/meeting houses/Catholic/ churches/Protestant churches/Sunday schools/parsonages/rectories	cemeteries/Catholic churches/ Protestant churches/synagogues/ parsonages/rectories/parish houses/ chapels/convents/parochial schools/ hospitals	cemeteries/Catholic churches/ Protestant churches/synagogues/ temples/parsonages/rectories/ parish houses/chapels/convents/ seminaries/hospitals
SETTLEMENT TYPE	towns/commons/nucleated villages/isolated farmsteads/ linear villages	towns/commons/crossroads villages/mill villages/isolated farmsteads/linear villages/central business districts	mill villages/detached single-family neighborhoods/multi-family housing neighborhoods/ethnic transition zones/ central business districts/streetcar suburbs/estates/shopping centers/ summer colonies	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/condominiums/summer colonies/estates/strip developments/ shopping centers/shopping malls
SOCIAL HISTORY/ RECREATION	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/driving parks/athletic fields	granges/social halls/libraries/museums/ movie theaters/concert halls/dancehalls and ballrooms/auditoriums/YWCA and YMCA buildings/hotels/motels/resort hotels/seasonal estates/seasonal lakeside cottages/marinas/golf courses/country clubs/ health clubs/swimming pools/athletic stadiums/ gymnasiums/sports arenas/municipal parks/state parks/playgrounds/fairgrounds/drive-in movie theaters
TRANSPORTATION	wharves/taverns/bridges/trails/ post roads	ships/steamboat docks/wharves/ bridges/post roads/stage roads/ stagecoach taverns/livery stables/ turnpikes/tollgates/tollhouses/train depots/railroad rights-of-way/freight yards	ships/steamboat docks/wharves/bridges/ turnpikes/hotels/livery stables/train depots/freight yards/railroad rights-of-way/streetcar barns/Trunk Line high-ways/State Aid Roads/tourist courts/ airfields/railroad tunnels	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
by the
Connecticut Historical Commission

Federal Protection Programs

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

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

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

National Historic Landmark Listing: Administered by the National Park Service under 36 CFR Part 65, National Historic Landmarks are identified, designated, recognized, and monitored directly by the federal government. To qualify for landmark status, a property must possess exceptional historical significance to the nation.

State and Local Protection Activities

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

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

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

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

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

delay of demolition. Such criteria may include historic factors and a definition of historic properties.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Local Historic District/Property Committee: Connecticut General Statutes Section 7-147 *et seq.* authorizes the establishment of permanent commissions appointed by municipalities to govern local historic districts/properties established by the procedures of the enabling statute. Duties of the commissions are to implement design review procedures and to regulate exterior architectural changes to historic properties within local historic districts or to individual historic properties if those changes are visible from a public right-of-way. Note: districts listed on the National Register of Historic Places are *not* subject to these restrictions, although in some cases local districts may also be listed on the National Register of Historic Places.

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

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

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

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

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

Connecticut Environmental Protection Act: Connecticut General Statutes Section 22a-19a directs that the provisions of sections 22a-15 through 22a-19 of the Connecticut Environmental

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

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

IX. WESTERN UPLANDS PROTECTION PROGRAM/ACTIVITY TABLE

	PROGRAM/ACTIVITY	Ansonia	Beacon Falls	Bethany	Bethel	Bethlehem	Bridgewater	Bristol	Brookfield	Derby	Easton	Middlebury
FEDERAL PROTECTION PROGRAMS	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 AND LOCAL PROTECTION ACTIVITIES	State Register Listing	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
	Preservation Plan											
	Cultural Resource Planning Map											
	Overlay Zoning											
	Demolition Delay Ordinance				X		X	X				
	State Scenic Roads Designation										X	
	Municipal Scenic Roads Designation		X							X		
	National Register Land Record Citation											
	Design Review Board											
	Local Historic District/ Property Study Committee							X		X		
	Local Historic District/ Property Commission	X				X			X			
	Local Historic Preservation Trust							X				
	Municipal Preservation Planner											
	Municipal Historian	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		X
	Tax Abatement											
	Assessment Deferral											

