HISTORIC PRESERVATION IN CONNECTICUT

VOLUME VI

Northwest Highlands:
Historical and Architectural Overview
and
Management Guide

1997

Geoffrey L. Rossano

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STATE OF CONNECTICUT
CONNECTICUT HISTORICAL COMMISSION

LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

Publication of *Historic Preservation in Connecticut, Volume VI, Northwest Highlands: Historical and Architectural Overview and Management Guide* concludes the Connecticut Historical Commission's six-part history/architecture series of geographically based planning reports. Part 1 of the report, Historical and Architectural Overview, traces how both the land itself and economic, social, and political forces have shaped the Northwest Highlands' development from the earliest European settlement of the region to the present time. Part 2, Management Guide, outlines the tools that towns can use to preserve the cultural legacy embodied in their historic buldings, sites, and structures.

The Connecticut Historical Commission administers state and federal programs to identify, register, and protect the historic places that give Connecticut its special character. The Commission's planning series provides a framework for local efforts to integrate historic preservation into local decisionmaking: planning for a future in which historic preservation, environmental conservation, and social and economic development are integrated to create sound growth policies.

John W. Shannahan
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AN EQUAL OPPORTUNITY EMPLOYER

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EXECUTIVE CHAMBERS
HARTFORD, CONNECTICUT
06106

JOHN G. ROWLAND
GOVERNOR

FOREWORD

Connecticut's heritage is present everywhere, from sacred Native American sites to colonial meetinghouses, which grace village greens. Underground Railroad stations speak of the struggle for freedom and equality, and historic urban neighborhoods shelter immigrant communities and their traditions.

Since 1955, Connecticut's historic preservation agency, the Connecticut Historical Commission, has been retracing our State's roots and traveling pathways to our past. Decades of resource documentation and protection initiatives have culminated in a series of planning reports, which taken together encompass the history, architecture, and cultural traditions of Connecticut.

Volume VI of *Historic Preservation in Connecticut* surveys the Northwest Highlands Region. The geography of the 24-town expanse ranges from the steep gorges of the Housatonic River to the sloping Litchfield Hills to the shores of Candlewood Lake. Equally varied in its "geography of history," the patterns of settlement, agriculture, history, transportation, and recreation that have transformed the region over time.

Author Geoffrey L. Rossano is experienced in telling the story of Connecticut and its people. His previous achievements include the Western Uplands volume of *Historic Preservation in Connecticut*, as well as a history of the State's armories and the Connecticut National Guard.

With publication of the Northwest Highlands Report, we are reminded that our historic buildings and places are as diverse as we are and, in cherishing them, we are one in spirit.

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 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

Historic Preservation in Connecticut, Volume VI, Northwest Highlands is the last of the six geographic historic context reports that comprise the historical/architectural series of planning documents published by the Connecticut Historical Commission. A two part format (historical/ architectural overview and management guide) carries through the entire series. The historical/ architectural overview in Part I 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 those 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.

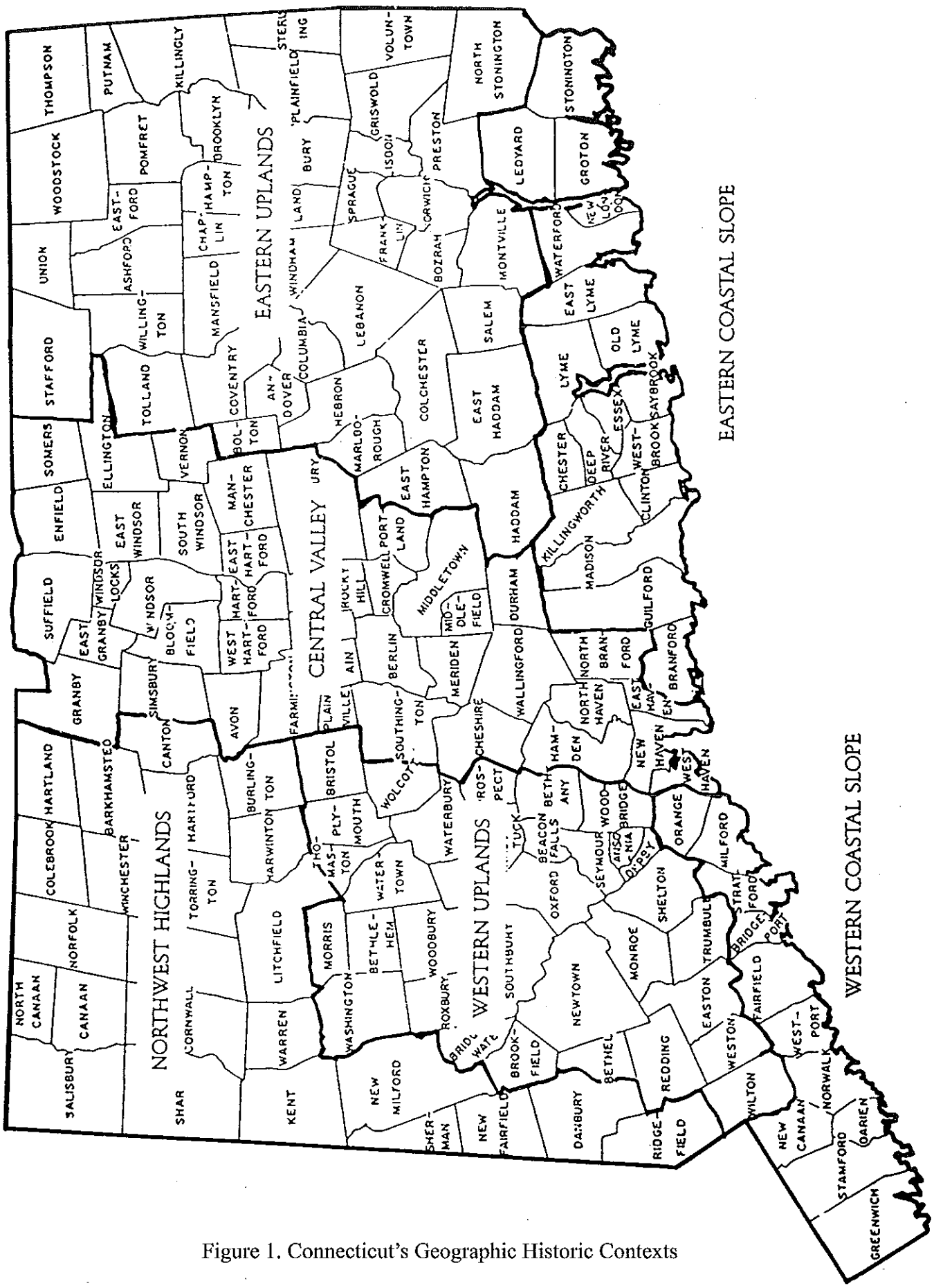


Figure 1. Connecticut's Geographic Historic Contexts

Part 1

Historical and Architectural Overview

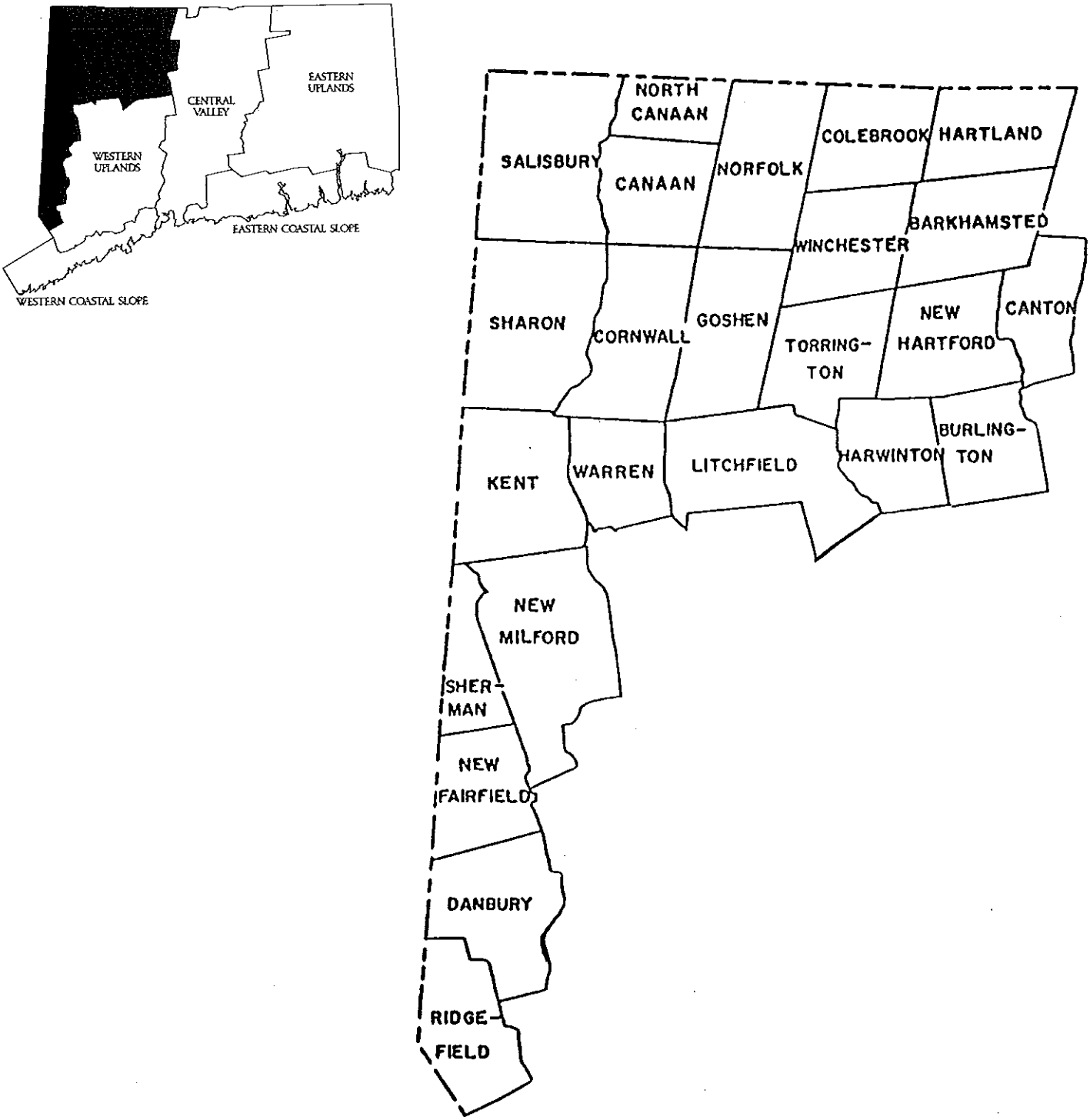


Figure 2. Town-based Map of Northwest Highlands Geographic Historic Context

Table 1: Northwest Highlands Geographic Historic Context:
Chronology of Town Establishment

Town	Date
Barkhamsted	1779
Burlington	1806 (from Bristol)
Canaan	1739
Canton	1806 (from Simsbury)
Colebrook	1779
Cornwall	1740
Danbury	1702 (settled 1687)
Goshen	1739
Hartland	1761
Harwinton	1737
Kent	1739
Litchfield	1719
New Fairfield	1740
New Hartford	1738
New Milford	1712
Norfolk	1758
North Canaan	1858 (from Canaan)
Ridgefield	1709
Salisbury	1741
Sharon	1739
Sherman	1802 (from New Fairfield)
Torrington	1740
Warren	1786 (from Kent)
Winchester	1771

I. CHARACTER OF THE LAND

The Northwest Highlands Geographic Historic Context occupies the northwestern portion of Connecticut and is bounded on the north and west by Massachusetts and New York. The region measures approximately 30 miles from east to west and 55 miles from north to south and encompasses more than 909 square miles of varied terrain. The Northwest Highlands extend across the bulk of Litchfield County and include portions of Hartford and Fairfield Counties as well. Within the boundaries of the region lie 24 towns and cities, the constituent communities including Barkhamsted, Burlington, Canaan, Canton, Colebrook, Cornwall, Danbury, Goshen, Hartland, Harwinton, Kent, Litchfield, New Fairfield, New Hartford, New Milford, Norfolk, North Canaan, Ridgefield, Salisbury, Sharon, Sherman, Torrington, Warren, and Winchester.

Combined population of these towns and cities currently exceeds 238,000, approximately 7 percent of Connecticut's total population. Danbury, with 66,450 inhabitants, is the largest community in the region and the seventh largest city in the state. By contrast, Canaan, Colebrook, Cornwall, and Warren each count fewer than 1,500 residents, ranking among the smallest towns in Connecticut. The four contiguous communities of Danbury, New Fairfield, New Milford, and Ridgefield, situated closest to the New York City metropolitan area, contain 53 percent of the total population in the Northwest Highlands.

In recent years virtually every community within the Northwest Highlands has experienced population growth, in many cases quite substantial. Between 1960 and 1995, for example, Danbury added nearly 30,000 inhabitants, while New Milford and Ridgefield grew by 16,000 and 12,000, respectively. The number of residents in small, formerly rural towns like Barkhamsted, Burlington, and New Fairfield multiplied many times over.

The Northwest Highlands are loosely divided into several functional subregions which reflect their history, topography, transportation systems, and economic associations. Both Winsted, a city within the Town of Winchester, and Torrington form part of a historic north-south industrial corridor linked by the Naugatuck River and its tributaries and founded upon the area's significant waterpower resources. Transportation routes from the eighteenth century onward, whether turnpikes, railroads, electric trolleys, or modern highways, utilized the Naugatuck River Valley and helped cement relations between neighboring towns and large industrial centers, such as Waterbury, lying farther south.

Roughly paralleling the Connecticut-New York border, the Housatonic River corridor consists of Canaan, Cornwall, Kent, New Milford, North Canaan, Salisbury, and Sharon. These communities contain some of the most rugged terrain in the region, including steep river valleys and the tallest mountains in Connecticut. Settlement began in New Milford shortly after 1700, but most towns were established in one rush in the late 1730s and early 1740s. They share a common topography and similar deposits of natural resources, especially iron ore and limestone, which facilitated the early rise of an important regional iron industry. The transportation corridor

defined by the river valley linked these towns in a north-south axis which channeled people and goods as far north as Vermont.

Several towns which form the eastern flank of the Northwest Highlands trace their origins to colonial Hartford and Windsor. Most were settled in the mid-eighteenth century as the offspring of those older central Connecticut communities and include Barkhamsted, Burlington, Canton, Hartland, and New Hartford. East-west transportation routes, as well as the eastward course of the Farmington River, strengthened pre-existing social, economic, and demographic ties to the Connecticut River Valley. Historic connections have grown far stronger in the last 50 years due to the spread of the Hartford metropolitan region, which has reached out and embraced many communities.

The Litchfield Hills uplands occupy the central portion of the region, rolling hill country between the Naugatuck and Housatonic River Valleys. Historic transportation routes link Litchfield, the county seat established in 1751, with Colebrook, Goshen, Harwinton, Norfolk, Torrington, and Warren. These towns have long been renowned for their scenery and ambiance resulting from beautiful village centers, stately meetinghouses, and fine old homes.

More southerly communities such as Danbury, New Fairfield, Ridgefield, and Sherman have always maintained strong ties to their neighbors along Long Island Sound and in nearby New York, while serving as a gateway to the highlands lying north and east. Their accommodating terrain and proximity to older Connecticut towns encouraged settlement at an early date and they rank as the oldest municipalities in the region. In the second half of the twentieth century these communities have experienced dramatic growth and now thrive as part of the outermost fringe of the New York metropolitan area.

Though generally considered hilly, even mountainous, the Northwest Highlands Geographic Historic Context contains greatly varied topography, ranging from gently rolling uplands and wide intervales, to steep river gorges and rugged mountain slopes. More southerly communities such as Danbury and Ridgefield are marked by undulating hills and dales, with occasional moderate ridges, while townships in the heart of the Litchfield Hills such as Goshen and Torrington contain a greater diversity of uneven hills and valleys. In the nineteenth century Barkhamsted, Colebrook, Hartland, and Norfolk were frequently described as elevated and frosty, rough and stony, with much broken land and mountains of a primitive granitic quality. That characterization persists today. Norfolk has long enjoyed a reputation as the "Icebox of Connecticut," piling up heavy snow even as valley towns experience only moderate rainfall.

Along the Housatonic River in Canaan, Kent, Salisbury, and Sharon the sometimes broad river intervale was always shadowed by the steep hills which defined the valley. At 2,380 feet, the highest point in Connecticut lies within the borders of Salisbury, on the southern slope of Mount Frissell, which actually crests in neighboring Massachusetts. Other important elevations include Bear Mountain (Salisbury, 2,316 feet), Gridley Mountain (Salisbury, 2,211 feet), Bald Peak (Salisbury, 2,010 feet), Bradford Mountain (Canaan, 1,962 feet)), Mohawk Mountain (Goshen, 1,683 feet), and Haystack Mountain (Norfolk, 1,677 feet). Original forest cover contained vast stands of mixed hardwoods abounding in oak, beech, birch, maple, chestnut, walnut, butternut,

sycamore, elm, and ash. More elevated and broken regions known as the Evergreen District were characterized by poor soil and deep pine and hemlock forest.

The Housatonic River constitutes the Northwest Highlands' principal waterway. It rises in western Massachusetts and follows a winding course southward through Connecticut before reaching Long Island Sound near Bridgeport. Where the river passes between Canaan and Salisbury, it cascades over the Great Falls, almost 500 feet wide, with a total drop of 160 feet, and in full spring flood an awesome sight. Tributaries of the Housatonic include the Shepaug and Naugatuck Rivers, the latter flowing nearly due south from its headwaters in northern Litchfield County. To the east the Farmington River and its tributaries run through New Hartford and Canton. Many other streams of greater or lesser importance course through Northwest Highlands valleys, the most prominent including the Bantam, Mad, Nepaug, Pomperaug, Still, and Weekeepeemee Rivers.

Along with its numerous rivers, the Northwest Highlands region contains scores of lakes and ponds, many quite extensive, and among the biggest in the state. Significant bodies of water include large natural lakes such as Bantam in Litchfield, Highland in Winsted, Wononscopomuc in Lakeville, and Waramaug in Warren, and even larger man-made expanses like Candlewood Lake near Danbury and the Barkhamsted, Colebrook River, Lake McDonough (in Barkhamsted and New Hartford), Nepaug (in Canton), and Thomaston Reservoirs.

A great array of forces, both natural and man-made, shaped the region's varied topography, and the geological history of the Northwest Highlands is lengthy and complex, extending back nearly one billion years. At that time vast terrestrial movements caused submerged marine deposits to begin folding back upon themselves, creating tall mountains in the process. By the end of the Paleozoic era, several hundred million years ago, these mountains towered 30,000 feet above sea level. Onset of the Mesozoic era, 200,000,000 years ago, coincided with the beginning of extended erosion which wore down the same mountains until they had largely disappeared, leaving only sluggish streams meandering across the peneplain and the bedrock which underlies Connecticut today.

Approximately 60,000,000 years ago, during the Cenozoic period, a phenomenon termed the Tertiary Uplift caused Connecticut's surface to tilt upward, with the present Northwest Highlands becoming the highest point and the southeastern shore the lowest. This elevation caused rivers and streams to accelerate, rapidly increasing erosion, the natural etching process creating the region's present contours of hills and valleys. Thus the present hill and mountain tops once formed the surface of the primeval peneplain.

The Pleistocene glacial epoch began approximately one million years ago, marked by successive advances and retreats of deep ice cover. During the height of the last great ice age, 18,000 to 19,000 years ago, average annual temperature reached 23 to 28 degrees Fahrenheit compared to 50 today. During the ice age July temperatures barely climbed into the 50s, compared to today's low 70s, while winter temperatures were a full 30 degrees colder than the present average. Ice coverage likely exceeded 2,000 feet over Hartford and 1,500 feet at New Haven, with equally staggering depths throughout the remainder of the state.

Advancing ice carried much Connecticut soil and rock southward, replacing it with the boulders of northern New England. Leaving the general contours of the land intact, glaciers nonetheless gouged and polished the landscape, modifying drainage patterns, changing riverbeds, and creating hundreds of new lakes and swamps. As the ice sheet retreated and flood waters receded, vegetation began to reappear, perhaps c. 12,300 B.C., and for the next 2,000 years a vast subarctic tundra covered the region, dominated by grasses and sedges, and punctuated by small clumps of dwarf willow, fir, and spruce trees. Migratory mammals included mastodon and mammoth, caribou, moose, elk, and giant beaver. Glacial Lake Danbury filled most of the present Housatonic River Valley south of New Milford.

Topographical and ecological features encountered by the Northwest Highlands' human inhabitants continuously affected settlement and development patterns. Natural intervales, game-filled forests, and streams abounding with fish supported numerous small Native American settlements. In the colonial era gentle hills encouraged farming in many areas, while limestone deposits in Canaan, and Salisbury permitted substantial production of grain. By contrast, the cold, sterile soil of the Evergreen District directed residents to livestock husbandry. Abundant waterpower resources meant milling and textile production could flourish, while the simultaneous presence of iron ore, limestone, and hardwood for charcoal fostered emergence of a substantial iron industry. Abundant water supplies later permitted large cities to grow and thrive. Hills and rivers, which typically flow from north to south, inevitably determined transportation routes. Early railroads, for example, all ran south through the river valleys; the first east-west line was not completed until the 1870s.

For a thousand years and more human inhabitants continuously altered the region's topography and ecology. Native American hunters and farmers opened clearings in the forest and each year burned fields and woods to eliminate weeds and underbrush. English colonists who began arriving in the 1630s initiated large-scale deforestation, clearing land for planting and grazing and felling trees to provide fuel and building materials. To power mills they dammed rivers and streams. Construction of eighteenth-century roadways barely impacted local topography, but nineteenth-century transportation projects–turnpikes, railroads, bridges–greatly altered the landscape, often requiring extensive grading and ditching. Growing urban centers covered ever larger tracts of land. In the twentieth century the scale of construction and alteration accelerated greatly. Cities and suburbs reached out to occupy vast stretches of farmland. Modern highways carved away hillsides, traversed great swaths of land with ribbons of concrete, and spanned valleys with huge bridges and viaducts. To satisfy demands for water and electrical power, engineers drowned valleys, inundated farms and forests, and created some of the largest lakes in the state.

II. COLONIAL PERIOD 1614-1780

Settlement of the Northwest Highlands by English immigrants and their descendants proceeded throughout much of the colonial period, largely displacing the preexisting Native American population. New residents created numerous towns and villages and established a rural, agricultural, religious society. Though most inhabitants farmed for a living, commerce and industry also played an important role in the local economy. Religion constituted a central element of community life, but was often beset by controversy. In the third quarter of the eighteenth century political, economic, and cultural disputes with Great Britain led to establishment of a new nation. Though most Northwest Highlands residents favored these developments, a substantial minority stood opposed, but were shouldered aside in the march to independence.

Native Americans

The first predecessors of Connecticut's historic Native American tribes likely entered the region as early as 8,500 to 9,000 B.C., following final retreat of the glaciers and ongoing reforestation of the landscape. These Paleo-Indians presumably migrated northeastward from Pennsylvania, through New York, and into Connecticut, camping along the shore of Lake Danbury. They depended on hunting-gathering for their sustenance. As the spruce and pine forests which then predominated supported limited quantities of game, the numbers of Native Americans remained relatively low throughout the Archaic Period, which extended from approximately 6,000 B. C. to 1,850 B. C.

Over time hardwood forests replaced evergreens in many areas, leading to increased food supplies. Around 1,700 B.C. a new culture seems to have entered the region, the Late Archaic hunter-gatherers who spread from Pennsylvania to the Hudson Valley and Connecticut. Other interpretations, however, suggest they may have come from the North and East, or that Connecticut groups represented an amalgam from both areas. At the same time agriculture grew increasingly important. These factors permitted population to rise and settlement to become more dense, especially near rivers and the shore.

Native Americans pursued a semi-sedentary existence, moving from site to site as the seasons progressed. Closely tied to their cornfields, which needed tending at certain times, natives erected permanent villages nearby, but at sites also convenient to fishing and hunting areas. Following the harvest inhabitants relocated to forest settlements to hunt. Winter meant shifting to warmer valleys or other sheltered areas with access to firewood. In the spring they took up positions for fishing, either along rivers or at the shore. As game, firewood, or planting fields became depleted, tribal groups moved to new semi-permanent sites.