	PROGRAM/ACTIVITY	Monroe	Morris	Naugatuck	Newtown	Oxford	Plymouth	Prospect	Redding	Roxbury	Seymour	Shelton
FEDERAL PROTECTION PROGRAMS	Historic Resource Survey	X	X	X	X				X		X	X
	Certified Local Government Status									X		
	National Register Listing	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
	National Historic Landmark Listing											
STATE AND LOCAL PROTECTION ACTIVITIES	State Register Listing	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
	Preservation Plan						X		X			
	Cultural Resource Planning Map											
	Overlay Zoning											
	Demolition Delay Ordinance											
	State Scenic Roads Designation										X	
	Municipal Scenic Roads Designation								X	X		
	National Register Land Record Citation											
	Design Review Board											
	Local Historic District/ Property Study Committee								X			
	Local Historic District/ Property Commission	X			X					X		
	Local Historic Preservation Trust				X							
	Municipal Preservation Planner											
	Municipal Historian	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
	Tax Abatement											
	Assessment Deferral											

	PROGRAM/ACTIVITY	Southbury	Thomaston	Trumbull	Washington	Waterbury	Watertown	Weston	Wilton	Wolcott	Woodbridge	Woodbury
FEDERAL PROTECTION PROGRAMS	Historic Resource Survey	X	X			X	X		X	X	X	X
	Certified Local Government Status	X										X
	National Register Listing	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
	National Historic Landmark Listing											
STATE AND LOCAL PROTECTION ACTIVITIES	State Register Listing	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
	Preservation Plan											
	Cultural Resource Planning Map	X		X								
	Overlay Zoning											
	Demolition Delay Ordinance	X					X				X	
	State Scenic Roads Designation											
	Municipal Scenic Roads Designation											X
	National Register Land Record Citation											
	Design Review Board											
	Local Historic District/ Property Study Committee						X				X	
	Local Historic District/ Property Commission	X			X			X	X			X
	Local Historic Preservation Trust											
	Municipal Preservation Planner											
	Municipal Historian	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
	Tax Abatement											
	Assessment Deferral											

X. NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES CRITERIA

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

C. a birthplace 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 aignificance; or

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

XI. WESTERN UPLANDS RESOURCES LISTED ON NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES

The listings below are alphabetized by resource name within the 33 towns and cities of the Western Uplands, which appear in alphabetical order. Organization of the listings is as follows: name of resource, address of resource (for some historic districts, peripheral streets indicate general boundaries), and date of entry on the National Register of Historic Places. The list is current through June 1996.

KEY

NHL -National Historic Landmark
NHS -National Historic Site
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

ANSONIA

ANSONIA LIBRARY, 53 South Cliff St., 08/23/85
HUMPHREYS, GENERAL DAVID, HOUSE, 37 Elm St., 03/17/72
MANSFIELD, RICHARD, HOUSE, 35 Jewett St., 03/11/71
UNITED STATES POST OFFICE-ANSONIA MAIN, 237 Main St., 12/12/85
UPPER MAIN STREET HISTORIC DISTRICT, 36-100, 85-117 Main St., 12/02/82

BEACON FALLS

HOME WOOLEN COMPANY, Main St., 11/29/84

BETHANY

WHEELER-BEECHER HOUSE, 562 Amity Rd., 07/15/77, HABS

BETHEL

SEELYE, SETH, HOUSE (Bethel Public Library), 189 Greenwood Ave., 08/29/77

BETHLEHEM

BELLAMY, JOSEPH, HOUSE, NW corner N. Main and West Sts., 04/12/82
BETHLEHEM GREEN HISTORIC DISTRICT, Parts of N. Main, S. Main, and East Sts., and Munger Ln., 12/16/82, LHD
MARTIN, CALEB, HOUSE, 30 Mill Pond Rd., 04/18/96

BRIDGEWATER

SANFORD, FREDERICK S., HOUSE, Hat Shop Hill, 01/19/89

BRISTOL

BELEDEN (Beleden House), 50 Bellevue Ave., 03/15/82
BRISTOL GIRLS CLUB, 47 Upson St., 06/03/87
BURWELL, ERNEST R., HOUSE, 161 Grove St., 08/18/92
COPPER LEDGES AND CHIMNEY CREST, Along Founders Dr. between Bradley and Woodland Sts., 08/21/92
ENDEE MANOR HISTORIC DISTRICT, Roughly along Sherman, Mills, and Putnam Sts., 02/29/96.
FEDERAL HILL HISTORIC DISTRICT, Roughly bounded by Summer, Maple, Woodland, Goodwin, and High Sts., 08/28/86
FORESTVILLE PASSENGER STATION, 171 Central St., 04/19/78
JEROME, WILLIAM, I, HOUSE, 367 Jerome Ave., 06/02/87
MAIN STREET HISTORIC DISTRICT, Roughly Main St. from School St. to Summer St. and adjacent areas of Prospect St., 08/15/95
MARLBOROUGH HOUSE, 226 Grove St., 09/02/93
ROCKWELL PARK, Dutton Ave. and Jacobs St., 12/19/91
TERRY-HAYDEN HOUSE, 125 Middle St., 03/25/82
TREADWAY, TOWNSEND G., HOUSE, 100 Oakland St., 12/19/91

BROOKFIELD

BROOKFIELD CENTER HISTORIC DISTRICT, Long Meadow Hill Rd., Brookfield Center, 08/15/91, LHD

DERBY

HOWE, JOHN I., HOUSE, 213 Caroline St., 02/06/89
KRAUS CORSET FACTORY, Roosevelt Dr. and Third St., 02/12/87
OSBORNEDALE, 500 Hawthorne Ave., 06/12/86
STERLING OPERA HOUSE, NW corner of 4th and Elizabeth Sts., 11/08/68
HARCOURT WOOD MEMORIAL LIBRARY (Derby Public Library), 313 Elizabeth St., 01/04/82

EASTON

ASPETUCK HISTORIC DISTRICT (also in Weston), Roughly Redding Rd. from Jct. with Old Redding Rd. to Wells Hill Rd. and Old Redding Rd. N. past Aspetuck Rd., 08/23/91
TARBEL, IDA, HOUSE, 320 Valley Rd., 04/19/93, NHL

MIDDLEBURY

BRONSON, JOSIAH, HOUSE, Breakneck Hill Rd., 02/25/82
MIDDLEBURY CENTER HISTORIC DISTRICT, Roughly bounded by Library Rd., North and South Sts., and Whittemore Rd., 05/09/85
RICHARDSON, NATHANIEL, HOUSE, Kelly Rd., 09/19/77

MONROE

HAWLEY, THOMAS, HOUSE, 514 Purdy Hill Rd., 04/11/79
MONROE CENTER HISTORIC DISTRICT, CT Rtes. 110 and 111, 08/19/77, LHD

MORRIS

MOUNT TOM TOWER (also in Litchfield and Washington), Off US 202 SE of Woodville, Mount Tom State Park, 12/02/93
TOWN HALL AND DISTRICT SCHOOL NO. 6, 12 South St., 11/30/87

NAUGATUCK

SALEM SCHOOL, 124 Meadow St., 11/03/83
TUTTLE, BRONSON B., HOUSE, 380 Church St., 11/29/90
U. S. POST OFFICE-NAUGATUCK MAIN, Church and Cedar Sts., 01/21/86

NEWTOWN

GLOVER HOUSE (Budd House), 50 Main St., 02/11/82
LATTIN, NATHAN B., FARM, 22 Walker Hill Rd., 05/24/90
NEW YORK BELTING AND PACKING COMPANY, 45-71, 79-89 Glen Rd., 06/02/82

OXFORD

QUAKER FARMS HISTORIC DISTRICT, 467-511 Quaker Farms Rd., 08/09/91

PLYMOUTH

EAST PLYMOUTH HISTORIC DISTRICT, E. Plymouth and Marsh Sts., 02/21/85

PROSPECT

HOTCHKISS, DAVID, HOUSE, Waterbury Rd., 05/01/81

REDDING

BARLOW, AARON, HOUSE, Umpawaug Rd. at Station Rd., 04/29/82
BARTLETT, DANIEL AND ESTHER, HOUSE, 43 Lonetown Rd., 04/15/93
GEORGETOWN HISTORIC DISTRICT (also in Wilton), Roughly bounded by US 7, Portland Ave., CT 107, and Norwalk River, 03/09/87
PUTNAM MEMORIAL STATE PARK, Jct. of Rts. 58 (Black Rock Tpke.) and 107 (Park Rd.), 12/29/70
REDDING CENTER HISTORIC DISTRICT, Roughly 4-25B Cross Hwy., including Read Cemetery, 61-100 Hill Rd., 0-15 Lonetown Rd., and 118 Sanfordtown Rd., 10/01/92
UMPAWAUG DISTRICT SCHOOL, Umpawaug Rd., 08/12/82

ROXBURY

ROXBURY CENTER HISTORIC DISTRICT, CT 67, Weller's Bridge Rd., South and Church Sts., 07/28/83, LHD
SOUTHBURY TRAINING SCHOOL (also in Southbury), 1484 S. Britain Rd., 05/01/92