Native inhabitants of the Northwest Highlands and adjacent territory typically belonged to the Paugasset confederacy, one of the major tribal groups which occupied Connecticut in the pre-

contact period. Connecticut's Native Americans, though divided into several tribes, possessed a shared culture and language, their different dialects part of the larger Algonkian language group. The Paugasset confederacy was itself divided into several smaller tribes which ranged over much of southwest Connecticut (excluding the shore). Five constituent sub-groups included the Pequannocks (in Stratford); Wepawaugs (along the Wepawaug River in Milford); Potatucks (in Newtown-Woodbury-Southbury and a second settlement at Weantinock/New Milford); Naugatucks (along the Naugatuck River); and Paugassets (above the Wepawaugs).

These tribes occupied most of Fairfield County and some of New Haven and Litchfield Counties, and thence northward along the spine of the Housatonic River, including land between the Naugatuck and Housatonic Rivers as far north as Norfolk. In the northeast their hunting areas overlapped with those of the Tunxis tribe. Native legends assert that the Paugassets entered the lower Housatonic River Valley from the west, at Scatacook, through a break in the mountains about a mile below Bulls Bridge. Despite the number and variety of inhabitants, northern reaches of the region remained largely devoid of permanent settlement in the pre-contact period, and it was instead used as hunting territory for various tribes. Several factors combined to create this situation, including the area's more rugged terrain, shortage of arable land, colder climate, and distance from Long Island Sound. Equally, and perhaps more, important was the fear of raids by warlike Mohawks from neighboring New York.

In addition to members of the Paugasset confederacy, representatives of other tribes inhabited portions of the Northwest Highlands at certain points in history. At one time small Tunxis bands occupied sites along the Farmington River, including parts of Burlington and New Hartford. The Massoco Indians controlled Canton, Granby, and Simsbury, while Agawam tribal lands extended into Hartland. In the 1720s a substantial settlement of Weataug Indians, perhaps 70 wigwams, resided in the Housatonic Meadows of Salisbury. Originally from Simsbury, they had been forced westward by encroaching European settlement.

Scattered throughout the southern portions of the Northwest Highlands were small villages, the inhabitants' principal social and political unit. Native Americans of the pre-contact era typically sheltered themselves with dome-shaped circular wigwams constructed of a framework of poles set in the ground and covered with hides, bark, or woven matting. A doorway and smokehole in the roof remained open. Indian villages also contained one or more longhouses, a larger rectangular version of the wigwam, utilizing similar construction methods. Simple furnishings included beds made of mats or skins, occasionally supported by wooden frames. Overall, these dwellings were comparatively warm and dry, and frequently smoky.

Native Americans acquired food in a variety of ways, including hunting, fishing, gathering wild plants, roots, fruits, and nuts, and agriculture. Each method assumed greater or lesser importance as the seasons progressed. Dense forests and river meadows abounded with game, with deer providing the staple meat source, supplemented by various birds and waterfowl. Seasonal migration of fish, particularly shad and alewives, filled many local rivers, and natives employed lines and bone hooks, weirs, and spears to gather their catch. The Long Island Sound shoreline yielded a bountiful harvest of shellfish which could be dried for later use. Meadows and intervales scattered throughout the area, kept clear of brush by burning, produced several

important crops, most notably corn, beans, and squash, as well as tobacco. Indeed, by the time of European settlement, corn likely supplied the basic foodstuff for regional inhabitants.

In the pre-contact period Native American artisans utilized a variety of technologies to meet the needs of daily existence. Dugout canoes provided transportation on rivers and lakes. Stone tools were used to process foods and skins and perform various construction and horticultural tasks. Containers formed of pottery, bark, and woven wooden splints permitted storage of many items. Ethnographic and linguistic relationships, along with uneven distribution of resources within tribal territories in Connecticut and throughout New England, gave rise to considerable trade. Some groups exchanged meat for dried shellfish. Wampum, composed of beads manufactured from Long Island Sound shellfish, constituted an important medium of exchange, both between Indian groups and with the early European settlers.

In the Northwest Highlands, interaction between Native Americans and migrating English at first depended upon mutual perceptions of utility. For the Europeans, the Indians owned fertile farmland, land which needed to be legally purchased to ensure a sound title. In their turn, native tribes desired trade goods the English made available and, even more significant, the protection they offered against hostile Mohawk raiders. Colonists paid for their purchases of land with a variety of goods, including coats, blankets, kettles, hatchets, hoes, knives, fishhooks, mirrors, and the like. Early land transactions usually reserved for Indians the right to fish, hunt, and plant in their former homes. Such was the pattern, for example, in New Milford and Litchfield.

Increasing white settlement, however, led to the general breakdown of Indian society. Introduction of imported manufactured goods changed economic and artisanal practices. Diseases caused sharply increased mortality. Alienation of hunting grounds and planting fields and inevitable friction between dissimilar cultures convinced Native Americans to retreat before the advancing European tide, and most surviving tribes migrated north and west in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Successively, Newtown, New Milford (seat of the great sachem Waramaug), and then Kent became important nodes of settlement.

By the 1730s the Paugasset confederation had been largely dispersed, with some members moving north to Massachusetts and others joining the Iroquois in New York. The upper Housatonic River Valley, the Indians' last remaining stronghold, supported a population of 500 to 700, including 100 warriors. In 1752 two tracts of land in Kent were set aside for them, including 200 tillable acres and 2,000 acres for hunting. In the following decades, however, much of that land was also sold, and many residents relocated to Stockbridge. By the mid-nineteenth century only 30 to 40 Native Americans remained. The much-reduced Schagticoke Reservation still exists, and a few tribal members live there or nearby.

One unusual episode in the story of Indian-European interaction concerns the efforts of Moravian missionaries to convert the native population to Christianity. In the early 1740s the Moravians dispatched missionaries to the Housatonic River Valley, where they made 120 to 150 conversions at Schagticoke alone. Newly arrived white settlers, however, pressured the Moravians to depart, and they soon retreated to Pennsylvania, accompanied by a large group of Native American converts. Disease and hardship later caused the Indians to return to

Connecticut. Missionaries were also active in Sharon, the last of whom, Joseph Powell, died in 1774.

Town Formation and Settlement Patterns

With only a few exceptions to the general pattern, four distinct stages marked the development of colonial Connecticut: initial settlement of the coast and major river valleys (1635-1675); settlement of interior uplands and secondary river valleys (1686-1734); occupation of the northwest corner (1737-1761); and the accelerated hiving off of new towns from older communities (1767 and afterward). This latter process occurred after all of Connecticut's land had been organized into towns. The Northwest Highlands, where initial settlement began only in the 1680s, did not participate in the first phase of development, but the region was actively involved in the successive three stages.

The first permanent European settlement in the Northwest Highlands followed conclusion of King Philip's War, and was largely concentrated in the southwestern portion of the region along the Still and Housatonic Rivers. Only in the eighteenth century did occupation of the Highlands proper, at Litchfield, begin. The impetus to extend Connecticut's line of settlements farther inland was generated by increasing demands for farmland from residents of older coastal towns such as Fairfield, Milford, and Norwalk.

Danbury's first inhabitants arrived in the mid-1680s, eight families who trekked northward from Norwalk and Stratford, purchasing land along the Still River from cooperative Potatuck Indians, an area named *Pahquioque,* or "open plain." Newcomers quickly erected two rows of simple shelters lining Town Street, ancestor of today's Main Street. Villagers established an ecclesiastical society in 1695 and the first gristmill in 1702. By the mid-eighteenth century Danbury had developed into a thriving village and important center of regional trade. Expansion even led to creation of new jurisdictions within extensive town boundaries, the ecclesiastical societies of Newbury in 1754 and Bethel in 1759.

Two decades after the creation of Danbury, 25 families in Norwalk purchased a tract of land between Norwalk and Danbury (from sachem Catonah of the Ramapo tribe) and petitioned the General Assembly for permission to establish a new town. Incorporated in 1709, the original Ridgefield settlement occupied the site of the present town center, 25 home lots lining a thoroughfare six rods wide. Five successive land purchases between 1714 and 1739 rounded out town boundaries, with payments usually conveyed in money, guns, rum, and trade articles. About the time Norwalk residents carved out a new town at Ridgefield, inhabitants of neighboring Fairfield obtained a grant from the General Assembly (1707) for a new township situated along the colony's vacant and ill-defined western border. Not settled until c.1730, New Fairfield counted 713 inhabitants by 1756, and ultimately split in half, with the northern portion becoming the independent town of Sherman.

The origins of New Milford differed somewhat from earlier Connecticut towns in that it was founded as an openly business venture when the General Assembly in 1705 granted Colonel Robert Treat and 111 investors the right to purchase 50,000 acres along the Housatonic River, a decision which gave rise to active speculation in these lands. The first settlers arrived in 1706, but energetic development did not commence until after the Peace of Utrecht (1714), and proprietors continued meeting in Milford until 1715. Thereafter growth accelerated, with New Milford expanding to 1,137 inhabitants in the next 40 years.

These early towns shared several features. Their legal foundations rested upon land grants made by the General Assembly to relatively small, specific groups of citizens. Settlers originally hailed from older shoreline communities, and each town contained a primary residential cluster consisting of small home lots surrounded by outlying fields. In each case fear of Indian raids slowed the settlement process. After the Deerfield massacre of 1704, for example, Danbury became an outpost town with garrisons and fortified houses. Colonial authorities placed bounties on the scalps of enemy raiders and ordered towns to maintain scouts. Settlement of New Milford did not really flourish until after Britain's victory in Queen Anne's War.[1]

The Treaty of Utrecht (1714), which acknowledged the Five Nations of the much-feared Iroquois Confederacy to be British subjects, also spurred settlement of Litchfield, last of the Northwest Highlands towns created for a specific group of petitioners. Following a series of preliminary land transactions which extinguished Indian title to the land and arbitrated conflicting claims of Farmington, Hartford, and Windsor, colonial authorities in 1718 sold 57 shares in the new town to a group of "adventurers" who resided in Colchester, Farmington, Hartford, Lebanon, Wethersfield, Windsor, and elsewhere. Each allotment consisted of approximately 800 acres, with three additional shares reserved to support the church, a settled minister, and schools. The General Assembly required shareholders (proprietors) to build a habitable house 16 feet square within three years, live on the site for three years, and not sell the land for five years. Actual settlement began in 1720 and proceeded briskly thereafter. Villagers called a minister in 1721 and authorized a meetinghouse in 1723 (completed 1726).

The rapid settlement push into the Northwest Highlands (which followed the last Indian incursion into this region, a 1722 attack on Litchfield resulting in the murder of one man, capture of another, and scalping of two raiders) consisted of two separate developments: creation of seven daughter towns of Hartford and Windsor, and auction of seven additional towns to residents of the entire colony. The origins of this process, however, actually extended back many decades. In the 1680s, when the unsettled Northwest Highlands were known simply as a "howling wilderness," the General Court adopted a policy designed to prevent King James II and his agent in America, Governor Edmund Andros of the newly constituted Dominion of New England, from taking those lands away from Connecticut control. As a stopgap measure, colonial authorities deeded the entire undeveloped expanse to the towns of Hartford and Windsor. At the time it made little difference who held the land, as few intrepid adventurers wished to migrate to that hostile frontier.

Early in the eighteenth century, however, with Connecticut's population rising rapidly and demands for farmsteads becoming more insistent, land policy questions assumed greater

urgency. Violent disagreements soon erupted between Hartford and Windsor, and between the towns and colonial leaders. Some squatters took up land. When they were arrested and jailed in Hartford in 1722, a local mob freed them. In 1724 the General Assembly appointed a committee to examine all outstanding claims and recommend a coherent policy. The commissioners ultimately suggested that one-half the land be shared by Hartford and Windsor, and the other half be retained by the colony, measures adopted in 1726. That portion of territory lying to the east was made available to the towns, with a final deed of partition executed in 1732.

Even before that date, however, settlers began relocating, eventually carving new townships from the allotment: Barkhamsted, Colebrook, Hartland, Harwinton, New Hartford, Torrington, and Winchester. Development of Torrington was typical of the process. After receiving clear title to a portion of the vast western territory, Windsor apportioned its right to wilderness lands among individual taxpayers, consigning nearly 21,000 acres comprising the "Half Township" to a group of 136 residents. That same year, 1732, Torrington's new taxpayer-owner "proprietors" drew lots to determine which specific portions of the land bounty would become theirs. In each of the various divisions which followed, taxpayers received approximately one acre of land for each pound of assessed valuation.

Torrington's first permanent residents arrived in 1737, and in 1740 the General Assembly granted the growing community of approximately 14 families town privileges. Residents created a formal church organization in 1741, settled a minister shortly thereafter, and began construction of a proper meetinghouse in 1747. Within a generation farms and mills spread throughout the entire extent of the town, linked by a series of paths and rough roads. Windsor inhabitants also developed the towns of Barkhamsted, Colebrook, and a portion of Harwinton, while Hartford residents obtained lands in Hartland, Harwinton, New Hartford, and Winchester.

In some cases, new towns filled rapidly, with settlers flooding into the region. Harwinton had a settled minister by 1736, and New Hartford by 1739. Other communities, especially those with particularly forbidding topography, lay undeveloped for years. Hartland's first settler did not arrive until 1753, and Winchester remained unsurveyed until 1758. As late as the 1770s Barkhamsted contained only 20 families, the town was not incorporated until 1779, and residents then waited until 1787 for their first settled minister. Barkhamsted was also the site of one of Connecticut's rare multicultural communities in the colonial and early national periods. Known as the Lighthouse, this small settlement, active between c. 1740-c. 1860, was situated in present Peoples State Forest and contained members of several Native American tribes, free blacks, and outcast whites.

Shortly after settlement began in the Hartford/Windsor daughter towns, the General Assembly responded to continuing demands for land by throwing open the colony's last undeveloped area, the far northwest highlands, that portion of the old 1686 Hartford-Windsor grant retained by the General Assembly in 1726. Rather than give land to any particular town or group, however, colonial authorities determined to auction shares in proposed townships to the highest bidders, with sales to be conducted at several dispersed sites. To validate their deeds, successful bidders (or their agents) were required to build a house 18 feet square and seven feet from sill to plate,

clear and fence six acres, and dwell there three years. A further stipulation reserved 300 acres of land in each town for support of Yale College.

Depending on the quantity of fertile land available, proposed townships were divided into 25 or 53 shares. In either case three shares were retained to support a minister, church, and schools. Auctions commenced in New Haven in December 1737 for the town of Goshen, followed by further sales in Fairfield (Cornwall), Hartford (Salisbury), Middletown (Norfolk), New Haven (Sharon), New London (Canaan), and Windham (Kent). In some instances settlement long preceded formal action. A small group of Dutch farmers resided in Salisbury from 1720 onward, while real estate speculators like Thomas Lamb moved there in the early 1730s, opening an iron mine, acquiring waterpower sites, and constructing a forge, all before 1736.

After hesitant beginnings, most towns experienced periods of rapid growth as new owners (proprietors) took up residence or sold their rights to other eager settlers. Newcomers hailed from throughout the colony, and by 1756 the populations of several towns had exploded. Sharon counted 1,205 residents, Salisbury and Canaan both had 1,100, while Cornwall, Goshen, and Kent each recorded between 500 and 850 inhabitants. All but one auction town incorporated in the brief period 1739-1741. Only in Norfolk, where purchasers of shares at the 1742 auction later forfeited their rights, did settlement noticeably falter. A second auction in 1754, however, set the process in motion, and Norfolk received its town charter in 1758.

The rapid rush of settlers into the northwest hills, and the great distances from existing civil authorities, courts, and jails, soon led to agitation for creation of a new county and new county seat. Several towns vied for the honor and economic stimulus such a designation would bring. Both Cornwall and Canaan aspired to the rank of shire town, but the real contest soon came down to a struggle between Litchfield and Goshen, with Litchfield receiving the coveted prize in 1751. The first county courthouse was erected there in 1753.

Initially, the new jurisdiction included 11 towns, a number which eventually expanded to 26 in the nineteenth century. In some cases growth came through redrawing county borders. In other instances, older communities split into two or more new towns. Warren, formerly part of Kent, became independent in 1786. Sherman separated from New Fairfield in 1802. Canton, originally part of Simsbury, was settled as early as 1740 and incorporated in 1806, as did Burlington, formerly part of Bristol.

By the time of the American Revolution, Connecticut was a fully settled colony, the last frontier in Litchfield County having been developed during the previous 50 years. Public lands were gone, and the area was densely settled by agricultural standards of the time. These new communities were created initially by middle-class settlers, and in the first decade or two (1730-1750) many speculated their way to sizable holdings. They were succeeded by a second generation of sons (1750-1770) who inherited a substantial stake, but smaller than that enjoyed by their fathers. The third generation, in the period after 1770, inherited still smaller patrimonies, with a majority ultimately deciding to move on and seek their fortunes elsewhere.

Building on the Land

The actual work of establishing viable communities and creating productive homesteads encountered numerous obstacles, and often extreme danger, especially in the earliest phases of settlement. Difficulties were often exacerbated by rugged terrain and a markedly inhospitable climate which included the coldest weather and shortest growing season in the colony. Wild animals also proved an ever-present danger, and most towns offered bounties on bears, wolves, mountain lions, and snakes. Various diseases, virtually always of undiagnosed origin, beset struggling newcomers, including outbreaks of diphtheria, smallpox, dysentery, and numerous fevers. In 1739 Sharon residents petitioned the General Assembly for aid and relief, citing a "nervous fever" which afflicted upwards of 120 citizens, with many disabled for between 40 and 100 days, and more than 20 deaths.

In siting settlements, colonial townbuilders preferred the better-drained uplands which were less subject to flooding and early or late frosts. Cornwall, Goshen, Litchfield, Norfolk, and Sharon all clustered on hills or ridgelines. Ridgefield's name was, of course, eponymous. Where no convenient hill permitted extensive settlement, early residents chose elevated terraces which flanked river valleys, as in New Milford, or the Flanders region of Kent.

Every wilderness community required creation of basic infrastructure and institutions, especially roads, bridges, schools, and meetinghouses. Early roads, no more than rough trails, often followed older Indian paths. As surveyors mapped new towns, they made allowance for roads between proprietary allotments, usually in a rectangular grid pattern which conformed to property divisions, but not to local topography. Most early town meetings devoted considerable discussion to authorizing new roads and determining their size and route. The small number of through routes included a road from Hartford to Litchfield and Poughkeepsie, a second road from Hartford to Woodbury and Danbury, and a third from Hartford to Albany which passed through Goshen, Cornwall, Canaan, and Salisbury.

Initially, settlers traversed the region's many streams by finding fording places where they and their animals could wade across. Primitive bridges followed. New Milford built a bridge across the Housatonic in 1737 and Salisbury erected its first span in 1744. New Hartford authorized a bridge across the Nepaug the following year. Crude early bridges frequently fell victim to rot and decay, floods, and ice jams, and town records document many votes for repair and rebuilding, or to compensate travelers who lost animals and belongings when the structures collapsed under the load.

Townspeople also established schools to educate rapidly increasing numbers of children, thus satisfying a mandate from the central government. In proprietary towns large blocks of land were set aside for support of public schools, with perpetual leases of 900 or 999 years auctioned to the highest bidders. Auction proceeds were invested, and the interest gained used to pay teachers' salaries and other expenses. Actions taken at a Harwinton town meeting in 1751 typified contemporary educational policy, as voters authorized expenditures of 100 pounds for schooling, in "order to teach them to writ and read," one half to be raised by real estate taxes, and the other

half paid by families.[2] Most early schools were small, rude affairs. Kent's first schoolhouse, authorized in 1739, measured just 16 feet square.

Erecting a meetinghouse to accommodate church services and other public gatherings constituted the largest, and often most contentious, construction effort undertaken in many towns. With church attendance a required duty, and transportation largely restricted to foot traffic and oxcart, siting the meetinghouse generated considerable debate. While some communities moved the process along with dispatch, other towns took years to complete the task. Norfolk, for example, raised its meetinghouse frame in 1760, and covered the structure later that year. In 1761 voters ordered flooring and underpinning added, as well as temporary seats. Work then ceased for a period of five or six years. In 1766 construction resumed, but moved only in fits and starts, with villagers supporting the work through payments of money, bar iron, or pine boards. In 1767 carpenters laid the gallery floor, added a pulpit and pews in 1769, and finished the galleries in 1771, more than a decade after work initially commenced.

Every town required a cadre of artisans to process agricultural produce and manufacture wooden and iron implements. Millers and blacksmiths were always in great demand, and voters frequently offered inducements to attract such men to nascent settlements. In 1712, for example, Ridgefield proprietors granted extensive property rights to blacksmith Benjamin Burt of Norwalk to convince him to settle there, a 1/28th share in total town lands, and an additional right to purchase unsurveyed acreage. A similar process transpired in New Milford where 18 settlers contracted with blacksmith James Hine, offering payment in land. In 1728 several leading men of New Milford gathered land and money to secure the services of cooper Jonathan Buck.

Despite hardship and danger, substantial inmigration and large families fueled rapid expansion in most new towns, especially in the last few decades of the colonial era. The record of Mrs. John Buel, wife of an early Litchfield settler, underscores the phenomenal growth experienced by some communities. When she died in 1768 at the age of 90, Mrs. Buel was reputed to have had 13 children, 191 grandchildren, 247 great-grandchildren, and 49 great-great-grandchildren, of whom 336 survived her. Though families such as this were clearly the great exception, the demographic impact was substantial. Between 1756 and 1782 Torrington's population shot upwards from 250 to 1,077 residents. Founded in 1738, Sharon counted 2,230 inhabitants in 1782. Litchfield, already an established town by 1750, grew three-fold in the following three decades. Virtually every other community in the region shared this experience. Population doubled in Danbury and Salisbury, tripled in New Milford, and increased by a factor of five in New Hartford.

Though not represented as heavily as in Connecticut's coastal and river towns, African American slaves comprised a distinct and widespread element of the Northwest Highlands population. Most were owned by the region's prominent merchants, manufacturers, and commercial farmers. Men performed field labor, herding, construction, driving, and artisan work, while women engaged in a full range of domestic, cooking, and gardening chores. A few towns, usually the most remote and last settled, counted no slaves, Barkhamsted, Colebrook, and Hartland among them. In 1756 seven slaves in Sharon comprised just one-half of 1 percent of the population. Small numbers also lived in New Milford (16) and Danbury (18). By contrast, Ridgefield

counted 46 slaves at mid-century, between 4 and 5 percent of the total population. In the following two decades the institution of slavery expanded significantly in several Northwest Highlands towns, especially Salisbury, Canaan, and Kent where African Americans comprised between 2 and 4 percent of the population. In these three towns especially the growth of iron mining and manufacturing created a significant demand for labor, met in part, at least, through employment of slaves.

Agriculture

Throughout the colonial era agriculture formed the basis of life everywhere in the Northwest Highlands, and until the industrial revolution the great majority of inhabitants labored long hours to clear fields, plant, cultivate, and harvest crops, and tend cattle and sheep. Female family members worked as hard, or harder, planting gardens, manufacturing dairy products, preserving foods, and processing animal fibers into clothing. Though initially rather inefficient, farming practices became more productive over time.

Settlement required clearing dense stands of timber which grew almost everywhere in order to create meadows, hayfields, and cropland. In some places farmers simply felled the timber and set it ablaze. In other areas, Colebrook for example, trees were girdled and left to die. Available tools only added to the difficulties: hand axes and saws, wooden plows, primitive harrows, hand-held hoes, sickles, and cornknives. Early farms supported only small herds of livestock and maintained relatively small fields. Initially, cattle and hogs foraged in the forest and among the stumps.

Supporting livestock in such conditions challenged farmers. With little pasture and limited crop surpluses, it proved almost impossible to keep large numbers of animals through long, hard winters. Typically, all cattle, sheep, and swine ran together, identified by a series of intricate earmarks cut into each animal and recorded in a book maintained by the town clerk. Extensive fences and walls were erected, but not to pen animals in; rather, they were built to keep roaming pigs and cows out of planted fields.

With some allowance for intraregional variation engendered by differing soil conditions and distinct microclimates, farmers in the Northwest Highlands relied on a mixed agriculture employing both Native American and traditional English husbandry which yielded grass, rye, Indian corn, oats, buckwheat, flax, beans, peas, and apples. Limestone soils in Canaan, Salisbury, and Sharon produced excellent wheat crops as well. Despite initial obstacles, by the end of the colonial era many farmers had developed profitable and extensive farming operations, especially those blessed with soil capable of yielding significant grain crops. Over time, growing surpluses and rising exports generated improved living standards for much of the rural population.

Commerce

Production of agricultural surpluses and growing demand for manufactured goods, tea, tropical dyestuffs, and Caribbean imports like sugar and molasses fostered increasing levels of commerce throughout the region, sustaining numerous merchants and country stores. Central to the process was the West Indies trade, whereby Connecticut merchants sent vessels (or cargoes via New York, Newport, and Boston) to the British and foreign West Indies. Local exports included agricultural produce, especially flour, salted meat, flaxseed, butter and cheese, and lumber.

Despite the seemingly remote location, many Northwest Highlands inhabitants actively participated in this export trade. Inland merchants in places like Danbury and Litchfield hauled flour and provisions to Long Island Sound ports or to Derby on the Housatonic River. Sharon traders transported flour to the Hudson River and thence downstream to Manhattan. Itinerant drovers traveled throughout the region purchasing cattle and hogs for sale in Boston, New York, and Providence, and ships bound for the Caribbean often carried Connecticut livestock as deck cargo. By 1774 Connecticut's annual exports exceeded 15,000 animals, 100,000 barrels of salted meat, 150,000 pounds of cheese, and 30,000 bushels of flaxseed, as well as great quantities of wheat, corn, and flour.

Rural merchants provided the important link between local producers and consumers and larger markets beyond the colony's borders. Most gathered up country produce and dispatched it for sale, obtaining in return a range of imports from the Caribbean (rum, sugar, molasses, dyes), Europe (cloth, hardware, books, tools), and Africa and Asia (tea, cinnamon, pepper). In fact, the typical Connecticut family of the late colonial era probably consumed between L3 and L4 of British imports each year. Evidence can be found in rare surviving ledgers and in probate inventories, which record a wide range of imported cloth, manufactures, and foodstuffs.

Virtually every community supported one or more merchants. Torrington, for example, attracted at least three such entrepreneurs before 1775. Goshen's first trader, John Smith, moved to the town center in 1750 where he also kept a tavern. He was followed by Daniel Miles and Uri Hill. When Hill died in the 1760s, his clerk, Ephraim Starr, married Hill's widow and prospered greatly in the next decade, serving customers in Cornwall, Goshen, Litchfield, Norfolk, and Torrington. In Milton (Litchfield) David Welch operated a store in his house, but also speculated in land, owned six slaves, and held an interest in two forges and a puddling furnace. A dealer in iron/iron products, Welch supplied many customers in Salisbury, his merchandise paid for by cast iron transported by pack horses in summer and ox sledges in winter.

Industry

Like other regions of colonial Connecticut, the Northwest Highlands supported many mills and small rural industrial establishments which processed the bounty of area farms and forests. Gristmills were especially important, grinding grain necessary to make bread, and producing flour which served as an important medium of exchange. The experience of Ridgefield in this

regard proved typical. In 1716 miller Daniel Sherwood obtained land and water privileges from town proprietors by agreeing to build and maintain a gristmill. He promised to grind without delay and make good meal. A generation later Canaan granted mill privileges at the Great Falls and 14 acres of land to Josiah Walker on the condition that he erect a grist and bolting (sifting) mill within the next ten months and keep the establishment in good order.

In addition to all-important gristmills, area towns depended upon sawmills to turn out planks, joists, and roofing boards required to erect scores of new houses each year. Lumber products also enjoyed a good export market. In the age of homespun, fulling mills, facilities which processed hand-woven cloth, also attracted many customers. In some areas small satellite settlements coalesced around milling sites. West Goshen grew up along the banks of the Marshapaug River, ultimately including a sawmill, gristmill, fulling mill, and small ironworks. A similar settlement node developed at Titicus in Ridgefield where a 100-foot drop in elevation generated enough power to run a sawmill and gristmill, and encouraged construction of several houses and a store.

The Northwest Highlands also developed an important iron industry, one of the most significant such areas in pre-Revolutionary America. The far northwestern towns were especially blessed with all the raw materials necessary for successful iron production: rich ore, plentiful hardwoods for conversion to charcoal, abundant limestone for flux, and innumerable waterpower sites. As early as 1732 substantial iron ore deposits were discovered in Salisbury, and entrepreneur Thomas Lamb constructed a bloomery forge in Lime Rock a few years later. Within a decade several other nearby establishments exploited the region's rich hematite ore. Miners opened pits in Kent by 1739, supplying forges in Aspetuck (in Easton and Weston) and New Milford, with ore transported by heavily laden horses carrying leather packs. Kent resident Ebenezer Barnum constructed a dam and ironworks near Spectacle Pond in 1744. About the same time Canaan blacksmith Samuel Forbes, recently relocated from Simsbury, built a forge on the Blackberry River. Other well-known ironworks included the forge at Lake Wononscopomuc in Lakeville and Deacon Hezekiah Camp's forge in Taconic.

In 1762 a partnership which included future Vermont pioneer Ethan Allen and Canaan ironmaster Samuel Forbes constructed Connecticut's first blast furnace on the shores of Lake Wononscopomuc in the heart of the present village of Lakeville. Charging (loading) the furnace required 250 bushels of charcoal, 1,000 pounds of limestone, and three tons of ore. Leather bellows driven by a waterwheel supplied the compressed air necessary to put the furnace in blast. This pioneering furnace operated day and night and yielded two to three tons of pig iron per day. The output was then cast into pots, kettles, and other metal goods, or taken to forges for further processing into wrought iron which could be worked into tools and hardware.

Society and Religion

With an unbroken Puritan-Congregational heritage stretching back to the very origins of the colony, religious beliefs, activities, and institutions played a central role in the lives of Northwest Highlands residents. Creation of a formal church body and construction of a meetinghouse

constituted the primary requirements of community life. Indeed, no new town could obtain independent legal status without establishing a church. Inhabitants were required to set aside land for support of a church and minister, pay taxes for their annual upkeep, attend weekly meetings, and submit to church discipline.

The great geographic extent of some colonial towns and dispersed settlement patterns frequently led to religious fissures and deviation from the one town-one church policy advocated by many communicants. In a few cases creation of new ecclesiastical societies, as in Ridgebury (1769) or Torringford (1763), simply allowed residents to attend services more conveniently by making meetinghouses more accessible, but did not lead to the breaking up or "hiving off" of new towns. In other places development of new churches eventually caused towns to divide. Establishment of the Bethel church (within Danbury) in 1759 eventually led to creation of a separate town in the following century. The same process unfolded in Kent where the East Greenwich Society organized in 1750 rapidly evolved into the new town of Warren. Both Burlington and Canton also began their corporate existence as separate ecclesiastical societies.

Though established churches rested on a solid legal and cultural basis, they were not devoid of controversy, and the range of disputes extended from polity and forms of worship to church discipline, meetinghouse location, and clerical salaries. In 1779 a portion of the Cornwall congregation locked the Reverend Hezekiah Gold out of the church over a salary dispute, whereupon he and some dissenters withdrew and formed the North Cornwall Congregational Church. Gold's predecessor, Solomon Palmer, shocked his audience in 1754 when he declared himself an Anglican and departed for England to be ordained. Residents of Goshen, ill-served by an inconveniently located meetinghouse, withdrew in 1767 and established a rival Anglican church. Some disputes were of a more mundane order. In 1771 a Salisbury church council charged Elisha Sheldon with lascivious conduct and breach of Sabbath. A second set of accusations in 1776 led to his being suspended from the church.

Both the Great Awakening, which began c. 1740, and a surprisingly rapid growth of Anglicanism during the same period greatly altered the religious landscape. The Great Awakening, a spiritual revival of awesome proportions, drew on a history of revivals, such as that in New Milford in 1726-1727 which brought 36 new members into the church. Exhortations of ministers Jonathan Edwards, George Whitefield, and others fanned the excitement, attacking orthodoxy and calling on listeners to repent. Supporters of the revival earned the name "New Lights," while opponents, upholders of tradition, became known as "Old Lights." Canaan established a New Light church in 1742. Whitefield visited the area repeatedly, the last time in 1770 when he spoke in Canaan, Salisbury, and Sharon. In many ways, some not fully understood at the time, the Great Awakening undermined respect for authority of all types.

Conservative churchgoers, offended by the radical turn of events, frequently shifted allegiance to the nascent Anglican Church, which had been active in Connecticut since the early eighteenth century. With missionaries supported by the London-based Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (established 1701), Anglicanism gained adherents in the Danbury-Ridgefield area in the 1720s. Additional congregations gathered in Litchfield and New Milford in the 1740s, and in Goshen, Salisbury, Sharon, and elsewhere before 1775. By that time perhaps 20

to 24 percent of the population of Kent and New Milford had been won over to Anglicanism, approximately 15 to 19 percent in Danbury and Litchfield.

The American Revolution

The American Revolution brought the colonial era to a stunning close, and Northwest Highlands communities participated actively in dramatic events. The road to revolution was presaged by political upheaval in the mid-1760s which shifted the locus of power in Connecticut to the radical eastern towns; negative responses to Parliamentary initiatives such as the Sugar Act, Stamp Tax, and Townsend duties; and frequent orations by clergymen, many of whom became ardent Whigs. In his election sermon of May 1766, for example, the Reverend Jonathan Lee of Salisbury made a violent attack upon the Stamp Act. Ten years later Litchfield's Reverend Judah Champion stirred listeners by repeating the words of philosopher John Locke and endorsing the people's right to define and limit the powers of government.

The Boston Tea Party and Parliament's subsequent passage of the "Intolerable Acts" elicited strong reactions from citizens throughout the region. In the summer of 1774 inhabitants of Litchfield, Norfolk, and elsewhere sent money to Boston to aid beleaguered citizens there. Other communities, like New Hartford, voted to acquire gunpowder, flint, and shot for the towns' militiamen. Salisbury voters denounced the legislation which closed the port of Boston and approved the call for a Continental Congress to meet in Philadelphia to discuss American responses to British actions. One after another towns from Danbury and New Milford to Hartland established committees of correspondence to maintain contact between anti-British groups and appointed committees of inspection to enforce anti-importation edicts.

Word of the fighting at Lexington and Concord set in motion a vast grassroots military response. In Danbury the battles outside Boston led to speeches, ringing churchbells, and the firing of muskets and cannon. A militia company quickly organized for an expedition against Canada. Norfolk's company of citizen soldiers immediately set off for Boston, soon followed by the Litchfield County regiment, which took up positions in the American siege lines ringing the British garrison.

While the majority of Northwest Highlands residents supported the break with Britain, a substantial minority maintained their allegiance to King George III and Parliament. In particular, many Anglicans, inspired by their ministers, refused to take up arms against the King, with opposition to the patriot cause centered in Danbury, New Milford, and Ridgefield (and neighboring Newtown, Redding, and Weston). In January 1775, for example, voters in Ridgefield refused to appoint a committee of inspection to enforce the resolves of the Continental Congress, while Danbury rescinded an earlier vote to create such a committee. In New Milford 120 inhabitants signed a petition protesting the acts of the Congress. Smaller groups of Loyalists existed in most other towns, including one well-known concentration at Chippeny Hill near the Plymouth-Harwinton-Burlington border.

When Loyalist militia officers refused to march to the defense of Boston in April and May 1775, many were cashiered. Later that year the General Assembly imposed severe penalties for disloyal activities. Tories were arrested, forced to take oaths supporting the colonial government, fined, or banished. During the war estates of prominent Tories were seized, and in some cases Anglican churches were turned into hospitals or warehouses, as in Danbury and Ridgefield. Many Loyalists fled to British-held territory in New York; others eventually enlisted in the British army. At the end of the war significant numbers migrated to Canada.

Despite dangers and hardships, thousands of Northwest Highlands inhabitants participated in the military effort. Many prominent soldiers hailed from the region, including Colonel Elisha Sheldon of Salisbury, who raised the Second Continental Light Dragoons (cavalry) which often acted as General George Washington's bodyguard, and General Oliver Wolcott from Litchfield, a signer of the Declaration of Independence and member of the Continental Congress, who commanded a brigade at Saratoga, and was later elected governor of Connecticut. Colonel Elisha Bostwick from New Milford and General Heman Swift of Cornwall both served on General Washington's staff, the latter accompanying the commander on his famed crossing of the Delaware River in December 1776. In addition to prominent officers, Northwest Highlands towns supplied large numbers of recruits. Approximately 30 percent of Norfolk's male population did some military service. Over 30 Goshen men campaigned with the Continental army, some for seven or eight years. Tiny Canton, not yet an independent town, sent 70 to 80 men off to war.

Throughout the American Revolution Connecticut soldiers fought on far-flung battlefields, and also much closer to home. Many took up the call to invade Canada in 1775, a disastrous campaign marked by heavy casualties, huge numbers of prisoners, and hundreds of deaths from disease. Smallpox, dysentery, pneumonia, and malnutrition proved the greatest killers. These diseases also found their way back to civilian centers. Danbury suffered 150 deaths from dysentery in 1775, many of them children.

The region's most dramatic involvement in the military struggle occurred in late April 1777 when British General William Tryon landed a strong raiding force at Compo Beach in what is now Westport and then pushed inland, occupying Danbury on April 26. There his troops destroyed huge quantities of supplies gathered for American forces, including thousands of barrels of beef, pork, and flour, 1,000 tents, and 5,000 pairs of shoes and stockings. The troops also commandeered supplies of rum and soon began ransacking the town, burning 19 houses and numerous shops and stores, as well as the community's early colonial records.

With much of Danbury in ruins, Tryon led his men back towards the coast. At this juncture a hastily gathered American force consisting of 100 Continental soldiers, 400 militiamen, and 200 civilians under the command of Generals David Wooster and Benedict Arnold moved to intercept the raiders. Wooster and 200 men marched through Danbury to assault the British from the rear, while Arnold and 500 men made a stand at Ridgefield. Wooster's soldiers twice attacked the enemy, and during the second assault the American general was mortally wounded. Arnold's troops sparred with the Redcoats for most of the day, but were eventually driven back as the British finally reached the shore.

Soldiers enlisted in the Continental forces depended on the continuous exertions of families and neighbors on the home front who supplied provisions, funds, and recruits. Early in the war Hartland voters enacted a town tax to purchase stockings, clothing, and tents for men in the army. Throughout the Revolution the state government established a series of quotas for clothing; initial requirements for Litchfield County included 200 coats, vests, and hats, 400 shirts, and 400 pairs of shoes. During the terrible Valley Forge winter of 1777-1778 many towns sent overalls, shoes, stockings, mittens, and flannel shirts to the shivering men in Pennsylvania. Late in the war the central government again called for beef and corn to feed the army.

With each passing year the burden on local communities increased. Most towns adopted rules providing support to families of men enlisted in the army. Others raised funds to pay enlistment bounties designed to secure necessary recruits. In Torrington taxes increased by 400 percent within two years. With little currency available, taxes were paid in beef, pork, corn, wheat, and other produce. Imported goods became virtually unobtainable, the new Continental currency collapsed, and prices surged upward. Many communities established committees to set prices for food, labor, and manufactured goods.

The regional iron industry, already well-developed at the outbreak of the Revolution, played a critical role in the struggle. In February 1776 the colonial government seized Salisbury furnace from its Tory owner, installing Canaan's Samuel Forbes as ironmaster and Salisbury leader Joshua Porter as overseer of the works. Guarded around the clock and in blast throughout the war, the furnace supplied immense quantities of cannon and munitions, as many as 1,000 guns in all. In 1776 Porter dispatched 69 large guns to defend upstate New York. Steel to fabricate the boring spindle (cannon were cast solid and then bored out) came from the Colebrook forge. In addition to cannon and ammunition for the army, Salisbury guns armed Continental frigates, state vessels, and privateers.

Finally, the American Revolution proved a turning point in the lives of many African American slaves. As early as 1774 some towns repudiated the slave trade as part of an overall condemnation of British policy. Danbury voters noted the irony of decrying British enslavement of America when Americans themselves enslaved Negroes. They went so far as to call slavery one of the crying sins of the land, and the current upheaval a form of retribution. During the war many slaves obtained freedom in exchange for enlistment. Thomas Sackett, a Cornwall bondsman, enlisted in Connecticut's 7th Regiment in March 1778 and was freed the following month, but died of disease in November. Litchfield's Cash Affrica served in Connecticut's Ist Regiment. At least 22 African Americans from the Northwest Highlands served with patriot forces, including Jack Congo from Ridgefield, Call Freemen of Kent, and Thaddeus Jacklin from New Milford. More complete documentation would likely identify other individuals.

Post-Medieval and Georgian Architecture

Initial settlers in the Northwest Highlands hastily constructed small crude buildings to provide shelter, usually until more substantial homes could be erected. Cabins and huts recorded in early

descriptions of Danbury, New Milford, and Ridgefield may have included plank-covered dwellings and simple timber-framed cottages heated by a single endwall chimney. In the auction towns and Hartford-Windsor daughter communities of the 1730s and 1740s, however, another form of frontier shelter likely appeared, log houses. At the Salisbury town meeting of December 20, 1743, residents voted to "build a log house on ye minister's first 75 acre pitch." They also authorized construction of a "log house for the use of the school of this town," and a second log school house on a lot of land "Thomas Newcomb purchased of Thomas Lamb." A generation later in December, 1765, Salisbury voters reimbursed Captain Thomas Chittendon "for building a log house . . . for the poor of this town."[3] While literary and archival sources document these structures, none, apparently, have survived.

Post-medieval frame houses constructed in those parts of Connecticut settled in the seventeenth century were largely absent from the Northwest Highlands region due to its later development. These houses, descendants of a centuries-old building tradition, employed steeply pitched roofs, prominent cross gables, jettied second floors and gable ends, asymmetrical massing, and casement windows filled with diamond-shaped panes held in place with lead strips. While a few homes of this sort may have been erected in Danbury, the first town to be settled, no definitive evidence exists. Instead, late-medieval building traditions carried to northwestern Connecticut survived in vestigial form, including steeply pitched roofs and hewn overhangs evident in many houses until the end of the eighteenth century. Older one-room hall-plan houses with end chimneys also persisted, on occasion serving as the core of a later, larger home. This seems to have been the case with the c. 1737-1740 Timothy Holabird House in Falls Village (Canaan, see note below).

Much of the eighteenth century's housing stock consisted of three vernacular building types, all of which shared certain common features, the Cape Cod, the Saltbox, and the New England Farmhouse. Most examples utilized a rubblestone foundation, heavy hand-hewn post-and-beam frame, gable roof, and massive central chimney. They were sheathed with clapboards, often hand-rived, and roofed with hand-split wooden shingles. Generally devoid of ornamentation, some incorporated simple Georgian entrances. Windows, typically arrayed in three- and five-bay fronts, flanked the central entry and utilized small-pane double-hung sash, usually in a nine-over-six, twelve-over-eight, or twelve-over-twelve configuration. Though many houses remained unpainted for decades, other owners employed a wide range of colors. In Goshen, merchant John North was known for his blue house, while neighbor Asaph Hall painted his home yellow. Danbury cabinetmaker John Rider's home was red. White paint, produced from expensive white lead, was seldom used.

Note: Many of the historic buildings 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.

The most modest eighteenth-century home became known as the Cape Cod, or simply Cape, a single-story gable-roofed structure with additional unfinished storage or sleeping loft beneath the rafters. Increasing the height of the corner posts from eight feet to 10 or 12 feet yielded additional usable space under the eaves. Floorplans commonly provided for a central boxed stairway (alternatively, a stairway beside the chimney or in a rear corner of the building), single rooms flanking the chimney on the right and left, and a large kitchen/keeping room running across the rear of the house (occasionally subdivided to provide corner bedrooms, pantries, or butteries). Though many of these small homes were later expanded or lost to time and weather, they constituted a common housing type in the eighteenth century. Two good listed examples survive in Burlington, the 1754 John Wiard House and the somewhat later 1794 Israel Barrens House (Hart's Corner Historic District).

Larger than the Cape, the colonial Saltbox house enjoyed considerable popularity in the middle decades of the eighteenth century. Two stories tall in the front and a single story in the rear, these buildings derived their name from a distinctive asymmetrical roofline. Unlike the low-roofed Cape, Saltboxes usually contained at least two chambers on the second floor, and additional storage space under the rear roof. Saltboxes can be found in many Northwest Highlands communities, with particularly good examples including the John Beebe, Sr. (Flanders Historic District, Photograph 1), and Philo Beardsley Houses in Kent, and the David Welch House in Litchfield, all constructed in the mid-eighteenth century.

The most substantial colonial home, the New England Farmhouse, stood two full stories tall, usually with a gable roof, although a few gambrel-roofed examples were erected. These often impressive homes appeared in the greatest numbers after 1750 when a developing economy and increased production of agricultural surpluses yielded the funds necessary to undertake such projects. While some early examples, such as the c. 1735 Thomas Hyatt House in Ridgefield, incorporate a central entry and three-bay facade, later homes typically employed a five-bay front, the doorway often decorated with a classically inspired surround. In the late eighteenth century many builders modified the older central-chimney plan by placing fireplaces on the end walls to permit incorporation of a central hall and open stairway.

The Northwest Highlands abound in outstanding examples of this archetypical New England house form. Several substantial and well-preserved residences stand on or near the Litchfield town green, including the c. 1754 Oliver Wolcott House, c. 1770 Reuben Smith House, and slightly later John Collins and Timothy Skinner Houses, both constructed in the 1780s (all Litchfield Historic District). Another impressive cluster is situated in the Flanders Historic District of Kent, including the mid-eighteenth century Beebe and Morgan houses. In fact, nearly every town settled in the eighteenth century contains one or more of these homes.

By far the most elaborate homes constructed in the second half of the eighteenth century were large Georgian houses which appeared in a few town centers, invariably owned by the most prominent citizens. Closely modeled after English precedents and stylish American examples in more cosmopolitan communities, these houses dominated the streetscapes of small rural villages. They employed a new floor plan with a wide central hallway flanked by several large formal

rooms, end chimneys, and a stylistic vocabulary which included hip roofs, projecting gabled entry pavilions, quoins, pedimented dormers, classical doorways, and roof balustrades. One of the region's most impressive examples stands on the South Green in Sharon, begun in 1765 by Dr. Simeon Smith. A native of Suffield, Connecticut, Smith studied in Edinburgh, migrated to Sharon in 1759, and operated a prosperous drugstore which dispensed medicines imported from London and Amsterdam. His three-story five-bay granite Georgian manor house incorporates a double hipped roof, dormers, Chinese Chippendale balustrade, and peaked gable with wheel window above the entry.

Equally impressive is the c.1790-1793 home of prosperous merchant Julius Deming located on North Street in Litchfield (Litchfield Historic District). Deming's house, the work of former Royal Artillery member and master joiner William Sprats, closely resembles Georgian manor homes erected near Philadelphia, country seats such as Cliveden and Mount Pleasant. Sprats' design employs a five-bay front, quoins, hip roof with balustrade and pedimented dormers, and monumental two-story entry pavilion with modillioned pediment, ornate Palladian window, and recessed entry flanked by four Ionic columns. One observer asserted that the Deming house "fastidiously recalls the beauties of Georgian England."[4] Similar in feeling is a nearby Litchfield neighbor, Sheldon Tavern (Litchfield Historic District), said to have been remodeled c. 1790 for Uriah Tracy, who served as a United States congressman and senator. The Elijah Boardman House of New Milford (New Milford Center Historic District, Photograph 3) is another late Georgian home stylistically related to, and perhaps inspired by, Sprats' work elsewhere in the region. It incorporates a variety of defining features, notably the projecting central bay with Palladian window, fluted Ionic columns, quoins, and elaborate modillion block cornice.

Colonial meetinghouses constituted the civic and religious heart of any community, and significant expenditures of time, money, and labor went into erecting these structures, usually within a few years of settlement. Unlike their late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century successors, early meetinghouses were typically simple, modest, and often unadorned buildings which reflected the local population's economic circumstances and public attitudes. First meetinghouses were rather small. Torrington's measured 30 feet square, while Barkhamsted's was only 30 feet by 24 feet.

Over time a common style developed, a rectangular or square frame building with gable roof. Steeples or belfries were rare, and meetinghouses usually lacked chimneys. A doorway was centered on the long elevation, flanked by windows, much in the fashion of large contemporary houses. Additional doors were often located on the side elevations. Townspeople entered directly into the meetingroom, the floor of which was filled by pews and benches which faced the opposite wall. On that wall stood the elevated pulpit, frequently surmounted by a suspended sounding board. A pew for the minister's family often flanked the pulpit. In larger buildings a second-story gallery ran along three sides, often with a section set aside for singers and another for African American worshipers. Despite their ubiquity, no pre-Revolutionary meetinghouse in the Northwest Highlands is known to survive.

In addition to early meetinghouses, townspeople frequently constructed "Sabbath-day houses" directly adjacent. During the winter season these simple structures provided a warm retreat

during the break between morning and afternoon services. Generally consisting of two rooms 10 or 12 feet square, and sharing a single chimney, they were built at the expense of two or more families. In 1745 New Milford voters granted any farmer the right to build small Sabbath-day houses on common land. The first mention of these structures in Winchester appears in the town records for 1761. Goshen had at least four such houses scattered about the meetinghouse.