SEYMOUR

DOWNTOWN SEYMOUR HISTORIC DISTRICT, Roughly bounded by Naugatuck River, Main, Wakely, and DeForest Sts., 08/25/83
SANFORD-HUMPHREYS HOUSE, 61-63 West St., 05/11/82
SEYMOUR HIGH SCHOOL AND ANNEX, 100 Bank St., 11/17/83

SHELTON

COMMODORE HULL SCHOOL, 130 Oak Ave., 06/30/83
PLUMB MEMORIAL LIBRARY, 47 Wooster St., 11/07/78

SOUTHBURY

BRONSON, AARON, HOUSE, 846 Southford Rd., 07/29/93
BULLET HILL SCHOOL, Main St., Seymour Rd., 02/23/72
CURTISS, REUBEN, HOUSE, 1770 Bucks Hill Rd., 07/29/93

HURD, WILLIAM, HOUSE, 327 Hulls Hill Rd., 07/29/93
HURLEY ROAD HISTORIC DISTRICT, 6 and 17 Hurley Rd., 07/29/93
PLASTER HOUSE, 117 Plaster House Rd., 07/29/93
RUSSIAN VILLAGE HISTORIC DISTRICT, Roughly bounded by Kiev Dr. and Russian Village Rd. between US 6 and Pomperaug River, 12/08/88
SANFORD ROAD HISTORIC DISTRICT, 480 and 487 Sanford Rd., 07/29/93
SOUTH BRITAIN HISTORIC DISTRICT, E. Flat Hill, Hawkins, Library, and Middle Rds., and 497-864 S. Britain Rd., 02/12/87, LHD
SOUTHBURY HISTORIC DISTRICT NO. 1, Main St. from Woodbury Town Line to Old Waterbury Rd., 03/11/72, HABS, LHD
SOUTHBURY TRAINING SCHOOL, 1484 South Britain Rd. (also in Roxbury), 05/01/92
WHEELER, ADIN, HOUSE AND THEODORE F. WHEELER WHEELWRIGHT SHOP, 125 Quaker Farms Rd., 07/29/93

THOMASTON

HOSE AND HOOK AND LADDER TRUCK BUILDING (Thomaston Firehouse), Main St., 01/04/82
THOMASTON OPERA HOUSE, Main St., 04/26/72
TRINITY CHURCH, Main St., 08/01/84

TRUMBULL

MALLETT, DAVID, JR., HOUSE, 420 Tashus Rd., 02/20/86
MERRITT PARKWAY (Stratford through Greenwich), Rte. 15, 04/17/91, HABS, HAER
NICHOLS FARM HISTORIC DISTRICT, Center Rd., 1681-1944 Huntington Tpke., 5-34 Priscilla Pl., and 30-172 Shelton Rd., 08/20/87

WASHINGTON

CALHOUN-IVES HISTORIC DISTRICT, 79-262 Calhoun St. and 11 and 12 Ives Rd., 11/22/95, LHD
MOUNT TOM TOWER (also in Litchfield and Morris), Off US 202 SE of Woodville, Mount Tom State Park, 12/02/93
NEW PRESTON HILL HISTORIC DISTRICT, New Preston Hill, Findley, and Gunn Hill Rds., 08/26/85
ST. ANDREWS EPISCOPAL CHURCH, 247 New Milford Tpke., 12/16/94
SUNNY RIDGE HISTORIC DISTRICT, 2, 20 Nettleton Hollow Rd., 145 Old Litchfield Rd., 6 Romford Rd., and 10-32 Sunny Ridge Rd., 11/22/95, LHD
WASHINGTON GREEN HISTORIC DISTRICT, Roughly, along Ferry Bridge, Green Hill, Kirby, Roxbury, Wykeham, and Woodbury Rds., Parsonage Ln., and The Green,11/27/95, LHD