Following the American Revolution several communities initiated construction of new and more elaborate meetinghouses to replace the simple, and often deteriorating, structures erected decades earlier. Postwar buildings often embodied Georgian design features typical of meetinghouses previously constructed in growing cities and large towns. Most significantly, builders re-oriented the structures by placing the entrance on the gable end, and the pulpit on the opposite wall, often surmounted by a Palladian window. Typical decorative details included heavy wooden quoins, pilasters, belfry cupolas, classical cornices, and substantial pedimented entrances, often derived from English pattern books such as William Pain's *Practical Builder*, first published in America in 1792, but in circulation in England since the 1730s. Good regional examples of the new style include the Salisbury Congregational Church (Salisbury Historic District) completed in 1799, and the South Canaan Congregational Church of 1804.

III. AGRICULTURAL AND EARLY INDUSTRIAL PERIOD 1780-1850

In the first half of the nineteenth century the Northwest Highlands experienced a vast array of economic, social, cultural, and demographic changes. A rural society organized into isolated and seemingly autonomous towns and loyal to an established Congregational Church was irrevocably altered by forces unleashed by transportation improvements, industrialization and urbanization, commercialization of agriculture, religious revival and breakdown of religious orthodoxy, and a succession of reform campaigns designed to improve education, rid society of the evils of alcohol, and abolish slavery. In sundry ways factories, turnpikes, banks, immigrants, academies and libraries, railroads, and nascent cities dramatically reshaped the region's society and economy.

Transportation and Communication

Many changes affecting life within the region flowed from dramatic improvements in transportation and communication. Construction of turnpikes and then railroads altered the pace of life, modifying the scale and tempo of most social and economic activity. Raw materials, manufactured goods, and agricultural produce could be moved faster and more cheaply, raising living standards, permitting certain industries and municipalities to grow, and encouraging participation in regional and national markets. Citizens traveled farther and faster. Some communities benefited greatly, evolving into cities; others declined, located too far off the main road or rail line. At the same time publication of newspapers, an improved postal service, and construction of telegraph lines (late 1840s) linked residents in new and exciting ways.

The modern transportation era commenced in the 1790s with a series of turnpikes, improved toll roads owned by private investors. After obtaining authorization from the General Assembly, turnpike corporations either assumed control of existing town roads or constructed new routes, utilizing the power of eminent domain granted in their enabling charters. Connecticut's first turnpike opened in New London County in 1792, and was quickly followed by scores more within a few decades. By the 1820s a network of more than 25 such routes, incorporating several hundred miles of improved roads, connected virtually all communities in the Northwest Highlands.

Initial road projects generally linked larger population centers, such as Danbury, Litchfield, and New Milford, with important commercial hubs like Albany, Hartford, New Haven, Norwalk, and Poughkeepsie. Straits Turnpike, 36 miles long and one of the area's first such enterprises (1797), ran from Litchfield to New Haven, providing access to the newly completed Long Wharf. The New Milford and Litchfield Turnpike (1797) joined those two important centers, while the Talcott Mountain and Greenwoods roads (both 1798) tied communities along the route firmly into Hartford's commercial orbit. Other important early projects included the Ousatonic Turnpike, which ran from New Milford to tidewater at Derby, and the Waterbury River route, which ascended the valley of the Naugatuck River and thence onward to Massachusetts.

Much like the modern airline hub-and-spoke system, turnpike construction created major through routes linking local residents with larger cities and towns and distant regions, often via more than one form of transportation. Construction of the Danbury and Norwalk Turnpike in 1795, for example, allowed traders to transport goods to the coast at Norwalk and then via sloop to New York City. After 1824 steamboats generally replaced sloops on the Long Island Sound run. Traffic also flowed northward as peddlers brought goods, including clams and oysters from the shore.

Many turnpikes funneled traffic to neighboring states and beyond. The Talcott Mountain and Greenwoods Turnpikes eventually merged with the Twelfth Massachusetts Turnpike, the great highway to Albany. Dr. Timothy Dwight noted that the route eventually connected with Wattles Ferry on the Susquehanna River. The Farmington River Turnpike joined the Tenth Massachusetts, another route to Albany via Lee and Lenox. According to one observer, the New Preston Turnpike, which connected New Milford and Litchfield and crossed into New York at Bulls Bridge, was constructed to accommodate immigrants heading westward in the early nineteenth century.

Opening new transportation routes greatly affected local life by expanding travel opportunities and the volume of news available, as well as the pace at which it was disseminated. The cost of transporting manufactured goods, raw materials, and farm produce dropped sharply, allowing regional businesses to flourish. The effect on a community could be dramatic. Opening a turnpike through Goshen led to introduction of weekly stagecoach service in 1812 along a route stretching from New Haven to Albany. The stage began carrying the mail in 1816. By 1820 three stages per week stopped in town; daily service commenced the following year, connecting in New Haven with steamboats bound for New York.

Despite the extreme utility and popularity of their turnpikes, corporations often encountered great difficulty earning adequate return on investments, meeting annual expenses for repairs, and deflecting travelers' objections to tolls. As early as 1813 one-third of the Ousatonic Turnpike was declared a free road. In 1829 the Salisbury and Canaan charter was annulled, while the Cornwall and Washington Turnpike became a free road between 1829 and 1839. Construction of railroads through the region in the 1830s and 1840s accelerated the process. In 1850 the Waterbury River Turnpike gave up its charter, a victim of competition offered by the Naugatuck Railroad. Three years later, due to losses incurred following completion of the Housatonic Railroad, the Canaan and Litchfield Turnpike petitioned the General Assembly for release from its obligations to maintain the road.

Having been selected for ease of construction and travel, many of the region's early nineteenth-century turnpike routes remained in use after passing into public ownership and have been incorporated into the modern road network. State Route 63 between Watertown and Canaan follows the path of the former Straits Turnpike and Canaan and Litchfield Turnpike, while the New Milford and Litchfield Turnpike evolved into Route 202. Parts of the Greenwoods and Salisbury and Canaan Turnpikes became Route 44, while the Still River and Waterbury River roads became Route 8. The Goshen and Sharon Turnpike ultimately became Route 4.

Turnpike construction constituted just one element in a wider array of transportation improvements as towns laid out new roads and improved old ones to accommodate increased traffic. Bridge-building also accelerated. In 1790 the Town of New Hartford constructed a bridge across the Farmington River, the only span between the town center and the Massachusetts border. A little more than a decade later, in 1803, Barkhamsted built a bridge over the Farmington River at Pleasant Valley. In the early nineteenth century Torrington put a bridge across the Naugatuck River, as well as four other spans along the route of the Goshen and Sharon Turnpike. Connecticut's first long-span covered bridge crossed the Housatonic River at Cornwall Bridge in 1806. Others followed in Kent, West Cornwall, Gaylordsville, Amesville, and Bulls Bridge. Two of these structures survive. The 242-foot Hart's Bridge in West Cornwall built in 1841, utilized both Town lattice trusses and queen-post trusses (Photograph 6). Bull's Bridge in Kent, constructed at the same time, employed a similar combination of trusses to create a 110-foot span.

Coinciding with development of an improved road network, many investors, engineers, and public officials from Virginia to Ohio to Maine touted the economic advantages canals might offer. Completion of successful projects such as the Erie Canal in New York and the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal in Maryland encouraged similar planning efforts in Connecticut. In 1825 several Danbury residents proposed to build a canal to tidewater on Long Island Sound, with the suggested route traversing Ridgefield, crossing over to the Saugatuck River, and then descending to Westport, with a total vertical drop of over 375 feet. Projected heavy costs of constructing numerous locks, however, soon caused abandonment of the scheme.

Another proposed route, the Ousatonic Canal, obtained enabling legislation from the General Assembly in 1822. Hoping to make the Housatonic River navigable from Long Island Sound as far north as Stockbridge, Massachusetts, proponents opened subscription books at several important locations along the route, including Ensign's Tavern near Great Falls in Salisbury, Mills' Tavern in Kent, and Brooks' Tavern in New Milford. Like the Danbury-to-Westport plan, however, the Ousatonic Canal project died before a spade of earth was turned due to huge financial requirements and daunting physical obstacles. The same fate befell a third proposed canal intended to link Sharon, Connecticut, and New York's nearby Harlem Valley.

Creation of several regional railroad routes in the second quarter of the nineteenth century greatly accelerated the processes of economic and social change. The railroad age commenced in 1835 when investors in Fairfield County secured legislative authorization to construct a line from Danbury to either Fairfield or Norwalk, part of a longer projected route running from New York City to Albany, via Danbury and West Stockbridge, Massachusetts. Surveys and public meetings followed, but the project eventually foundered during the financial panic of 1837, shouldered aside by a competing scheme launched by business interests in Bridgeport who feared loss of the Housatonic River Valley trade should Danbury's project come to fruition. Only in late 1850, after more than a decade of false starts, did work on the Danbury-to-Norwalk line begin. The first trains ran the following spring, in some places across rails laid directly on frozen ground.

The Housatonic Railroad, projected to run from Bridgeport to Sheffield, Massachusetts, began its corporate life in 1836. Promoters hoped to develop commercial and industrial activity throughout the valley, especially sites at Bulls Bridge and Great Falls in Canaan/Salisbury. Financial support included $100,000 pledged by the City of Bridgeport and $200,000 promised by other towns and investors along the route. Actual construction began in the summer of 1837, as a crew of more than 300 laborers commenced excavating, blasting, and grading. Though the 1837 panic temporarily delayed construction, iron rails (actually iron strap spiked to wooden stringers) reached New Milford in February 1840 and Sheffield, Massachusetts, in late 1842.

A third important line, the Naugatuck Railroad, obtained its charter in 1845, with a proposed route from Derby to Plymouth (Thomaston), but soon extended northward to Torrington and Winsted. Alfred Bishop, one of Bridgeport's leading promoters, provided the main impetus to the project, and though he died before completion of the line, a later memorialist lauded his role, calling him "a man of far-seeing vision and comprehensive views, of quiet energy and liberal spirit."[5] The line reached Waterbury in early 1849 and Winsted a few months later.

Railroads precipitated dramatic changes, altering the landscape, lowering costs of transportation and shipping, and moving town centers. Some places flourished, Danbury, Torrington, and Winsted, for example, while other communities became isolated, as in Winchester Center and Riverton (Barkhamsted). Railroads also reoriented trade and travel, with much of the region's east-west commerce and movement shifted to a north-south axis. The new route down the Housatonic River Valley to Long Island Sound supplanted the old road to New York and the Hudson River through Bulls Bridge. Competing stage lines quickly succumbed. Finally, railroad construction introduced a new element to the area's population mix, immigrant laborers from Ireland. The railroad tenement at Branchville (Ridgefield) erected c. 1850 to house workers building the Danbury-Norfolk Railroad documents their presence and is one of the few of its kind to survive.

Coincident with development of new transportation routes and methods came increased numbers of local newspapers, which served principally as organs of political discourse and vehicles for commercial and personal notices. As early as 1784 Litchfield printers Collier and Cupp published the *Weekly Monitor and American Advertiser*, joined in 1805 by the pro-Jeffersonian *Witness*. Danbury also enjoyed a long history as a center of regional journalism. In March 1790 Edward Ely and Nathan Douglass printed the first issue of the *Farmers' Journal*, challenged in 1793 by the *Republican Journal.* Both papers united later that year to form the *Farmers' Chronicle.* The *Chronicle* was joined in 1797 by the *Religious Monitor and Theological Scales.* Other communities also supported local newspapers. In 1845 J. K. Averill founded the New Milford *Republican,* and in the early 1850s Thomas Clarke and Stephen Hubbard began publication of the *Mountain County Herald,* which evolved into the Winsted *Herald.* In the 1840s introduction of modern postage stamps and construction of telegraph lines, often along railroad rights-of-way, further speeded dissemination of information.

Commerce

With growing intensity, residents of the Northwest Highlands participated in widespread trading activities, utilizing commercial connections which reached from town to town, across the region, and on to other states and foreign countries. Movement of both agricultural produce and manufactured goods to external markets, and importation of domestic manufactures and European and Caribbean trade goods, affected virtually every citizen. Traders in large towns, country storekeepers, and rural merchants became the focal points of commercial activity, purchasing local agricultural surpluses and selling a variety of goods on account. In 1815 in Litchfield County 100 mercantile stores operated, with 16 in the Town of Litchfield alone. Very little cash actually changed hands, however, as participants utilized a system of barter bookkeeping instead.

Contemporary newspaper advertisements reveal much about the scope and scale of trading activities in the early national period. In 1793 Danbury's corps of merchants included firms run by O. Burr, Carrington and Mygatt, Taylor and Cooke, and Nichols and Dibble. Imports ranged from twilled and plain coatings, scarlet and other colored cloths, cambletts, velvets, cambrics and muslins, calicoes and chintzes, to St. Croix rum, brown and loaf sugar, gin by the case, Bohea tea, pepper, allspice, ginger, alum, nails, dry goods, saddlery and hardware, camel hair for hatters, drugs and medicine, painters' and dyers' colors, and books. Local merchants took their pay in many forms, including muskrat and rabbit skins, hog bristles, linen and cotton rags (for papermaking), grain, beef and pork, butter and cheese, and "All kinds of merchantable produce."

Some facilities which housed trading operations in the early nineteenth century survive, including the Colebrook Store, built c. 1812 for merchant Reuben Rockwell; a store erected in 1814 in West Goshen by millowner John Collins (West Goshen Historic District); and the substantial c. 1825 David Wadhams/David Thompson Store in Goshen Center (Goshen Historic District). In Sherman the Greek Revival-style Hawley Store (Sherman Historic District) also documents the important role played by rural trade. Most of these early nineteenth-century establishments were constructed to take advantage of rising incomes and increased volume of business precipitated by turnpike and railroad construction, industrialization, and commercial agriculture.

Many country merchants achieved considerable prosperity and renown through their trading activities, and often branched into other business pursuits. Litchfield's eminent local merchant, Julius Deming, began trading in 1781. A shrewd planner, he visited London to arrange direct importation of goods. In the course of a nearly 60-year career he earned a reputation as the town's most successful businessman, prompt, scrupulous, discreet. In the late eighteenth century Deming, along with Oliver Wolcott and Benjamin Tallmadge, founded the Litchfield Trading Company to operate the vessel *Trident,* which cruised to the Orient. Profits from the China trade helped each man underwrite construction of an impressive private residence.

Another important local merchant, Moses Camp, was born on a farm in Barkhamsted, but in 1829 went to work in Lucius Clarke's Winsted store. Camp became a partner in 1831 and bought

the business in 1835 in association with his two brothers. The firm specialized in the sale of dry goods and groceries. In 1840 Moses Camp constructed a large Greek Revival residence on the main street in Winsted, and in 1850 erected Camp's Block across the street from his home. The three-story commercial structure was the first brick business block in town. Camp also owned the Union Chair Company in Colebrook.

Torrington's Hodges clan fashioned one of the most remarkable business careers in the region, and examination of the family's operations amply illustrates the role local entrepreneurs played in developing far-reaching commercial networks. Dr. Elkanah Hodges arrived in Torrington in 1772 and a few years later erected a store in a small hill settlement then known as Torrington Green. Dr. Hodges served as the key intermediary between local farmers and the wider commercial world. In any single year he purchased dozens of cattle to be fattened and sold. He also secured thousands of pounds of cheese, salt beef and pork, and butter. He commissioned coopers to manufacture boxes, barrels, and firkins in which to ship this produce and hired teamsters to haul it to Hartford and New Haven, returning with salt, rum, and sugar. Following the death of the senior Hodges in 1797, his son Erastus assumed control of business operations, and a broader variety of goods began to appear in the family store, including hosiery, gloves, and umbrellas.[6] After 1800 local cheese production and marketing assumed a central role in Hodges' operations, selling mostly through New Haven for Southern markets. In addition to his trading activities, Erastus Hodges invested capital in a variety of nascent industrial enterprises. He began manufacturing clocks c. 1825, and in the 1830s turned to the infant brass industry.

Establishment of banks in the first half of the nineteenth century greatly facilitated commercial activities by making loans and issuing currency, with the first such institution opening in Litchfield in 1815, a branch of the Phoenix Bank, secured in large measure through the activities of Oliver Wolcott. Like many of his compatriots, Torrington merchant Erastus Hodges greatly appreciated the arrival of the Phoenix Bank as he was now spared an arduous trip to New Haven or Hartford. A second early financial institution, the Fairfield County Branch Bank in Danbury, opened for business in 1824, a satellite of the parent company in Norwalk. Attempts to create additional banks accelerated after 1840. Some served the needs of local businesses and their increasing demand for capital, while savings banks encouraged thrift among the working class and provided small real estate mortgages. In the Salisbury-Canaan area local ironmasters and businessmen founded the Falls Village Iron Bank in 1847 and the Salisbury Savings Society shortly after. Other banks created before the end of the decade included the Winsted Bank (1848) and Danbury Savings Bank (1849).

Industry

In the first half of the nineteenth century a combination of factors spurred development of industry throughout the Northwest Highlands, a situation fostered by growing labor surpluses in rural districts, abundant raw materials and waterpower resources, improved transportation, increased regional and national markets generated by rising population and growing cities, and aggressive entrepreneurs. The latter included merchants looking to employ capital idled by

President Thomas Jefferson's trade embargo in 1807-1809 and disruptions caused by the War of 1812.

Early industrial enterprises tended to be small, scattered along a multitude of streams, and the immediate postwar era witnessed both a continuation of colonial industrial operations and an acceleration of activity. From one corner of the Northwest Highlands to the other local entrepreneurs opened dozens of modest paper factories and gun barrel shops, forges and hatting shops, textile mills and scythe factories, usually with fewer than 20 employees. Later efforts encompassed ever-larger mills with substantial workforces and heavy investments in machinery and equipment. In time significant urban-industrial concentrations gathered at prime waterpower sites, places like Danbury, Torrington, Winsted, and New Hartford.

Iron production led the way, and the region prospered as one of America's most important mining and refining centers. Blessed with critical resources, the iron industry flourished, expanding the colonial base manyfold, while also supporting auxiliary activities such as manufacture of agricultural implements and railroad car wheels. In the early years iron was oxidized with charcoal and then hot-forged (at 600 degrees Fahrenheit) in a bloomery to produce bar iron. Later, ironmasters used limestone as a flux in large masonry blast furnaces operating at much higher temperatures, usually 1200 to 1400 degrees Fahrenheit. This method produced more and higher-quality pig iron. Waterpower moved the bellows which generated the blast. Cold-air blasting remained the norm until 1828 when hot air blast appeared for the first time.

Statistics gathered for John W. Barber's 1836 gazetteer, *Connecticut Historical Collections*, give some idea of the magnitude the iron industry attained in just one town, Salisbury, in the far northwestern corner of the state. Whether atop Mount Riga, or in Lime Rock, Taconic, and Amesville, ironmasters such as John Holley, Horatio and Oliver Ames, Samuel Robbins, and Lee Canfield turned the region's abundant hematite ore into a host of useful products, backbone of the industrial revolution. Four blast furnaces operated day and night, along with five forges and two puddling establishments. Local furnaces consumed 600,000 bushels of charcoal annually, and the puddling furnaces required an additional 3,000 cords of wood. More than 500 men at varied sites produced 2,500 tons of pig iron, and the forges and puddling shops sold 1,500 tons of wrought iron. Manufacturers drawing on this iron production included two scythe factories, a screw shop, an anchor shop, and one hoe fabricator. Within a few years Salisbury also emerged as a leading producer of railroad car wheels, the local iron ore yielding particularly tough metal highly resistant to cracking.[7]

Salisbury hardly stood alone in its dependence on the expanding iron industry, and towns throughout the region pursued Vulcan's craft. In 1815 Litchfield County supported five furnaces, 30 forges, three anchor shops, and two slitting mills, with manufacturing resources concentrated in Canaan, Cornwall, Kent, Litchfield, New Milford, Norfolk, and Winchester. In the next three decades the number of furnaces more than doubled. By 1845, for example, Kent's three new furnaces at Bulls Bridge, Macedonia, and North Kent employed 280 men and manufactured 3,000 tons of iron.

Several restored or largely intact blast furnaces document the important role ironmaking played in the area's economy for much of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The oldest, atop Mount Riga in Salisbury, is a rubble masonry structure completed in 1810 by the important local partnership of Holley, Coffing, and Pettee. In nearby Lime Rock, also part of Salisbury, stands the furnace rebuilt in the early 1860s of rough-dressed granite by the firm of Barnum and Richardson (Lime Rock Historic District). On the Blackberry River in East Canaan (Town of North Canaan), local ironmasters erected three furnaces between 1847 and 1872. The first of these, constructed by John Beckley and William Pierce, was later acquired by the Barnum and Richardson firm, which enlarged it to its present configuration in 1896 (Photograph 7). Yet another furnace occupies a site above the Housatonic River in Kent, constructed in 1826 by the firm of Stuart, Hopson, and Co., and then rebuilt and enlarged in 1864 and again in 1870. Evidence of many other early furnaces survives, either partial stacks, fragments of foundations, or large piles of dressed stones.

While entrepreneurs in the hill towns concentrated on production of iron, manufacturing efforts in Danbury focused on hats, eventually ensuring that community's domination of the industry. In the space of six decades hat production evolved from an artisan craft practiced in small rural shops into a complex industrialized process, with factories employing hundreds of workers and requiring huge capital investments. Hatmaking likely began even before the American Revolution, and surviving records indicate that by 1780 Zadoc Benedict pursued his trade in a small red shop near the present rail depot, employing a journeyman and two apprentices who turned out 18 to 20 hats per week. Following the war the hat trade grew rapidly and by 1787 the firm of Burr and White employed 30 hands to produce 750 hats weekly, items which sold at $8 to $10 each. The first New York City showroom for Danbury's wares opened in 1791, and by 1800 local production topped 20,000 hats. Manufacturers soon developed sales outlets in many parts of the United States, especially in the South, including stores in Charleston and Savannah, as well as New York City and New Haven.

At the time most shops, a total of 56 in 1808, remained relatively small, with annual sales reaching only $15,000-$20,000 for successful producers. Thereafter industry leaders began to emerge, men like Judson and Russell White, Russell Hoyt, and William Montgomery, while the number of smaller shops declined. By 1836 Danbury supported 24 hat shops employing 289 workers and producing more than 135,000 hats annually worth $402,000. In neighboring Bethel, at the time still part of Danbury, 15 manufacturers employed 200 workers who produced 125,000 hats worth an additional $200,000. Local innovations included the patented "Hatters Circular Dye Kettle and Wheel" introduced in 1823. It was at this point (c. 1837) that fur hats, long the staple of local efforts, went out of fashion, replaced by silk and felt models. Alvin Hurd, a local artisan who learned from two Englishmen in New York how to produce silk hats, returned to Danbury where he pioneered manufacture of the new product. Between 1840 and 1850 production of silk hats dominated local efforts, but was ultimately supplanted after midcentury by manufacture of soft-bodied felt hats.

The turn to soft-bodied hats initiated a new era in Danbury, one largely dependent upon introduction of equipment such as the fur hat-forming machine, an innovation initially opposed by many skilled artisans. Local inventor James Taylor patented such a machine which gained

wide acceptance throughout the United States and in Europe as well. One Danbury firm, Wildman and Crosby, installed two of the new devices, allowing just four workmen to produce 650 hats in a single ten-hour workday. Another company, A. M. and W. A. White, processed 100,000 pelts per year to produce hatting felt, including beaver, nutria, and rabbit. Production of soft hats also spurred manufacture of cardboard and cardboard boxes in which to ship them and led to construction of several plants in town. Preparation of bandboxes for individual hats and wooden crates to hold cardboard shipping boxes employed scores of additional workers.

In addition to hatmaking in Danbury and iron production in the northwest hills, several other important industrial concentrations emerged in the first half of the nineteenth century, including Collinsville, Torrington, Winsted, and New Hartford. On the banks of the Farmington River in South Canton, brothers David and Samuel Collins, along with their cousin, William Wells, purchased an earlier gristmill privilege and established a factory to produce pre-forged and sharpened axes. Before that time axes were hand-forged in a local blacksmith's shop, the sharpening completed by the purchaser and sometimes requiring several hours of grinding. Collins axes found a ready market and the firm expanded rapidly, enlarging the original factory, adding more shops, and constructing substantial quantities of worker housing. In 1831 South Canton became Collinsville, and by the mid-nineteenth century the Collins firm had emerged as the largest industrial enterprise in the area.

Several miles to the west, Wolcottville (later Torrington) on the banks of the Naugatuck River also became an important manufacturing center. For many years the area lay undeveloped, an inhospitable stretch of swamp and forest. The first frame house was not erected there until 1803, and the first store in 1804. With construction of a substantial woolen factory by the Wolcott family in 1813, however, growth accelerated, and by 1840 a thriving village had gathered around the mill. Arrival of the railroad in 1849 further accelerated the process, assuring Torrington's future industrial prowess. In 1852 alone, builders erected 10 manufacturing and trading establishments.

Winsted also gained industrial prominence in this period, its new mills and factories powered by the Mad and Still Rivers. As early as 1792 the firm of Jenkins and Boyd opened a scythe factory, augmented a few years later by the town's first forge. Additional ironworks quickly followed, a total of five by 1813, producing several hundred tons of wrought iron annually. Local shops and mills transformed iron into a variety of products, including axes, scythes, sleigh shoes, nails, cutlery, and wire. In addition to iron and tool interests, Winsted attracted clockmakers, including Riley Whiting in 1807. Within a decade his small factory produced 3,000 wooden-works clocks. Production of brass-works clocks commenced in 1825. In the 1840s the Home Manufacturing Company began production of broadcloth and doeskin.

Yet another important manufacturing center, New Hartford, also emerged in the first half of the nineteenth century. Well-endowed with easily tapped waterpower sites, New Hartford supported a number of small mills throughout the colonial era. After 1800 local investors backed a variety of enterprises designed to meet growing demand for manufactured goods. In the Satan's Kingdom area the firm of Camp and Manchester erected a puddling furnace. At Nepaug, Bates Brothers constructed an iron foundry. In Pine Meadow, Kellogg Brothers and the New Hartford

Manufacturing Company raised woolen mills, while the firm of Copeland and Chapin commenced production of carpenters' planes, rules, and levels. At North Village, Kellogg, Brown and Chapin established a large machine shop, while the New Hartford Manufacturing Company erected a substantial cotton factory complex, including a 150-foot five-story brick mill, a 135-foot three-story frame building, and more than two dozen workers' cottages.

Even as significant manufacturing centers coalesced in places like Danbury, Torrington, and Winsted, small-scale rural industry also contributed to the expanding regional economy. In fact, virtually every Northwest Highlands town supported one or more (sometimes many more) modest mills and factories processing local agricultural produce and turning out products ranging from combs to agricultural implements and chairs. In 1815 Burlington contained two small wool mills, a tinware factory, three distilleries, two tanneries, two grist mills, three fulling mills, and three carding machines. Nearby Winchester counted two dozen establishments, including carding mills, a clock factory, a scaleboard manufacturer, and a wood-turning shop. In the early nineteenth century 26 small waterpowered mills and factories lined the Marshepaug River in the Milton section of Litchfield.

Chairmaker Lambert Hitchcock's 1825 mill erected in Riverton on the banks of the Farmington River typifies early masonry factory construction. A three-story gable-roofed structure, Hitchcock's factory sports bracketed eaves and a square cupola. Two-story additions on the east and southwest sides of the building repeat the principal design features. The first Collins mill in South Canton, originally a gristmill, was a simple two-story stone structure with a shallow gable roof, exhibiting a five-bay facade and recessed windows beneath segmental brick arches. A small open cupola stood in the center of the roof ridge. Though that early mill is no longer extant, larger buildings erected in the period 1846-1862 survive, including a three-story stone factory of random ashlar construction measuring 136 feet by 55 feet (1846), a slate-roofed brick building measuring 157 feet by 34 feet (c. 1850), and the 1862 one-and-one-half-story brick forge, nearly 250 feet long and surmounted by a monitor roof (Collinsville Historic District).

Waterpowered mills which processed area farmers' agricultural produce remained an important element of the rural economy throughout the nineteenth century, continuing a tradition dating to the dawn of the settlement period. Remains of countless small dams and toppled stone foundations lie scattered across the region. Several mills, however, also survive. In Burlington can be found the Hitchcock-Schwarzman Mill, now ruinous but originally a stoutly constructed timber-frame building, portions of which date to c. 1781. During nearly two centuries of operation equipment at the site included a large cider press, up-and-down saw, and gristmill. On the west bank of the Nepaug River in New Hartford stands the former Gillette Gristmill, a two-story post-and-beam structure erected c. 1850 and utilizing an 18-foot diameter breast wheel. In West Goshen the Kellogg Carding Mill (West Goshen Historic District) processed local wool for spinning. Constructed in 1818, the mill is a simple two-story clapboarded timber-frame building resting on a massive granite slab foundation.

Local artisans continued to play an important production role too. Typically, Cornwall's population included a mix of cabinetmakers, house joiners, carpenters, wheelwrights, carriagemakers, coopers, blacksmiths, masons, hatters, shoemakers, and tailors. In Goshen the

Hervey Brooks kiln and shop produced redware pottery between 1820 and 1867. Brooks was one of many local farmers who supplemented their incomes with small-scale manufacturing.

Agriculture

Though industry gained increasing economic importance in the first half of the nineteenth century, agriculture remained the principal occupation. Despite shortages of fertile soil and easily tilled acreage, and with greater competition from distant producers, many communities depended upon farming until the modern era. Local farmers typically practiced general husbandry, balancing grain, dairy, meat, and hay production, but declined to rotate their crops. A c. 1813 description of Winchester agriculture noted widespread production of rye, Indian corn, oats, flax, and grass (hay).[8] Turnips and increasingly potatoes also provided staple food crops. Small orchards yielded fruit for fresh consumption, drying and preserving, or transformation into cider and cider brandy. Residents maintained flocks of sheep and small herds of neat (beef) cattle. Many Winchester farmers also kept dairy cows. Oxen provided motive power. They pulled more steadily than horses, could be maintained more cheaply, and suffered less from laboring on rough ground. Horses were seen as faster but less practical animals. Such sentiments were also voiced in Ridgefield, where horses were deemed unfit for farm work but good for sale or export.[9]

While agriculture throughout the region reflected common patterns, local conditions determined emphasis placed on specific crops and activities. Topography, microclimate, fertility, and drainage patterns all played important roles in encouraging distinctive farming practices. Areas blessed with sufficient fertile soil supported mixed farming efforts and produced considerable grain for market. Danbury was known as a rich agricultural town, with local staples including wheat, rye, corn, oats, cattle, sheep, beef, cheese, and butter. An early nineteenth-century gazetteer called Ridgefield rich in resources for agriculture, with excellent grazing, while also producing significant quantities of grain and fruit. Sherman also raised large amounts of wheat, rye, and corn. Sharon earned a reputation as one of the best grain-producing regions in the state, while Salisbury was called a good grain town, with more wheat raised there than in any other neighboring community.

Demand for wool to supply both spinning and weaving mills led to great increases in sheep flocks in the Northwest Highlands, especially growing numbers of fine-haired Merino animals, descended from stock imported from Spain. In 1811 Litchfield farms counted almost 6,800 sheep, with 4,000 more in Norfolk. A contemporary observer claimed sheepraising had become very important in Goshen, "particularly since the Merino breed has been introduced."[10] By 1829 the number of animals pastured there had risen to 5,528. That same year Colebrook grazed more than 3,000 animals in its pastures.

With much of the region's hilly topography naturally conducive to abundant grass and hay crops, many farmers made dairying a commercial specialty. At the beginning of the nineteenth century Ridgefield exported 250 to 300 firkins of butter and 9,000 pounds of cheese, with one resident noting, "The making of butter has much increased within 20 years; as it can now be carried fresh

to New York market, the price is more than three times what it was then."[11] The area's most famous dairying efforts, however, centered on the community of Goshen. As early as 1792 Alexander Norton took Goshen cheese South where it enjoyed considerable popularity in Virginia and the Carolinas. Sales of cheese in 1801 reached 250,000 pounds.

In 1808 local dairyman Lewis Norton made the first pineapple cheese, weighing five or six pounds and resembling a pineapple due to the wooden mold in which it was formed. The new product gained enormous fame, and by 1811 Goshen cheese sales topped 380,000 pounds worth $38,000. Farm wives and young girls hired seasonally as dairy maids were responsible for virtually all of this output. Such activities continued for many decades, and in the 1830s John W. Barber remarked on the vast quantities of cheese made in town, the fame of which was widely and justly celebrated.[12] In the 1840s Lewis Norton opened the region's first cheese factory, establishing a pattern for cooperative dairying which spread throughout the Northeast in the decades that followed.

Inspired by the spirit of progress which characterized the early national period and realizing the challenges faced by local farmers, many citizens supported efforts to reform and improve regional husbandry. Creation of organizations such as the Litchfield Agricultural Society (1818) and the Fairfield County Agricultural Society (1819) encouraged introduction of improved and pedigreed stock such as Merino sheep and Milking Shorthorn and Devon cattle; use of new equipment like modern iron plows, seed drills, mowers, and reapers; and adoption of scientific farming techniques encompassing everything from proper field drainage, to the use of fertilizers, to the most sanitary and efficient methods of cheese production. Agricultural societies also sponsored fairs and field days, awarding valuable prizes and premiums for the best animals, crops, and handicrafts. Some farmers subscribed to new agricultural newspapers which began appearing in increasing numbers after 1815, including the Albany *Ploughboy* and *New England Farmer.*

Attempting to diversify their efforts while seeking new markets, farmers experimented with alternative crops, including tobacco. By the late 1830s tobacco wrapper (for cigars) provided a cash crop for many families in Kent, and by mid-century production had spread through much of the Housatonic and Still River Valleys. In 1852 George McMahon began manufacturing cigars in New Milford, an activity which assumed much greater importance in the following decades. Farmers in Cornwall also pursued product diversification, establishing a nursery for mulberry trees containing thousands of saplings. In the 1830s and 1840s it was hoped that a native silk industry might be developed, a goal that was never fulfilled.

The most significant attempt to improve and reform agriculture took place at Cornwall's Cream Hill Agricultural School established in 1845 (and operated until 1869) by Dr. Samuel W. Gold and Theodore S. Gold. It is commonly regarded as the first institution in the United States solely devoted to agricultural education, and may have served as the model for Connecticut's later land grant college at Storrs. From an initial enrollment of four students, the number of scholars soon increased to 20. Students were drawn from New England, Midwestern, and Southern states, and from four foreign countries. Combining classical, scientific, and practical education, the Cream Hill School offered instruction in chemical analysis of soils, horticulture, surveying, breeding,

and crop selection, with students obtaining practical knowledge by maintaining individual garden plots. Theodore S. Gold, the school's principal force, was an 1838 Yale graduate and later served many terms on the state Board of Agriculture.

Despite efforts such as these, regional agriculture faced severe impediments to long-term prosperity, and limited commercial success and modernization could not stem the flow of population away from many hill towns to Vermont, upstate New York, the Midwest, and rapidly growing cities such as Hartford, New Haven, Waterbury, and New York. Statistics tell part of the story. Between 1810 and 1830 Norfolk's population remained stagnant, and then fell in the following decade, gazetteer John W. Barber noting, "The spirit of emigration to the west has retarded and reduced the population." Burlington experienced a loss from 1,467 residents in 1810 to 1,031 in 1860, while Hartland's population fell to 846 in 1860 from an earlier peak of 1,318. Other towns suffering significant decline included Harwinton, New Fairfield, and Warren. In early nineteenth-century Ridgefield "There had been for the last forty years a constant emigration of people born in this town to the different parts of the United States."[13]

Literally thousands of Northwest Highlands residents began new lives in distant locations, from Vermont and New York, to the Western Reserve of Ohio, and elsewhere throughout the Midwest.[14] Those who remained behind battled mounting challenges. The grinding difficulty of coaxing stony fields to yield adequate and reliable crops proved beyond the capacity of many farmers. The famous cold year of 1816 only strengthened attitudes towards the region's challenging weather and topography. Various blasts, rusts, and insects severely impacted grain production, while output of newly opened Midwestern farms brought to market via canals and railroads drove local prices sharply downward. The cost of new equipment mounted, but in many cases local topography thwarted efforts to mechanize, thus reinforcing the conservative tendencies of some area growers. In reality, much of the land opened for settlement in the colonial period was not suitable for the new commercially oriented agriculture which gained increasing importance after 1800.

Town Development

In the first half of the nineteenth century the general similarity between towns in the Northwest Highlands which prevailed for much of the colonial era gave way in the face of increasing diversity, whether measured on the basis of population growth, economic activity, municipal amenities, or social complexity. Transportation improvements and industrial expansion went hand-in-hand and played a major role in the economic and demographic evolution of population centers throughout the region. Over time a spectrum of community types evolved, ranging from small hill settlements to thriving urban-industrial hubs.

The most dramatic changes occurred in places fated to emerge as major industrial hubs: Danbury, Torrington, and Winsted, with Danbury a clear winner in the race for economic prominence. Already an important population and economic center at the end of the eighteenth century, Danbury served as the half-shire town of Fairfield County after 1784, its public buildings

including a courthouse and a jail. Public business attracted numerous visitors, while public executions drew thousands of spectators. The town published its first newspaper in 1790 and purchased its first fire engine in 1793. Several merchants operated stores in the central village and local artisans and tradespeople included jewelers and silversmiths, tailors, apothecaries, chairmakers, clock and carriagemakers, and cabinetmakers. By 1815 Danbury's main street extended more than a mile in length and the village counted 100 dwellings.

With population concentrating in a central business district, Danbury obtained borough status from the General Assembly in 1822, a legislative act which permitted creation of a separate borough government overseen by wardens and empowered to raise taxes for municipal improvements, appoint fire inspectors, and banish animals from the street. That same decade two newly established fire companies replaced the antiquated bucket brigade system. By the mid-1830s the borough contained nine stores, a print shop, an academy, and 24 hatting shops. A few houses received water in pipes, pumped from Tweedy's Spring.

Expansion continued in the 1840s, with street names assigned in 1846, the same year borough boundaries were extended. (They were extended again in 1862.) Arrival of the railroad in 1852 proved a catalyst to greatly accelerated growth, the present downtown springing up around the depot where Phineas Crosby erected the first brick commercial block and hotel. Within one year four new coal-fired boilers arrived to power four new hat factories. During the decade of the 1850s the number of workers tripled to 2,000, while overall population climbed by 75 percent to 7,250, despite the separation of Bethel into a new township in 1855. The augmented population included growing numbers of Irish workers who hosted annual St. Patrick's Day parades and soon constructed St. Peter's Church. Many English and German immigrants also joined the stream of workers seeking employment.

The new small city offered a range of amenities, including substantial brick business blocks, a lyceum which attracted speakers like Horace Greeley and Ralph Waldo Emerson, gaslight company, and municipal park. In the same era a number of citizens organized the Danbury Cemetery Association, which purchased 50 acres of land, laid out roads, created a landscaped lake, and planted trees and shrubs, many of the specimens acquired from a nursery in Bangor, Maine.

A second industrial center began to grow in the early nineteenth century along the banks of the Still and Mad Rivers in the Town of Winchester. One concentration of residents and shops gathered in the present Winsted Green area, while a second group of factories lined the Mad River in Clifton about a mile away. In between lay a section known as "The Flats." By the early 1830s Clifton counted approximately 70 houses and four stores, and in 1832 obtained separate borough status. The arrival of the Naugatuck Railroad in 1849 spurred further growth, causing local population to double within a decade. A large frame railroad hotel and brick commercial blocks arose. In 1858 the three previously separate areas united to create the combined Borough of Winsted.

Torrington was the third community in the Northwest Highlands to evolve into a major population center. The process commenced at the beginning of the nineteenth century when

construction of the Waterbury River Turnpike linked the town's previously inhospitable "Great Pine Swamp" with neighboring communities, while the Torrington Turnpike soon provided a link to Canton farther east. The future city center, then known as Wolcottville, owed its growth to industry powered by the Mad and Naugatuck Rivers. By the 1830s Wolcottville had emerged as the principal population and economic center in town, a thriving village of 40 houses, churches, stores, taverns, schools, post office, and Masonic lodge. By 1840 Wolcottville had supplanted long-established hill settlements such as Newfield, Torringford, and Torrington Green.

In addition to industrial centers which developed into cities, the Northwest Highlands also contained several large manufacturing villages which never attained urban status. New Hartford is a good example of the type. Though lacking significant agricultural resources, it nonetheless possessed abundant waterpower derived from the Nepaug and Farmington Rivers. While other northern hill towns lost population in the mid-nineteenth century, New Hartford watched the number of residents rise, from 1,500 in 1810 to more than 2,700 by 1860, a direct result of employment in the town's factories which produced woolen cloth and yarn, machinery, textile machinery, and carpenters' rules and planes.

Other industrial villages which attained prominence included Collinsville in Canton, company town of the Collins Axe Company, and Riverton in Barkhamsted, which grew up along the banks of the Farmington River and in the early nineteenth century manufactured axes, farm tools, coaches, and hats, and after 1818, chairs at the Lambert Hitchcock factory. Amesville/Falls Village, located at the Great Falls of the Housatonic River, derived its existence from the Ames Ironworks, which employed several hundred men by 1850 and supported banks, churches, taverns, and several general stores. Nearby at Lime Rock (in Salisbury) the Barnum and Richardson Company created a substantial factory village in the 1840s and 1850s which surrounded a blast furnace, railroad car wheel foundry, and several related operations.

In some places modest villages grew up around one or two industrial establishments. About a mile west of Goshen meetinghouse, the small manufacturing community of West Goshen developed near an early forge and, after 1813, a woolen mill which employed 15 to 20 hands who produced 8,000 to 10,000 pounds of yarn annually. The settlement also contained a company shop and a few tenant houses. Construction of Oliver and Horatio Ames' furnace and foundry on the banks of the Housatonic River in the 1830s led to the emergence of Amesville (in Salisbury), a cluster including a school, a store, and two dozen unpretentious homes for employees. Similar developments occurred at Mount Riga and Taconic in Salisbury, Sharon Valley, and East Canaan, each a modest gathering of houses and stores around one or two industrial enterprises, typically furnaces, forges, or textile mills.

Along with communities which expanded and prospered based on the strength of industry, the Northwest Highlands contained important country towns that served as trading, municipal, religious, and transportation centers. A few, like Litchfield and New Milford, grew to substantial dimensions, creating combined agricultural-commercial-industrial economies. Others, such as Ridgefield and Sharon, enjoyed active community lives but experienced little or no growth beyond the status obtained in the first post-Revolutionary decades.

Litchfield had served as the county seat since the 1750s and in the decades following the American Revolution prospered as an important government, transportation, commercial, and cultural hub. New civic structures erected in this era included a courthouse (1798) and jail (1812). Designated a post town in 1792, Litchfield attracted a branch of the Phoenix Bank in 1814, the first corporate financial institution in the county. Important educational establishments included the Tapping Reeve Law School, the new nation's first such institution, and Sarah Pierce's Female Academy. A series of turnpikes radiated outward from the Litchfield hilltop to Canaan, Farmington, Goshen, New Milford, Torrington, and Waterbury. By 1815 the village encompassed 85 dwellings, two churches, nine stores, mechanics' and artisans' shops, professional offices, two booksellers, several inns, and a printing office. Many buildings were of great architectural distinction, especially the Phoenix Bank office and houses of prominent merchants, professionals, and government leaders.

In 1818 the central village obtained borough status, including authority to levy taxes for the purchase of fire engines, fire hooks, and ladders; to direct all matters relating to sidewalks, shade trees, and sinking of public wells and pumps; and to restrain cattle, geese, and sheep from running at large on public highways. Further development included creation of the public green, construction of a new meetinghouse in 1829, and organization of the Litchfield Mutual Fire Insurance Company in 1833. Population increased from 3,077 in 1782 to more than 4,450 in 1830, but declined somewhat thereafter in line with the general contraction of agriculture which marked the period after 1825. Though the town contained a great number of small industrial centers such as Bantam, Milton, and Northfield, the Borough of Litchfield's elevated site and shortage of substantial waterpower resources precluded large-scale industrial development.

Already a pleasant and flourishing country village of 60 houses in 1815, New Milford on the banks of the Housatonic River continued to grow in the decades which followed, serving as a commercial and transportation center for neighboring Bridgewater, New Fairfield, Sherman, and Washington. A village fire company organized in 1830. Arrival of the Housatonic Railroad a decade later spurred construction of many houses and stores and creation of a new commercial district located west of the village green around the railroad depot. New Milford also became the *entrepot* for a growing tobacco industry, erecting warehouses and cigar factories. Between 1800 and 1850 New Milford's population increased from approximately 3,200 to more than 4,000.

Still smaller in scale were country towns like Colebrook, Cornwall, Goshen, Kent, Norfolk, Ridgefield, Salisbury, and Sharon. During the first half of the nineteenth century their populations neither grew nor contracted significantly. Each supported both active farming operations and numerous rural industrial activities, especially production of iron, cloth, agricultural implements, and building materials. The focus of town activity lay in a central village of 20 to 40 houses, normally the site of one or two churches, a town hall, a tavern, an academy, and a general store. Local doctors and lawyers maintained offices there. Village greens and surrounding buildings in Colebrook, Northfield, Norfolk, Sharon, and Winchester typify this spatial organization. Each was linked to the larger transportation network via one or more turnpike routes.

In some instances railroad construction caused town centers to relocate. The heart of colonial Canaan lay near the site of the present South Meetinghouse, with a secondary cluster on the banks of the Blackberry River where the mid-eighteenth-century Lawrence Tavern still stands. When the Housatonic Railroad came through in 1842, a depot was constructed near the Great Falls, leading to creation of Falls Village on the site of the former Charles Beebe farm. A second depot in present Canaan shifted the center of gravity away from the Blackberry River, encouraging construction of new houses, shops, a hotel, and an Episcopal church. With two rival population centers, Canaan separated (1858) into the Towns of North Canaan (Canaan Village) and Canaan (Falls Village). A similar process unfolded in Kent where the densest area of colonial settlement lay in the Flanders district, well above the valley of the Housatonic River. Placement of a railroad depot on open grazing lands located farther south in the river valley caused civic and commercial activity to relocate, signified by construction of numerous shops and houses, and a new Congregational Church erected in 1848-1850, thus creating the present village center of Kent.

The final category of Northwest Highlands communities included the smallest rural towns without large village centers, places like Harwinton, and Warren, which contained modest residential clusters surrounding a meetinghouse, mill, or tavern. In 1815 Harwinton village counted approximately 15 to 20 houses, while Warren was known as "an inconsiderable post town." Such places, more heavily dependent upon agriculture, often experienced substantial population declines in the first half of the nineteenth century. The number of Warren residents fell from a high of 1,096 in 1810 to only 710 in 1860, and Harwinton experienced a contraction of similar proportions: 1,720 residents at the beginning of the century and 1,044 five decades later.

Education and Social Reform

Along with the rest of the state and the nation, the Northwest Highlands underwent dramatic social and cultural transformation in the period between the end of the American Revolution and the mid-nineteenth century. Many citizens were motivated by intellectual currents emanating from the struggle for independence, waves of religious revivals which swept through the countryside, and the muscular democracy and patriotism of the Jacksonian era, a phenomenon aptly termed "Freedom's Ferment." Those areas of life experiencing significant change included religion, education, public morals and behavior, and race relations.

In the years immediately following the American Revolution the rise of dissenting faiths and renewed attacks on the religious establishment became an important part of the cultural landscape. The old orthodoxy began to break up in the face of strong challenges, a process culminating in the new state constitution of 1818 which disestablished the Congregational Church. The appearance of Methodist and Baptist missionaries and itinerant preachers in the 1780s and 1790s led the way. Though often greeted with hostility and suspicion, Methodist speakers quickly attracted a significant following. The first Methodist sermon was preached in Torrington in 1787. Other itinerants visited Salisbury in 1789. That same year the celebrated

Jesse Lee traveled through New England, including stops in Danbury. Dynamic speaker Freeborn Garretson toured Connecticut in 1790 while on his way from the Hudson River to Boston. By the early 1800s the number of local Methodists had increased greatly, and in a few areas were building their own simple meetinghouses rather than gathering in private homes and barns.

Conducting public baptisms and frequent open-air meetings, Baptists also enjoyed phenomenal growth in the post-Revolutionary era. The first Baptist Church was established in Danbury in 1785 and counted just seven men and six women as members. By 1790 the congregation had grown to 120. The Baptist Church established in the Newfield section of Torrington in 1789 enjoyed an enthusiastic following. When preacher Samuel Wadsworth conducted baptisms at Cornwall's Cream Hill Lake, large crowds gathered to view the ceremonies.