WATERBURY

ABBOTT, GEORGE S., BUILDING, 235-247 N. Main St., 06/14/82
BANK STREET HISTORIC DISTRICT, 207-231 Bank St., 07/28/83
BENEDICT-MILLER HOUSE, 32 Hillside Ave., 06/12/81
BETH EL SYNAGOGUE (HISTORIC SYNAGOGUES OF CONNECTICUT MPS), 359-375 Cooke St., 05/11/95
BISHOP SCHOOL, 178 Bishop St., 11/30/82
DOWNTOWN WATERBURY HISTORIC DISTRICT, Roughly bounded by Main, Meadow, and Elm Sts., 08/03/83
ELTON HOTEL, 16-30 W. Main St., 06/30/83
FULTON, LEWIS, MEMORIAL PARK, Roughly bounded by Cook, Pine, Fern, and Charlotte Sts., 12/27/90
HIBBARD, ENOCH, HOUSE AND GRANNIS, GEORGE, HOUSE, 41 Church St. and 33 Church St., 04/09/79
HILLSIDE HISTORIC DISTRICT, Roughly bounded by Woodlawn Ter. and W. Main and Willow Sts., 08/20/87
KENDRICK, JOHN, HOUSE, 119 W. Main St., 04/12/82
MATTHEWS AND WILLARD FACTORY, 16 Cherry Ave., 01/14/88
OVERLOOK HISTORIC DISTRICT, Roughly bounded by Hecla St., Farmington and Columbia Blvds., Cables Ave., Clowes Ter., and Lincoln and Fiske Sts., 06/07/88
PALACE THEATER, 86-110 E. Main St., 06/30/83
RIVERSIDE CEMETERY, Riverside St. from Sunnyside to Summit Sts., 09/20/88
STAPLETON BUILDING, 751 N. Main St., 01/14/88
WATERBURY BRASS MILL SITE, Idlewild Ave. in Hamilton Park, 09/05/75
WATERBURY CLOCK COMPANY (The Movement Shop), Bounded by N. Elm and Cherry Sts., and Cherry Ave., 11/30/82
WATERBURY MUNICIPAL CENTER COMPLEX (District), 195, 235, 236 Grand St., 7, 35, 43 Field St., 10/10/78
WATERBURY UNION STATION, 389 Meadow St., 03/08/78
WEBSTER SCHOOL, Easton Ave. and Aetna St., 06/14/82
WILBY HIGH SCHOOL, 260 Grove St., 06/14/82

WATERTOWN

SKILTON ROAD BRIDGE, Skilton Rd. over Nonewaug River, 12/01/91

WESTON

ASPETUCK HISTORIC DISTRICT (also in Easton), Roughly Redding Rd. from Jct. with Old Redding Rd. to Wells Hill Rd. and Old Redding Rd. N. past Aspetuck Rd., 08/23/91
BRADLEY EDGE TOOL COMPANY HISTORIC DISTRICT, Roughly Lyons Plains Rd. N. and S. of jct. with White Birch Rd., 11/22/95, LHD

KETTLE CREEK HISTORIC DISTRICT, Roughly Weston and Old Weston Rds. N. of Broad St., 11/22/95, LHD
NORFIELD HISTORIC DISTRICT, Roughly jct. of Weston and Norfield Rds. NE to Hedgerow Common, 07/31/91, LHD

WILTON

CANNONDALE HISTORIC DISTRICT, Roughly bounded by Cannon, Danbury, and Seeley Rds., 11/12/92
GEORGETOWN HISTORIC DISTRICT (also in Redding), Roughly bounded by US 7, Portland Ave., CT 107, and Norwalk River, 03/09/87
LAMBERT, DAVID, HOUSE, 150 Danbury Rd., 07/24/92, LHD
MARVIN TAVERN (Matthew Marvin House), 405 Danbury Rd., 04/26/84
SLOAN-RAYMOND-FITCH HOUSE, 249 Danbury Rd., 04/29/82, LHD
WEIR, J. ALDEN, FARM (District) (also in Ridgefield), Nod Hill Rd. and Pelham Ln., 01/05/84, NHS
WILTON CENTER HISTORIC DISTRICT, Roughly area around jct. of Lovers Ln. and Belden Mill and Ridgefields Rds., 08/19/92, HABS, LHD

WOLCOTT

SOUTHWEST DISTRICT SCHOOL, 155 Nichols Rd., 04/12/82

WOODBRIDGE

DARLING, THOMAS, HOUSE AND TAVERN, E. of Woodbridge at 1907 Litchfield Tpke., 01/17/79

WOODBURY

BACON, JABEZ, HOUSE, Hollow Rd. near jct. with US 6, 04/16/71
GLEBE HOUSE, Hollow Rd., 03/11/71
WOODBURY HISTORIC DISTRICT NO. 1, Both sides of Main St. (US 6) for 2 mi., radiating rds., 03/11/71, LHD
WOODBURY HISTORIC DISTRICT NO. 2, Both sides of Main St. from Woodbury-Southbury Town Line to Middle Quarter, 02/23/72, LHD