The Episcopal (formerly Anglican) Church experienced rebirth in the early national era. During the American Revolution many Anglicans suffered opprobrium and suspicion for their presumed loyalty to England, while also losing financial support of the London-based Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. Reorganized (and renamed) in the 1780s under the first American bishop, Samuel Seabury, the church made a decided comeback thereafter, establishing new congregations and revitalizing former groups of believers. An Episcopal society organized in Barkhamsted in 1785 and raised the wood-framed Church in the Hollow in 1816. The Reverend Jonathan Marsh revived religious activities in New Hartford. In the early nineteenth century Episcopalians in Kent, Salisbury, and Sharon built substantial brick or stone churches.[15]

Stirred by orations of Baptist and Methodist ministers and responding to calls for renewal from Congregational and Episcopal pulpits, the local populace experienced a period of religious revival. Methodists introduced the institution of camp-meeting, open-air convocations marked by insistent calls for repentance. Connecticut's first such gathering occurred in Sharon in 1805. In 1815 the Reverend Chauncey Lee in Salisbury welcomed 105 new members to the Congregational Church during a period of spiritual excitement. Similar revivals in Goshen and Cornwall saw "Sinners hastened to Christ as clouds, as doves fly to their windows."[16]

In the 1830s a new element joined the region's religious mix, Roman Catholicism, brought by a growing number of Irish immigrants who came to build railroads and labor in factories, iron mines, and forges. Danbury Catholics celebrated their first mass in 1838, the Eucharist conducted by a priest visiting from New Haven, though a period of irregular services followed. Gatherings held in the local courthouse in 1850 were disturbed by some opponents. Danbury Catholics then obtained use of a local academy building, and in 1851 purchased the defunct Universalist Church (soon known as St. Peter's Hall). Two years later parishioners established a Catholic cemetery. By 1857 a rectory had been built at the corner of Main and Center Streets.

Torrington Catholics celebrated their first mass in 1835. New Hartford's Irish workers began attending local services in 1849 when the Reverend Luke Daly of New Britain visited the town. He returned every three months to celebrate mass. Winsted Catholics gathered for worship (in a local schoolhouse) at about the same time, their spiritual needs addressed by the Reverend James Lynch of Derby. In 1852 they purchased land in East Winsted and immediately commenced

construction of St. Joseph's Church. Father Thomas Quinn, recently graduated from the seminary at Fordham College in New York, soon took up the post in Winsted.

Enthusiasm engendered by contemporary religious activity energized reform campaigns which encompassed active support for missionaries and peace societies, crusades against liquor, education reform, and growing calls for abolition of slavery. Litchfield in particular became known as a hotbed of radicalism and reform, where local Congregational minister Lyman Beecher railed against many of society's evils. Torrington developed a reputation for intense anti-slavery sentiment.

Inspired by calls for repentance and moral and spiritual uplift, residents of the Northwest Highlands created a host of societies designed to encourage world peace or spur the activities of missionaries, both at home and abroad. In 1812 the Reverend Beecher, having just returned from the initial meeting of the American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions, convinced several other clergymen and laymen to create the Litchfield County Foreign Mission Society, the first such regional group in the country. Beecher enjoyed the support of several local allies. From Torrington came the Reverend Samuel Mills, Jr., an active participant in home and foreign mission work who helped found the American Board of Foreign Missions (1810), National Bible Society (1816), and United Foreign Mission Society (1816). Selah Treat of Colebrook, who attended Yale in the early 1820s, later became secretary of the American Board of Foreign Missions, a position he held for many decades.

The Cornwall Mission School, which opened its doors in May 1817, represented a further outgrowth of evangelical zeal. Founded by the American Board of Foreign Missions, it was intended by its sponsors to educate foreign youth to become Christian missionaries to their own peoples. By 1822 a diverse student body of 34 pupils had gathered in Cornwall, including several Hawaiian and Marquesas islanders, as well as young men from Sumatra, Bengal, China, Japan, and Native American tribes. Two of the latter, Cherokees from Georgia, eventually courted and married local women before returning to their tribal lands, leading to an outburst of ill will against the school and causing its ultimate demise in 1827. One young woman and her mother were burned in effigy.[17] More recently, the remains of Henry Obookiah, one of the Hawaiian Islanders who attended the school and was buried in Cornwall, were returned to his native land and reinterred amidst great ceremony.

Perception of a host of evils connected with excessive consumption of alcohol resulted in the cause of temperance receiving considerable support from some sectors of the population. In 1789 citizens of Litchfield established one of the earliest known temperance societies. Alarmed at immoderate use of distilled spirits, and consequent moral corruption, financial ruin, family discord, crime, public expense, and ill-health, residents pledged to refrain from partaking of alcohol or serving it to their hired hands. Pastor Lyman Beecher was an outspoken opponent of intoxicants. Nonetheless, following Beecher's departure, the 1829 church-raising in Litchfield stalled when men refused to work until provided with alcoholic refreshments.

Though the crusade against liquor languished somewhat in the early nineteenth century, the 1820s and 1830s brought renewed interest, including establishment of a statewide organization

and creation of a Litchfield County Temperance Society. In Danbury a chapter of the Sons of Temperance formed in 1842 at a meeting attended by 1,000 banner-carrying spectators. Litchfield also took up the cause of reform again. Led by prominent clergymen and local businessmen, 144 men, 136 women, and 60 adolescents pledged to abstain from distilled spirits, to rid their households of liquor, and refrain from serving it to guests and employees.

Supporters of temperance could be found throughout the region, often industrialists concerned about the sobriety, punctuality, and efficiency of their workforce. Samuel Collins, owner of the thriving axe factory in South Canton and most of the village of Collinsville, purchased (and then closed) the neighborhood tavern and distilleries, while also including deed covenants in real estate sales forbidding manufacture or sale of alcohol under threat of forfeiture. Alexander Holley, Salisbury's most prominent citizen and manufacturer, adopted similar restrictions when he began selling property for development in the early 1850s.

Influential sectors of the local population saw education as a key to public progress and actively supported establishment of academies and overhaul of public elementary schools. Of the educational institutions distributed across the landscape, however, none gained so wide and prominent a reputation as the Tapping Reeve Law School in Litchfield (Photograph 2). The Honorable Tapping Reeve, a Long Island native, 1762 Princeton graduate, and lawyer since 1772, opened his doors to students for the first time in 1784. He was joined in 1798 by Judge James Gould. Before the school closed in 1838, over 1,000 students had attended. Graduates included John C. Calhoun and Horace Mann, and counted 17 United States senators, 50 congressmen, 40 prominent state jurists, 10 governors, five cabinet officers, two justices of the United States Supreme Court, one vice-president of the United States, and several foreign ambassadors to foreign countries.

Many communities boasted of prominent academies constructed in the decades following the American Revolution as affluent supporters in town after town underwrote establishment of new schools providing a classical education, including instruction in Latin and Greek. In 1790 wealthy landowner James Morris, having inherited cattle and cash from his father, opened an academy in the South Farms district of Litchfield, the first coeducational boarding school in the country. In 1803 a large academic building was erected. The notion of coeducation raised some local concerns, however, and one church charged Morris with breach of the peace for taking girls into his house.

Morris' South Farms school was just one of many such institutions created at this time. In 1805 a public subscription in Sharon led to establishment of a boarding school in the Ellsworth neighborhood under direction of the Reverend Daniel Parker. Within three years 200 students had found their way to Parker's school, young men from as far away as Ohio, Maine, and Virginia. Danbury obtained its first academy in 1814, and in 1822 Epaphras Goodman opened a school in Torringford (Torrington) widely known for its high quality. Goshen Academy, erected in 1823, succeeded an earlier select school which operated as early as 1807. The Goshen school possessed a chemistry laboratory and offered instruction in Greek, Latin, mathematics, and natural sciences at a cost of $7 to $9 per term. Prominent graduates included Theodore S. Gold of Cornwall, founder of the Cream Hill Agricultural School. Young women were admitted from the earliest period.

Other well-known schools included the Alger Institute (later Rumsey Hall) in Cornwall, built in 1848 at a cost of $5,000 and academies in Canton, New Hartford, Norfolk, Salisbury, and Winsted. In 1847 Ambrose Rogers founded the Adelphic Institute in North Cornwall. The school moved to New Milford in 1860 and remained open for a generation thereafter. Though some academies restricted enrollment to boys, many served a coeducational clientele, the Morris Academy in South Farms, Goshen Academy, and Alger Institute being just a few. Other schools devoted their attentions exclusively to educating young women, and among the most important institutions dedicated to that task, and an inspiration for others which followed, was Sarah Pierce's academy in Litchfield. Pierce taught from 1792 until 1832 and attracted students from as far away as the West Indies. One student, the daughter of Congregational minister Lyman Beecher, later gained renown as the author Harriet Beecher Stowe.[18]

Social libraries, of which more than three dozen were established, also played an important role in educating and uplifting the general public. Usually financed through public subscription, these individual collections of books occasionally numbered several hundred volumes. Litchfield's library, created in 1785, had a collection of 300 to 400 books. Danbury's original collection was destroyed when the British sacked the town in 1777. In 1793 local residents created a new library company. In the early nineteenth century Winchester residents established no fewer than five libraries. Colebrook and Burlington had three libraries each. Salisbury possessed the Bingham Library for Youth, a gift of Boston bookseller Caleb Bingham. As early as 1819 Litchfield County towns maintained 29 libraries, with several more in Danbury, Ridgefield, Canton, and elsewhere.

While attempts to reform education, reduce consumption of alcohol, and improve agricultural practices often excited citizens' passions, they all paled before the controversy ignited by the crusade to abolish slavery, the period's greatest reform campaign. Work began during the American Revolution when Connecticut took its first halting steps towards emancipation by permitting voluntary manumission. More decisive action occurred in 1784 when the General Assembly required that slave children born henceforth be freed at the age of 25 (lowered in 1797 to 21). Connecticut's first anti-slavery society organized in 1790, with a local group active in Litchfield. Material printed in Danbury newspapers of the 1790s documents the somewhat confused state of affairs at that time. One issue of the *Farmers Journal* (1791) carried an advertisement announcing the sale of a man and a women, the man described as an able and willing fellow, handy with a team, the wife knowledgeable in all manner of housework. An issue published the previous year, however, printed an antislavery poem.

In some communities manumission proceeded quite rapidly. Only seven slaves remained in Litchfield in 1800. Oliver Wolcott, the future governor, freed his servant Caesar as early as 1786. In Torrington Abijah Holbrook manumitted Jacob Prince and his wife, Ginne, "who have served me with faithfulness and fidelity, they manifesting a great desire to be delivered from slavery and bondage." In 1808 New Milford's Sherman Boardman manumitted his slave Edward, giving him land in return for years of servitude, including the "brook lot of 2.5 acres," and a further four acres along the Housatonic River.[19] In accordance with gradual emancipation statutes, the

number of slaves in the state fell from 2,764 in 1790 to 97 in 1820. A handful of individuals, however, remained in bondage until 1848.[20]

Distribution of slaves and free blacks within the Northwest Highlands varied considerably from town to town. The 1790 census counted only nine such individuals in Ridgefield (five slaves/four free) in a total population of 1,947. Six free blacks lived in Harwinton and 11 in Warren. Other communities contained somewhat larger numbers, including 43 in Danbury, 46 in Cornwall, and 69 in New Milford. Whatever its size, virtually every community contained a small population of African American slaves and freemen. In the next six decades the number of African Americans living in the region experienced little growth, and in 1850 they composed approximately 2 percent of the local population, ranging from less than 1 percent in Canton and Danbury, 2 percent in Litchfield, 3 percent in Torrington, and nearly 4 percent in Sherman, to almost 5 percent in Sharon and Salisbury, mirroring the pattern in other rural areas of Connecticut.

Newly freed blacks often lived partially segregated, economically marginal lives. Separate seating in churches persisted for decades. In 1814 the Norfolk Congregational Church voted to set aside two pews in the gallery for African American worshipers. When Jacob Prince became a freeman in Goshen, he refused to occupy the black pews in the gallery, but was denied seating elsewhere. When he absented himself from services in protest, the congregation dismissed him for neglect of duty. Often employed as farm laborers, teamsters, and domestic help, freed blacks garnered few economic rewards. They rarely owned property and endured perpetual isolation and financial insecurity. In 1813 Winchester's small African American population totaled only two or three families, a local memorialist noting "they do not acquire property to any considerable extent."[21] Many departed the region to relocate in Hartford or New Haven, both of which supported larger African American communities. This lack of employment and of social and religious opportunities throughout the region largely accounts for the very slow growth of the black population in the Northwest Highlands during the antebellum period.

With the task of ending slavery in the North essentially completed by 1830, reformers set their sights on the South, igniting the controversy which led to the Civil War 30 years later. In the 1830s Torringford in Torrington emerged as a "hotbed of anti-slave sentiment," with Dr. Erasmus Hudson serving as general secretary of the Connecticut Anti-Slave Society. Torrington had a long history of involvement in these affairs. In the 1780s the town hired Lemuel Haynes, a Revolutionary War veteran, as pastor of the Congregational Church, the only African American employed as a minister in the region. His presence ultimately sparked a serious controversy which caused a temporary division within church ranks. Some in Torrington also gloried in the notoriety of one of their most famous residents, abolitionist John Brown (1800-1859), who was born in the town and lived there as a young child.

Organizers of abolition societies often encountered fierce resistance. In January 1837 several citizens from Torrington and nearby communities gathered in Wolcottville to establish an abolitionist group but found every church and meetinghouse closed to them and the town abuzz with threats against those who might participate in such an organization. Proponents eventually met in a barn in the dead of winter, selecting officers from Goshen, Harwinton, New Hartford,

Torrington, and Winsted. Soon a mob gathered, paraded through the streets, and subsequently attacked the barn, breaking up the meeting. Relocating to a site in Torringford, the anti-slavery men were again accosted by crowds thumping pans and kettles and shouting epithets.
In 1838 a similar scene unfolded when the Danbury Baptist Church invited the Reverend Nathaniel Colver, an abolitionist organizer, to preach before the congregation. Just before the meeting a large crowd of more than 200 opponents gathered and attacked the church with stones. The 1830s were hard economic times, participants in the Southern hat trade exerted considerable local influence, and many laborers feared loss of their jobs. Colver was spirited away to his lodgings under guard, but a local anti-slavery society was founded anyway. The following year a regional gathering of the statewide anti-slavery association met in Danbury without incident.

Neo-Classical and Romantic Architecture

Changes in architectural styles between 1780 and 1850 were no less dramatic than the economic and cultural alterations which affected local life. After the American Revolution older colonial designs gradually lost popularity (though they persisted in many places well into the nineteenth century), supplanted by the new Federal style which emphasized refined classical details. Inspired by the work of British architects such as Robert and James Adam, and adapted for American taste and popularized by men like Charles Bulfinch (1763-1833) and Asher Benjamin (1773-1845), the Federal style gained enormous popularity in the 1790s and for several decades thereafter. Some Federal residences mimicked Roman temples, with gable-end orientation and pedimented porticos, classically inspired moldings and door surrounds, window pediments, corner pilasters, Palladian windows, leaded sidelights and elliptical and demilune gable windows and transoms. Other examples retained the traditional five-bay central-entry orientation of earlier houses, but incorporated details from the new architectural vocabulary.

Successful merchants, ironmasters, and other entrepreneurs from Danbury to Barkhamsted reinforced their position within the community by erecting substantial and elegant homes in the new Federal style. One of the finest was constructed in Lakeville in 1808 by ironmaster John Milton Holley on a gentle slope overlooking his furnace and Lake Wononscopomuc beyond. The Holley House (Lakeville Historic District) is a classic temple-front Federal design, with a two-story pedimented Ionic portico. Elaborate interior woodwork and moldings were derived from Asher Benjamin's 1806 edition of *The American Builder's Companion*. This house later served as prototype of the "Connecticut House" erected at the 1932-1933 Chicago World's Fair.

Another fine Federal residence stands in Winsted, the porticoed Adamesque Solomon Rockwell House, constructed in 1813 by Captain William Swift, a carpenter-joiner from Colebrook. Rockwell prospered as an iron manufacturer, served as Winsted's first justice of the peace, and represented the town in the General Assembly. Dominated by a monumental Ionic portico, the two-story building also incorporates an extensive three-part side wing. Decorative details include reeded columns and pilasters, fanlights, and modillioned cornices. The interior features elegant archways and arched recesses. A high level of detailing even extends to the exterior privy, a small freestanding structure with triangular pediment, Ionic pilasters, and modillioned cornice.

A third distinguished example of the Federal style, the Sylvanus Noble/John Glover Noble House in New Milford, was constructed in 1820 of handmade bricks. The Nobles, wealthy New Milford landowners, also operated an iron forge. Sylvanus Noble gave the house to his son John as a wedding present, and the younger man later served as a representative in the General Assembly and director of a local bank. Oriented with the long elevation to the street, this late five-bay Federal house incorporates an elaborate central entry with paneled pilasters and sidelights, surmounted by an elegant semielliptical fanlight with leaded designs, including rose, thistle, shamrock, and American eagle. Above the door the builder placed a fine Palladian window.

In addition to these particular examples, many towns and villages contain significant clusters of Federal residences. Litchfield is renowned for its Federal-era homes. Less well known are five contemporary houses erected in the Flanders Historic District of Kent, the original town center. As a group they exhibit a variety of stylistic features: five-bay facades, entry porticos, pedimented windows, Palladian windows, and leaded transoms. Another particularly fine group of Federal homes stands in the Goshen village center (Goshen Historic District), including both five-bay and gable-end examples.

Area builders utilized the Federal style for numerous commercial structures erected in the first three decades of the nineteenth century, and several survive in a fine state of preservation. The Colebrook Store, which stands on the village green and still functions as a general store, is one of the best-preserved examples. Constructed by Captain William Swift in 1812 for merchant Reuben Rockwell, the Colebrook Store incorporates a variety of contemporary design features, including slender Tuscan columns, pedimented gable with flushboard siding, simple pilaster-and-lintel entry, and keystoned demilune window in the gable peak. Also impressive is Litchfield's Phoenix Bank building (Litchfield Historic District), erected of brick in 1814-1815. Utilizing typical Adamesque proportions and detailing, the bank exhibits a two-story Ionic portico incorporating an elaborate entablature and pediment with elliptical window. This early and elegant structure remains in use as a bank office.

Many academies constructed throughout the region exhibit a variety of Federal characteristics. In the village center of Goshen stands the 1824 Goshen Academy (Goshen Historic District), a two-and-one-half-story frame structure oriented with the gable end to the street. A hexagonal belfry with small dome graces the ridgeline, while the original large carved and gilded American eagle is affixed above the entry, one of the few such surviving design elements in the entire region. Salisbury's 1833 brick academy building (Salisbury Historic District) survives in an excellent state of preservation, its oval louvered medallion in the gable peak offering an important design focus.

Federal meetinghouses and churches constitute one of the Northwest Highlands' great architectural resources, often serving as the most prominent structures in villages and towns, dominating the green or rising well above the treeline. One of the finest examples, Warren Congregational Church, stands on a prominent knoll overlooking Route 341 (Photograph 4). Constructed in 1818-1819, and reputedly modeled on David Hoadley's design for Norfolk Congregational Church (1813), this building exhibits all the features characterizing Federal-style

churches of the early nineteenth century, including triple arched entries, pedimented pavilion, multistage steeple, and Palladian pulpit window in the rear elevation. Architectural embellishments offer a variety of Federal motifs: Doric pilasters, transoms with beaded festoons, sunbursts, and pineapples, and a cornice with alternating diamonds and fluted panels. The building also contains one of Connecticut's very few surviving Federal-era pulpits.

Litchfield's Congregational Church (Litchfield Historic District), first raised in 1829 and rebuilt a century later, is one of the largest such structures in the region, incorporating a massive Ionic portico and four-stage Gibbsian tower. Likely inspired by contemporary David Hoadley churches such as that in Cheshire, it was probably designed by Levi Newell of Southington. Replaced by a new church in 1873 and moved from its original location overlooking the town green, it was returned to the present site and restored in the 1930s following demolition of the masonry structure which had supplanted it.

The foregoing buildings represent just a fraction of the fine Federal-era churches distributed throughout the Northwest Highlands. Sharon's 1824 Congregational Church (Sharon Historic District) was executed in red brick and includes triple entrances beneath molded and keyed arches. North Canaan Congregational Church presents a similar design, though built of wood. Still other important community structures include Canton Congregational Church (1814), New Hartford's North Congregational Church (1828-1829), Norfolk's David Hoadley-designed Congregational Church (1813/modified 1927, Norfolk Historic District) and North Cornwall's elegant Second Congregational Church (1825), built by Simon Vail, the man also responsible for carpentry work on Sharon Congregational Church.

By 1830 Federal architecture began giving way to buildings designed in the new Greek Revival idiom, a classical revival style which retained the pediments and gable-end orientation of many previous buildings, but which substituted bolder, flatter, more geometric design details, replacing the arch and ellipse with the rectangle and pilaster-and-lintel forms. Other signature features included wide friezeboards, flat corner pilasters, columned porticos, frieze windows, and six-over-six sash. Literally hundreds of fine residential, municipal, commercial, and ecclesiastical buildings of this type survive.

The shift in design paradigm was not completed overnight, however. Federal-inspired buildings continued to appear in some communities until the end of the decade. Other structures incorporated both Federal and Greek Revival features, transitional designs which combined past and future architectural vocabularies. Such stylistic lags and eclectic mixing of features proved typical of architecture in all eras throughout the Northwest Highlands. Builders and patrons frequently insisted upon the freedom to adapt architectural convention to their own tastes. Thus generalizations discussing style and date must always acknowledge the exceptions which dot the landscape.

A virtually unique example of the Greek Revival style is the Henry Bissell House in Bantam (in Litchfield), a granite ashlar residence constructed of stone taken from the family's own quarry. Erected in 1850 and utilizing three distinct hues of gray granite, the Bissell House is a three-bay, gable-end-to-street structure with quoins, pedimented window lintels, and six-over-six sash, set

off by appropriate Grecian moldings. A prosperous farmer and dairyman whose family had resided in Litchfield since the 1720s, Bissell also served as a deacon of the Congregational Church.

The Calvin Sage House in Colebrook (Colebrook Center Historic District) was built c. 1840 and well represents the Greek Revival style in a framed dwelling, with its pedimented gable end containing a prominent rectangular window and Doric entry with high entablature. Other details include corner pilasters and a Doric colonnade screening the first story of the house's south wing. The Jason Skinner House in Harwinton, a two-and-one-half-story clapboarded dwelling erected c. 1845, also exemplifies the rural Greek Revival style. Oriented with the long elevation to the road, the Skinner House exhibits a five-bay facade, its central entry flanked by sidelights and surmounted by a rectangular transom with intricate glazed pattern. The entry surround incorporates pilasters with molded capitals and a prominent cornice. Additional decorative elements include corner pilasters and elaborate cornice returns. A third residence, the Moses Camp House in Winsted, offers yet another variation of the Greek Revival style, a nearly square five-bay structure with hip roof, flat-roofed central Doric entry portico, and corner pilasters. A wide frieze at the attic level contains five "eyebrow" windows. Camp was a prominent Winsted merchant and businessman who likely erected this house c. 1840.

Brewster Hall (Falls Village Historic District, Photograph 5), constructed in Falls Village c. 1840, is an excellent example of the Greek Revival style applied to a commercial structure, the building having served as a general store during the community's heyday when two nearby ironworks filled the streets with workers and their families. Two stories tall with a fully developed Doric portico, Brewster Hall exhibits a pedimented gable with flush-board siding and large rectangular window. The second story served as a community meeting space. Regional builders also employed the Greek Revival idiom in many academic structures. Norfolk Academy (Norfolk Historic District), built in 1840, is a simple and nicely proportioned example of these pedimented, gable-ended schools. On a more substantial and elaborate scale is Rumsey Hall in Cornwall Village, erected in 1848 as the Alger Institute. The very large structure (measuring 114 feet from front to back and 100 feet wide) was built with a cruciform plan on a granite ashlar foundation, the principal facade dominated by a very large six-columned Doric portico.

Churches erected after 1830 offer the most prominent examples of the Greek Revival style. Goshen Congregational Church (Goshen Historic District), constructed in 1832 according to plans of Brooklyn, Connecticut, architect Benjamin Palmer, contains an amalgam of Federal and Greek Revival elements, the latter including proportions of the large portico columns and the fret design surrounding the doors. By contrast, Colebrook Congregational Church (Colebrook Center Historic District), erected in 1842, presents a fully developed Greek Revival design. The Colebrook building exhibits a flushboarded pedimented facade with Doric colonnade, while the two-stage tower utilizes engaged Doric columns, corner pilasters, and mutules beneath the cornice. Other representative examples include the Congregational Church in Milton (Milton Center Historic District), an earlier structure remodeled c. 1840 in the prevailing style; Ridgebury's c. 1851 Congregational Church, raised on the foundations of a previous building; and Burlington's fine Congregational Church, which employs paired entries with prominent pilaster-and-lintel surrounds, a massive Doric portico, and three-stage square tower. The latter

building, originally erected in 1803-1804 on another site, was taken down, moved, and rebuilt in the Greek Revival form in 1836.

To accommodate large numbers of workers who labored in rural mills and ironworks, owners frequently constructed tenant housing, and many examples of these normally modest homes can be found in the region. The ironmaking village of Lime Rock contains several small Greek Revival cottages erected in the 1830s and 1840s (Lime Rock Historic District), as does the nearby settlement of Amesville, which grew up around the Ames Brothers furnace and foundry. One cluster of six c. 1850 Greek Revival homes there survives in a fine state of preservation. In Collinsville the Collins Company eventually erected nearly 200 houses for its workers, creating one of the largest such assemblages in the state (Collinsville Historic District). Another substantial grouping of workers' cottages can be found on both sides of Route 44 in the Pine Meadow neighborhood of New Hartford. In fact, nearly every town in the region possesses examples of this type of housing stock.

By the 1840s some designers and tastemakers such as Andrew Jackson Downing (1815-1852) and Alexander Jackson Davis (1803-1892) were criticizing the sterility and inappropriateness of many Greek Revival buildings. They urged readers and clients to adopt more romantic and picturesque styles such as the Gothic Revival, which had attained considerable popularity in England. This romantic design concept utilized medieval features, including steeply pitched roofs, asymmetrical massing, lancet and bay windows, board-and-batten siding, decorated vergeboards and brackets, and trefoil and quatrefoil motifs. Though not as popular as the styles which preceded it, the Gothic Revival nonetheless attracted many enthusiasts, notably in the ecclesiastical and residential fields.

Interest in the Gothic Revival first surfaced among church builders, especially those working for local Episcopal congregations. Parishioners in both Sharon and Salisbury erected brick churches c. 1820 incorporating lancet windows in the principal facade and nave. The contemporary Kent Episcopal Church, constructed in stone, utilizes the pointed-arch motif for the entry, windows in the principal facade and nave, and louvers in the belfry. The Kent building also exhibits pinnacles at the corners of the building and the belfry. A variety of Gothic features was employed during construction of the granite Riverton Union Church (1829) as well, including pointed-arch doors and windows, and ten pinnacles which punctuate the roofline. Milton's Trinity Episcopal Church, the work of architect-joiner Oliver Dickensen (construction begun in 1802, completed 1826), also incorporates lancet windows.

Though deceptively unpretentious, Christ Church (Episcopal) in Canaan (Canaan Village Historic District), built in 1845-1846 on a hillock in the village center, is one of the first ecclesiastical structures to attempt a more fully integrated Gothic design, rather than simply inserting selected decorative elements into the traditional New England meetinghouse form. Constructed of a local stone called Canaanite, the church has a steep slate-covered roof, delicate vergeboard, pointed arch windows, and marble buttresses (replaced 1886). A persistent local legend claims the structure was designed by Richard Upjohn (1802-1878). Documented is the fact that it was constructed by Sumner Cole, with the interiors painted and glazed by Peter

Westfall according to the fashion and style of St. Paul's Episcopal Church in nearby Stockbridge, Massachusetts.

Gothic Revival-style dwellings also appeared in many villages around mid-century. One of the finest examples stands in Lakeville, on the eastern shore of Lake Wononscopomuc, erected c. 1852 by Canaan builder Gilbert Richardson for local banker Walter Whittlesey. Whittlesey was a close friend of Matthew Vassar, founder of the college bearing his name, and a patron of Andrew Jackson Downing. Whittlesey's house is clearly related to the design which appears on page 105 of Downing's *The Architecture of Country Houses* and exhibits all the requisite details of the Gothic Revival style, including an elaborate porch with chamfered columns, lancet windows, cruciform plan, and board-and-batten siding.[22]

Homes designed in the Italianate or Italian Villa style appeared contemporaneously with Gothic Revival residences, and for much the same reason, the desire to offer a romantic alternative to the classical purity of Greek and Roman forms. These houses, and related commercial structures, utilized low-pitched roofs, asymmetrical massing, wide bracketed eaves, and elaborate verandas and piazzas. Round-headed windows with prominent drip moldings and substantial bay windows were commonly employed, as were elaborately detailed belvederes. Though a few examples appeared in the 1840s, Italianate structures gained their greatest popularity after 1850, and continued to be built for 30 years thereafter.

The General John Sedgwick House in Cornwall Hollow, a two-story frame residence with portico and entrance centered on the principal facade, is a fine example of the Italianate style. Though based on a simple traditional rectangular plan, Sedgwick's house incorporates elaborate Italianate detailing. These features include a flat-roofed portico supported by large fluted columns with acanthus/papyrus capitals, broad roof overhang, bracketed eaves, bead-and-reel moldings, elaborate bay window, and Palladian attic window. Sedgwick commenced work on his house in 1859 while on leave from the army, the project being carried out by Cyrus Marsh, a local architect/builder. Only a few years after the house was completed, General Sedgwick was killed in Virginia during the latter stages of the Civil War.

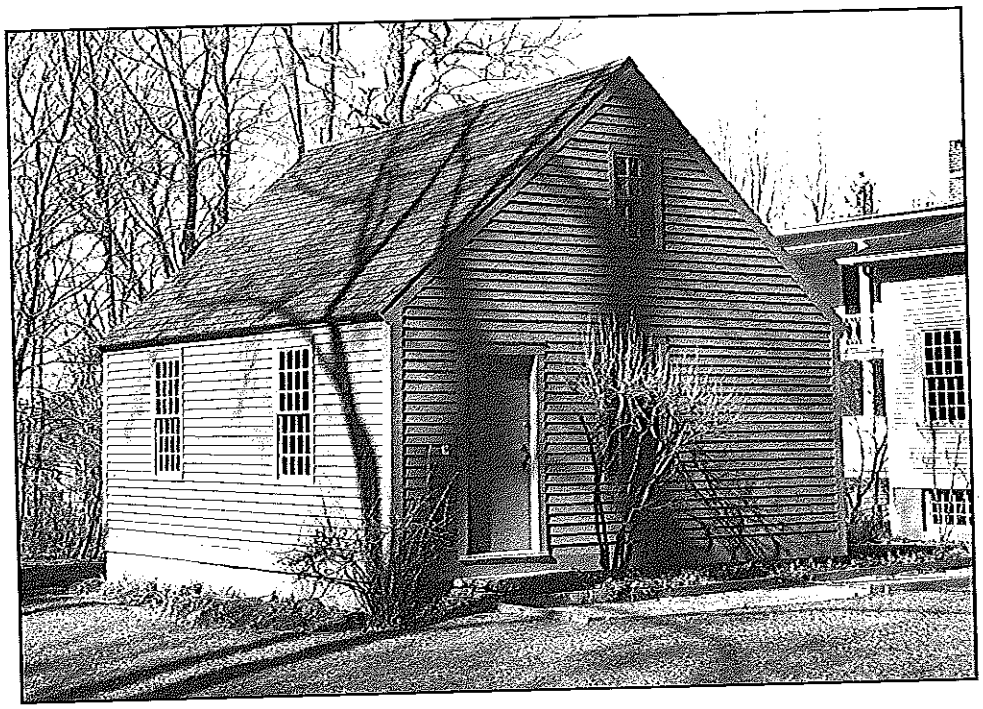
The Chapin House, constructed in New Hartford in 1867 by prominent local industrialist Philip Chapin, represents the Italianate style at its most fully developed (Photograph 9). Retaining virtually all of its original features, the cube-shaped hip-roofed three-story structure is crowned with an elaborate belvedere. Exuberant detailing includes a projecting central entrance bay, bracketed cornice, doors of black walnut, segmental-arched and round-headed windows, prominent verandah, substantial hoodmolds, and numerous panels and bosses between and beneath windows. Another example of the Italianate style, the c. 1849 Benjamin Bissell House in the Bantam section of Litchfield, is one of the few houses in the region constructed of granite ashlar masonry. In Salisbury several substantial new homes in the Italianate mode were erected in the 1850s by affluent ironmasters, the most prominent being Alexander Holley's lakeside villa Holleywood (1854, Lakeville Historic District).

One of the most substantial examples of the Italianate style stands in the center of Canaan village, the former Union Station, erected in 1872 following completion of the Connecticut

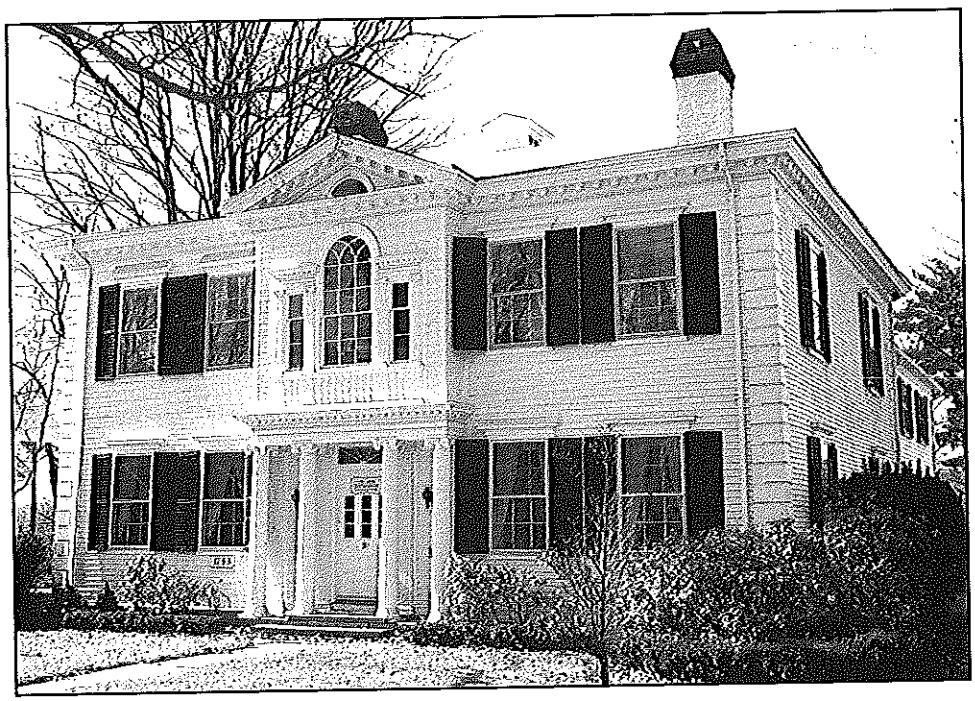
Western Railroad (Photograph 10). Designed by Chief Engineer Shrunk, this large L-shaped structure exhibits a wide variety of Italianate detailing, including bracketed eaves, round-headed windows, heavy drip moldings, and octagonal tower located at the southwest corner of the structure overlooking the intersecting rail lines. Carpentry was done by G. H. Bundy, a local contractor, cabinetmaker, and coffin manufacturer.

The Northwest Highlands also contain a rare surviving example of a mid-nineteenth-century building fad, the 1852 Daniel Starr Octagon house in Danbury. Built in a style popularized by author and phrenologist Orson Squire Fowler, these eight-sided structures were reputed to enclose one-fifth more floor space than comparably sized rectangular homes, thus providing more building per construction dollar. Such houses (including the Starr House) were frequently fabricated of concrete, one of the first residential uses for this product. Only a dozen or so Octagons survive in Connecticut.

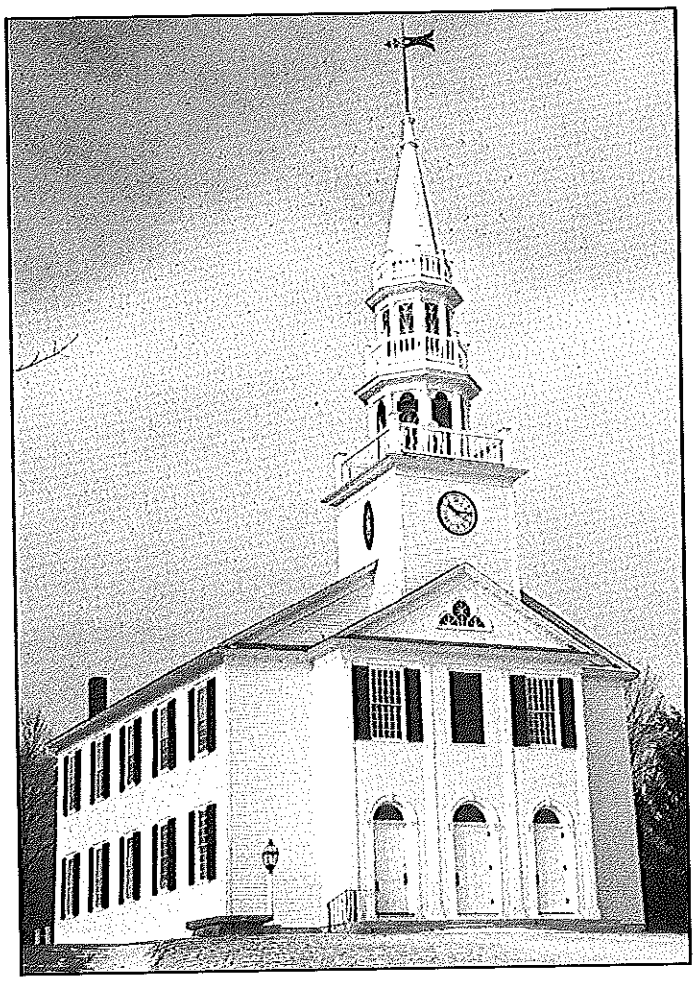
1. Beebe House, Flanders Historic District, Kent. Saltbox style, c. 1741
   View northeast.



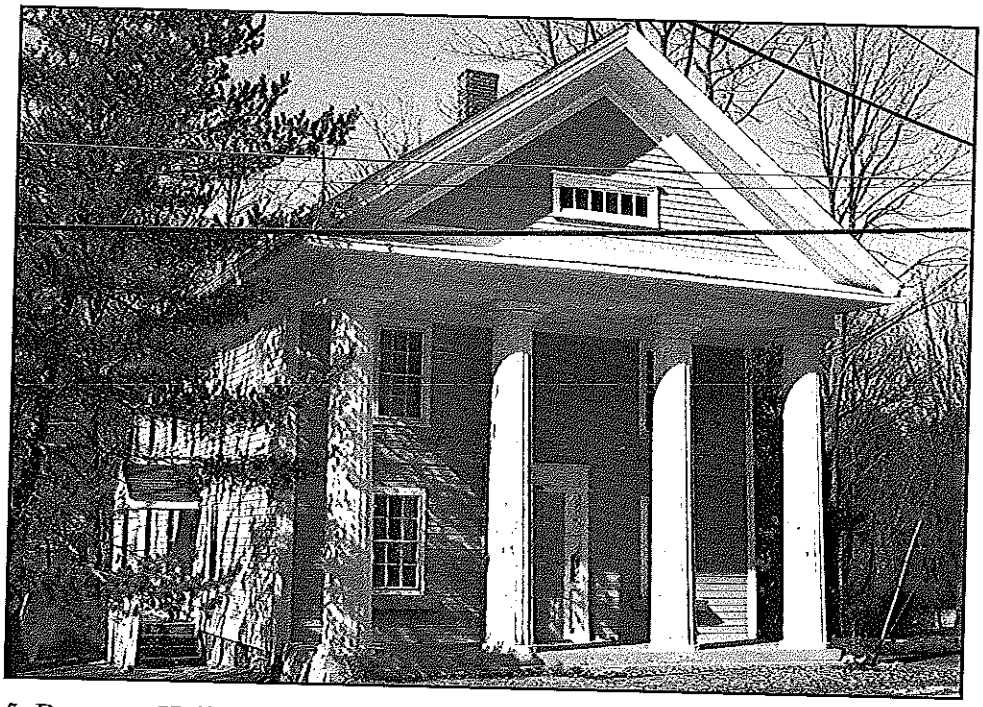
2. Tapping Reeve Law School, Litchfield Historic District, Litchfield,
   c. 1785. View west.



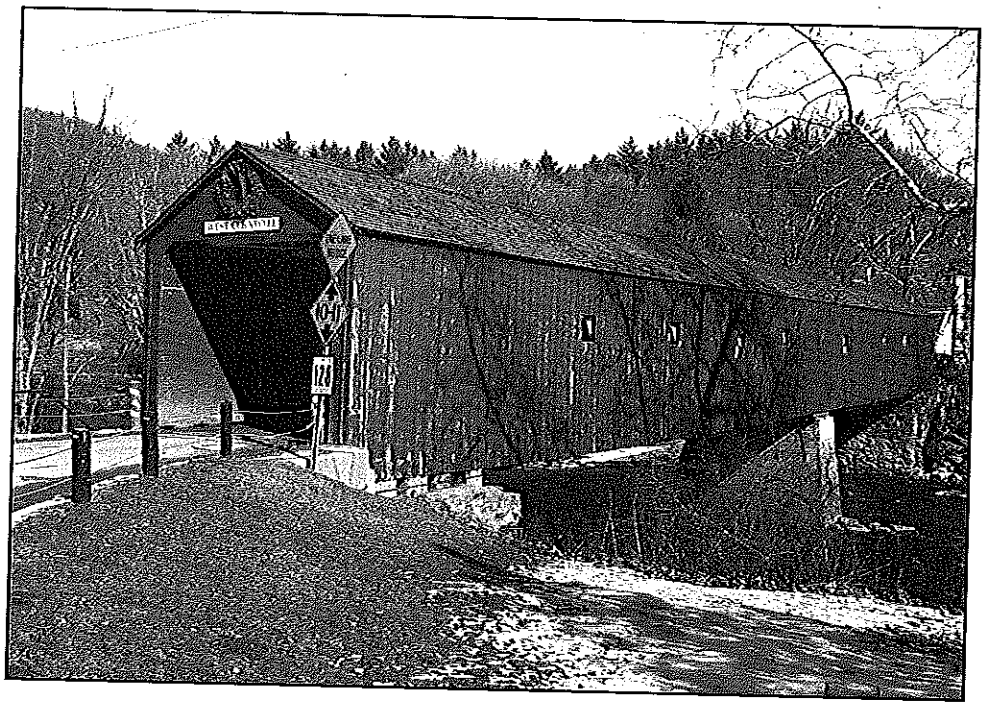
3. Boardman House, New Milford Center Historic District, New Milford. Georgian style, c. 1795. View west.



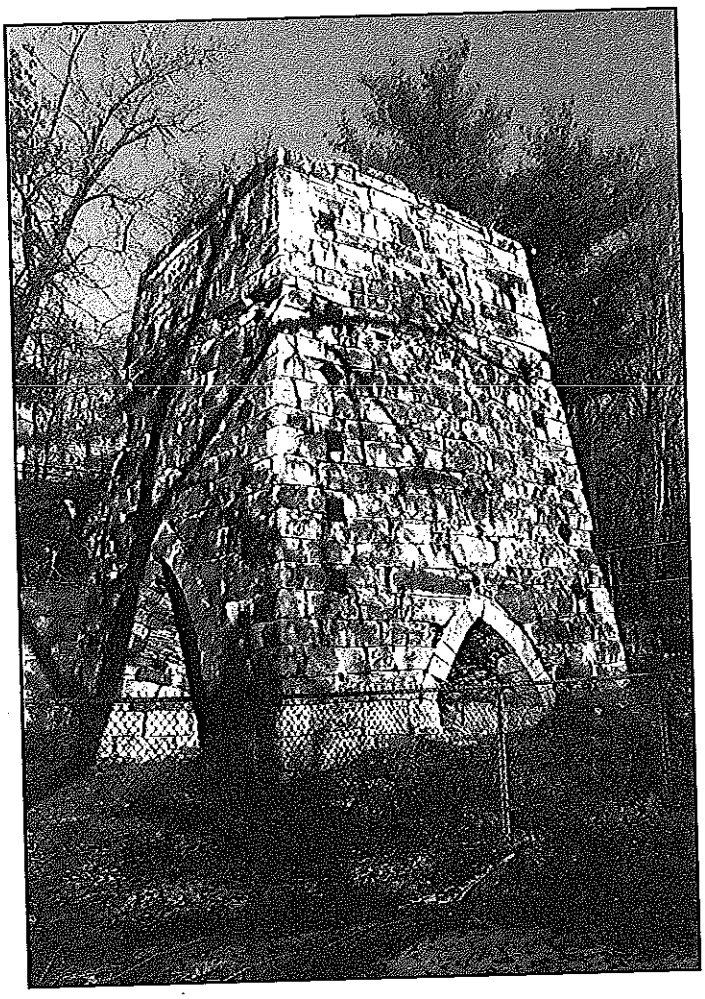
4. Warren Congregational Church, Warren. Federal style, c. 1819. View northwest.



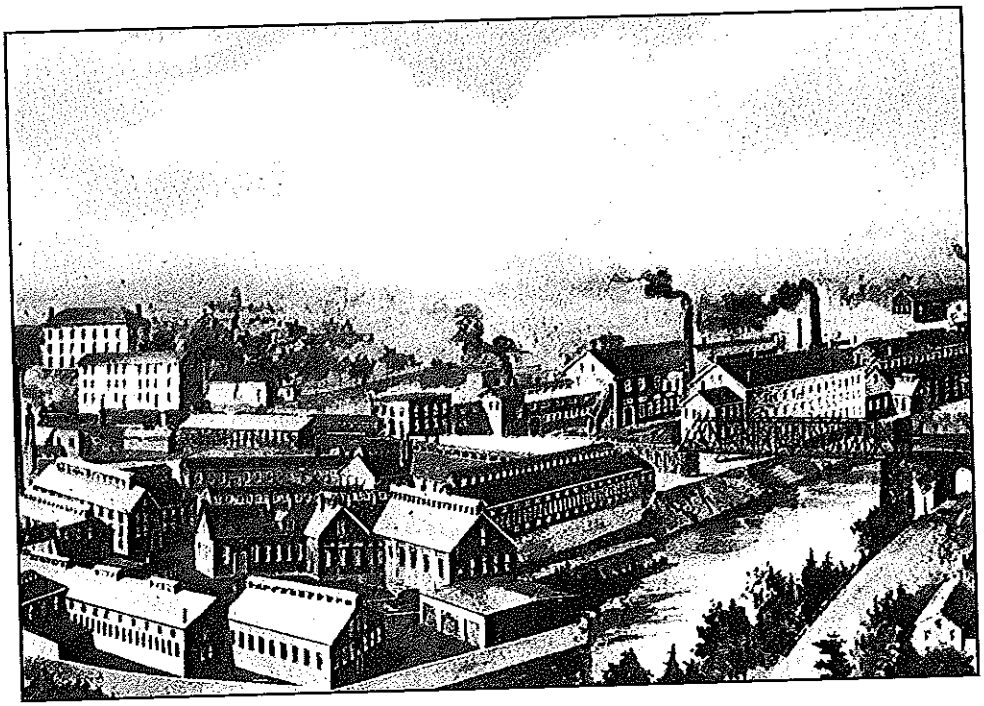
5. Brewster Hall, Falls Village Historic District, Canaan. Greek Revival style, c. 1840. View northeast.



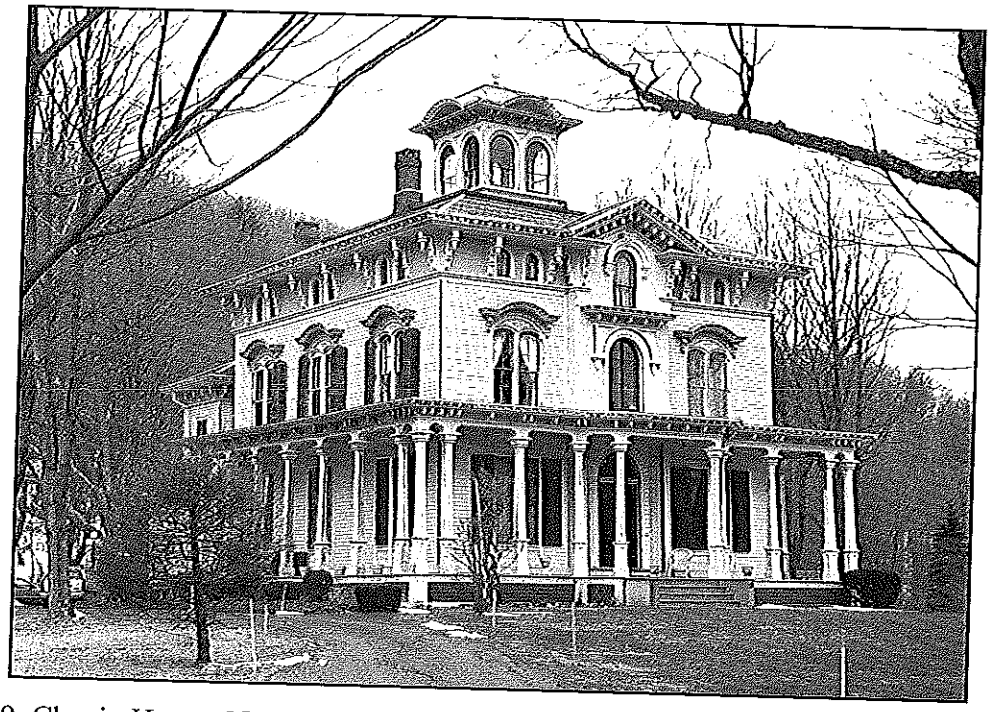
6. Hart's Bridge, Cornwall, c. 1841. View northeast.



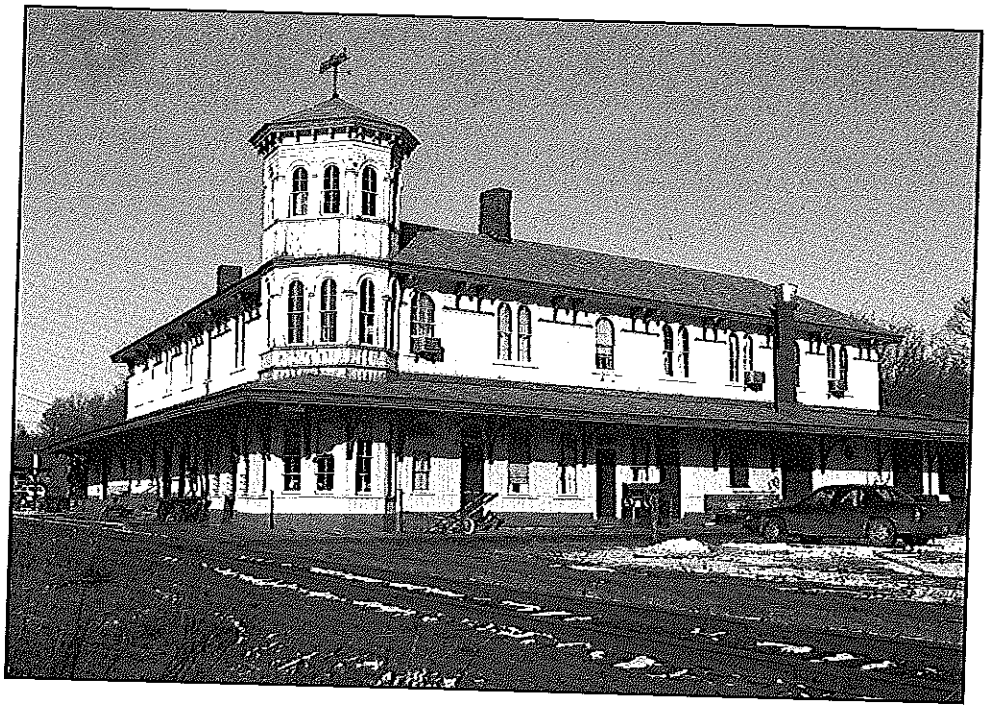
7. Beckley Furnace, North Canaan, c. 1847. View north.



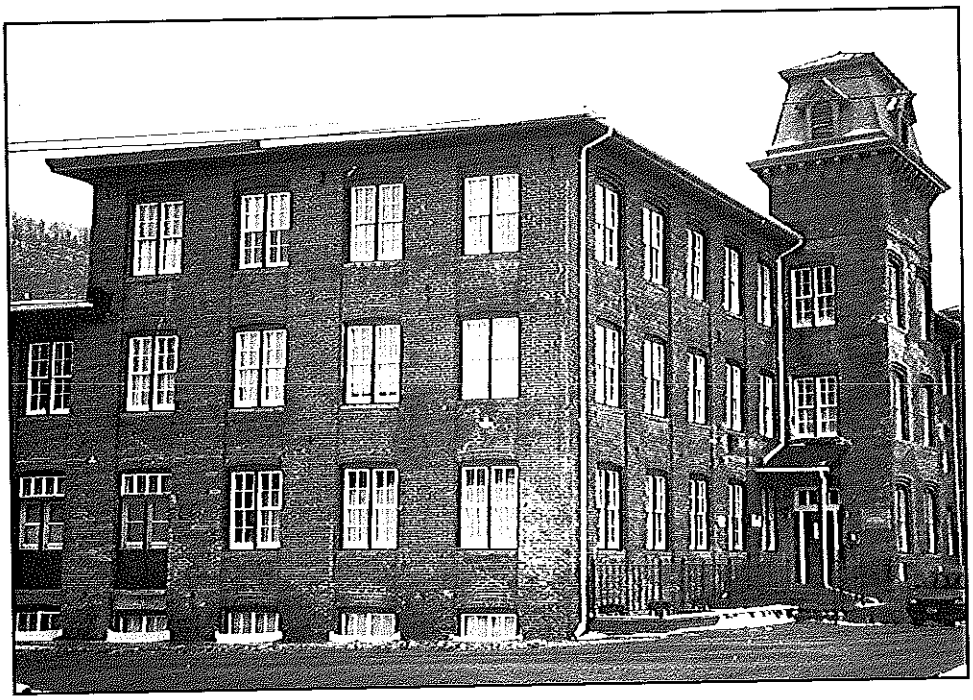
8. Collins Axe Factory, Collinsville Historic District, Canton. Historic engraving, c. 1880.



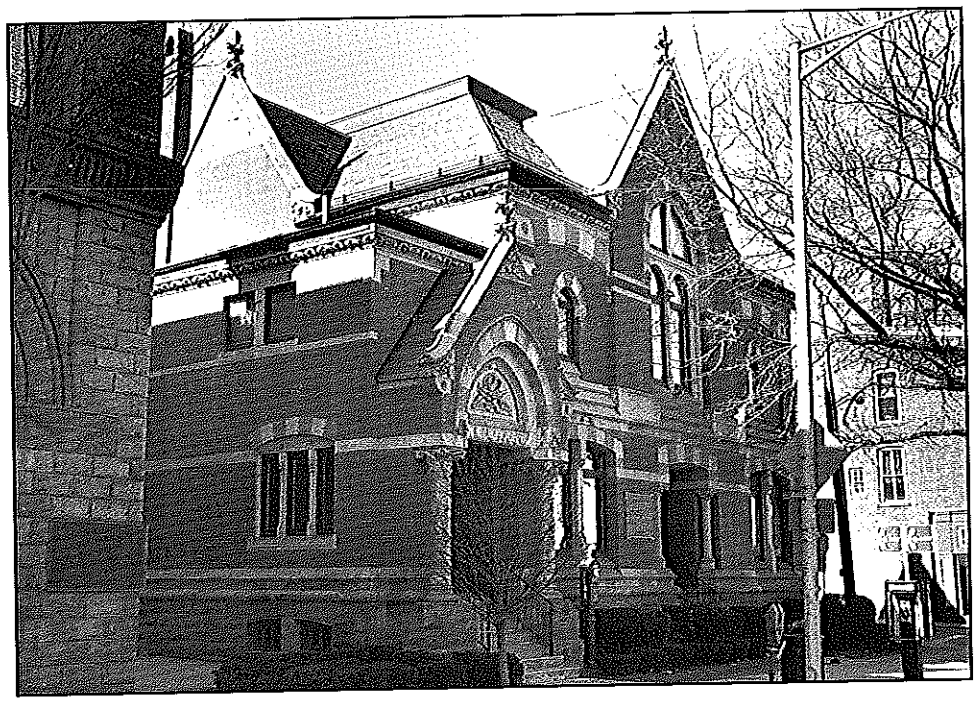
9. Chapin House, New Hartford, Italianate style, 1867. View southwest.



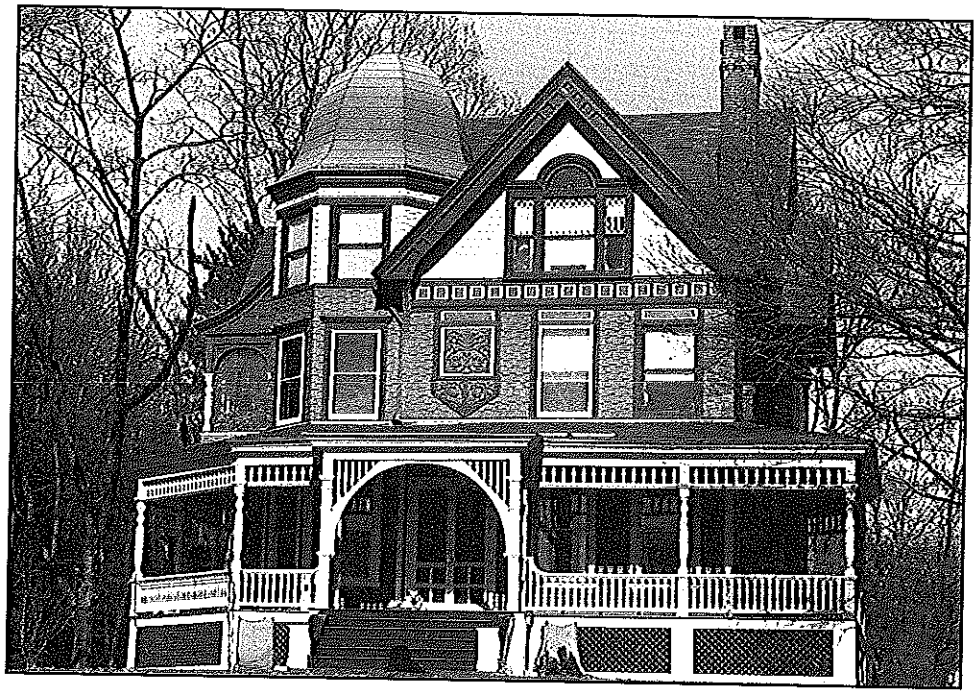
10. Union Station, Canaan Village Historic District, North Canaan. Italianate style, c. 1872. View northeast.



11. Gilbert Clock Factory, Winsted, c. 1872. View northwest.

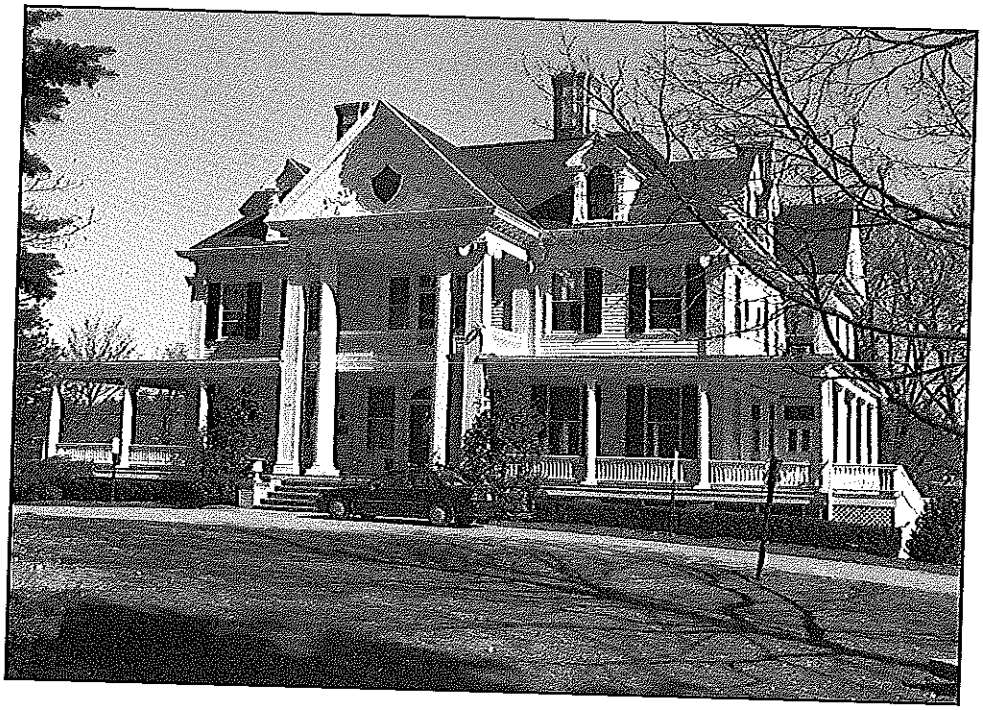


12. Danbury Public Library, Main Street Historic District, Danbury. High Victorian Gothic style, 1878. View northwest.

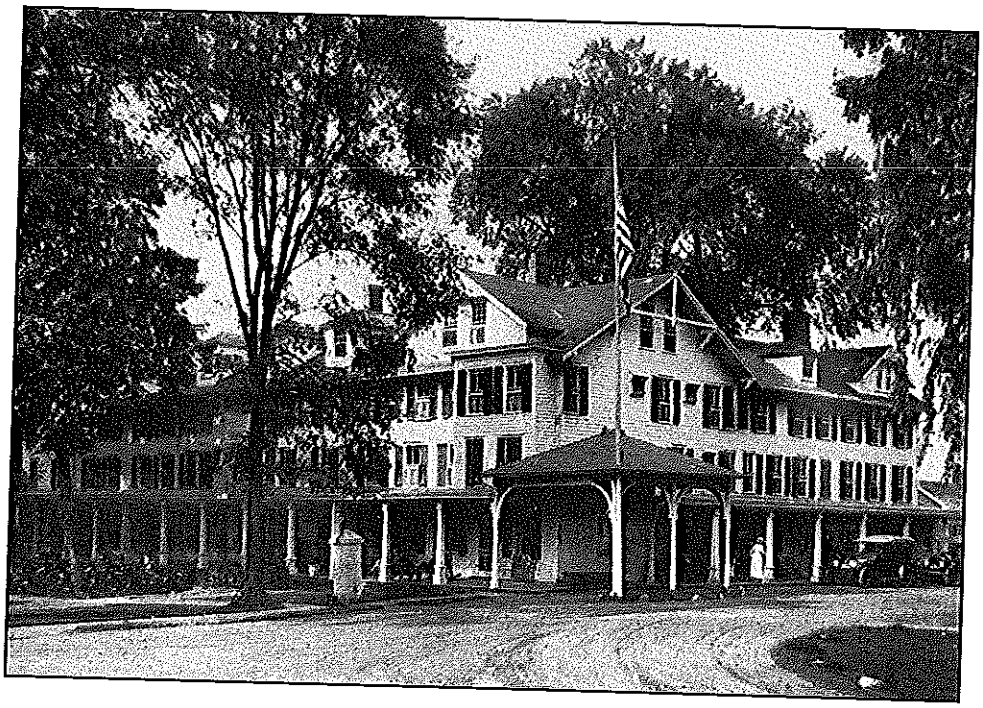


13. McNeil House, Lime Rock Historic District, Salisbury. Queen Anne style, c. 1880. View north.

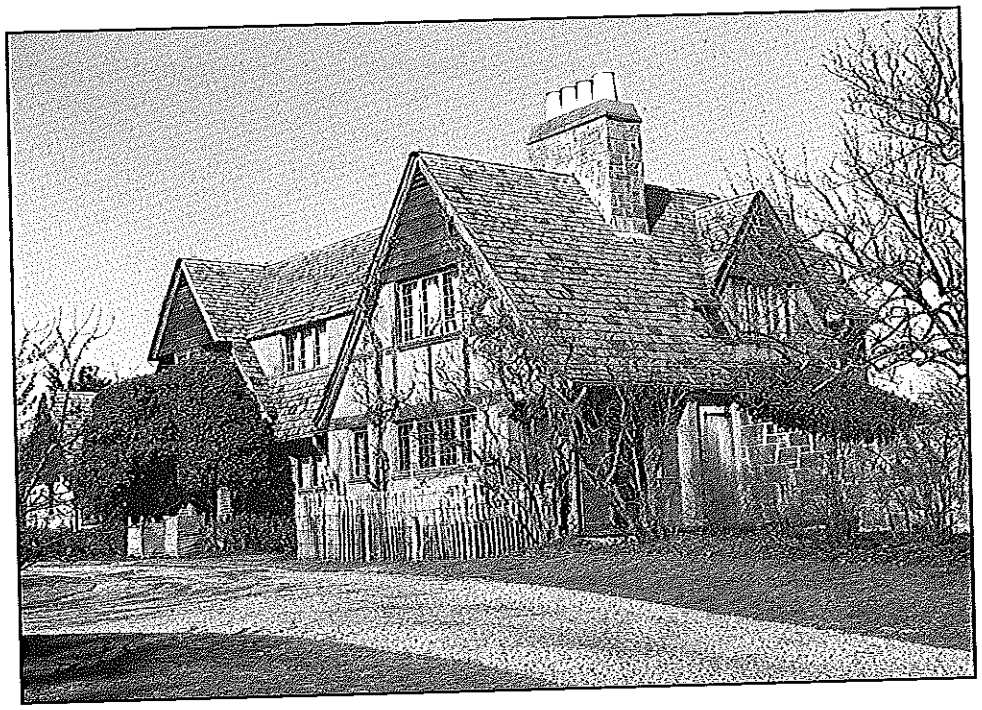
14. Fyler House, Torrington. Chateauesque style, c. 1900. View east.



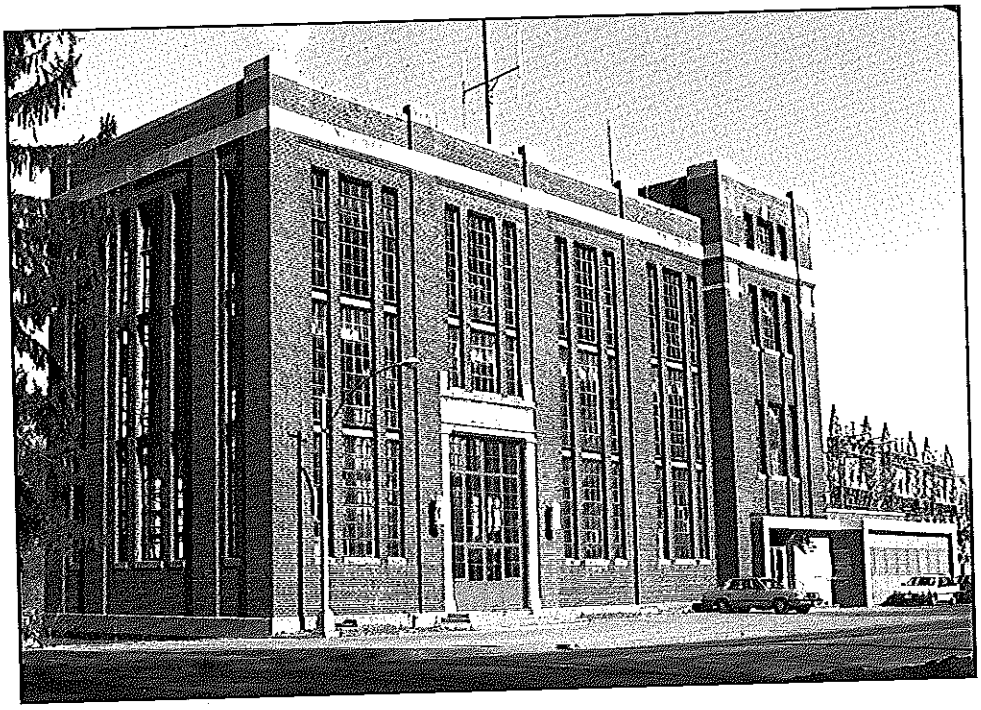
15. Lounsbury House (Grovelawn), Ridgefield. Neo-Classical Revival style, 1895. View east.



16. Sharon Inn, Sharon, c. 1890. Historic Photograph, c. 1905.

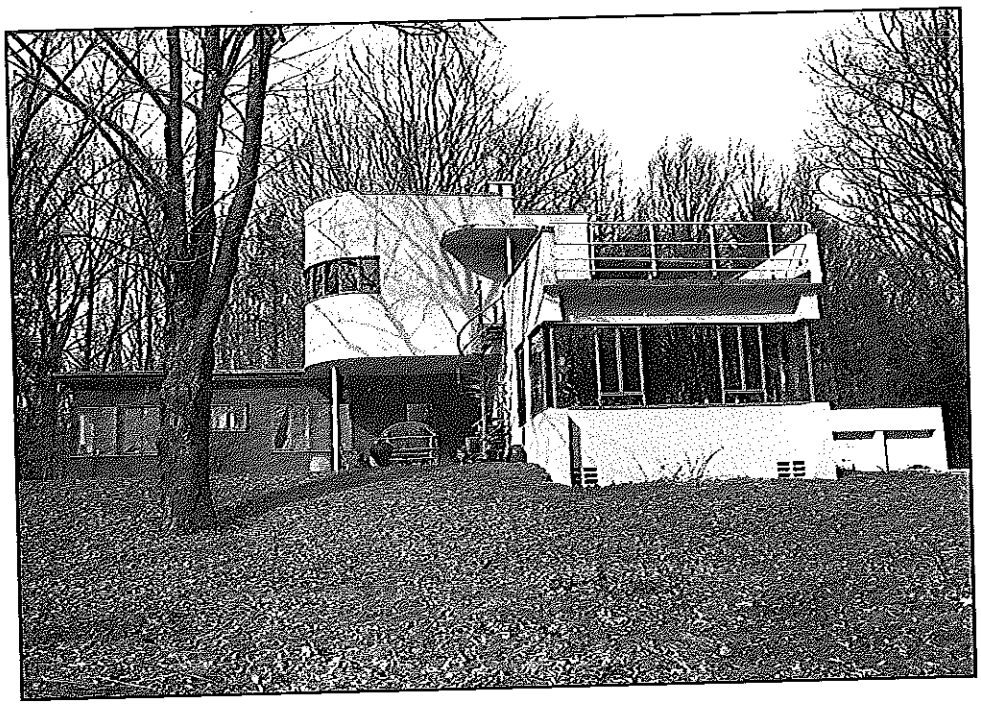


17. Topsmead, Litchfield. Tudor Revival style, 1924. View northwest.



18. Connecticut Light and Power Company, Hydroelectric Generating Plant, Rocky River, New Milford, 1929. View north.

19. Warner Theater, Torrington. Art Deco style, 1931. View north.



20. Sun Terrace, New Hartford. International Style, 1933. View north.

IV. INDUSTRIAL AND URBAN GROWTH PERIOD 1850-1930

Between 1850 and 1930 the pace of economic and social change quickened throughout the Northwest Highlands. Cities such as Danbury and Torrington grew rapidly, while farming communities often experienced significant decline. Most manufacturing prospered, especially the hatting, metals, machinery, and textiles industries. The venerable iron industry, however, entered an era of terminal decline. Railroad and interurban networks grew stronger, but were ultimately replaced by a new system of roads designed to accommodate expanding automobile ownership. Thousands of immigrants from Europe and elsewhere greatly altered the area's demographic and cultural profile. Drawn by its scenic resources, visitors made recreation a permanent and important component of Northwest Highlands life.

Civil War

Like their peers throughout the state, young men from the Northwest Highlands enlisted in the Union Army following the outbreak of war in April 1861, and during the course of the conflict a large percentage of the eligible population served. Many were killed in battle; an even larger number succumbed to camp diseases ranging from dysentery to mumps. Danbury supplied more than 1,350 recruits and seven full companies, including a unit of exotically garbed zouaves outfitted with baggy red pantaloons and tight short jackets. The town's Wooster Light Guards claimed to be the first militia company to volunteer for federal service. In Canton 242 men joined the army, approximately 10 percent of the entire population. New Hartford counted 267 enlistees. In July 1862 nearly 100 young men from Salisbury enlisted in the "Iron Company," Company B of the 19th Infantry Regiment. The region's small population of free blacks vigorously supported the war effort, with 23 volunteers from Danbury alone enlisting in the 29th (Colored) Infantry Regiment. In all, nearly 100 African Americans from the Northwest Highlands joined the 29th and 30th Regiments.

Many Connecticut units participated in heavy fighting and suffered grievous losses. Danbury's Company C of the 17th Infantry Regiment lost 75 percent of its men at Gettysburg. On June 1, 1864, Litchfield lost 15 sons in the Union army's futile charge at Cold Harbor, Virginia. Company C of the 8th Regiment, composed largely of volunteers from New Hartford, fought in 12 battles, including Antietam, where it lost 60 percent of those engaged. In all, New Hartford lost 42 men killed in the war; Canton lost 40; Danbury lost nearly 100.

The region's most prominent soldier, Major General John Sedgwick (1818-1864), hailed from Cornwall. Educated at West Point, he fought in the Seminole War in Florida in the late 1830s, did duty along the "Trail of Tears" during the infamous Cherokee removal, and campaigned in Mexico. During the Civil War he served in the Peninsula Campaign and fought at Antietam, Fredericksburg, Chancellorsville, Gettysburg, the Wilderness, and Spotsylvania, ultimately rising to the position of corps commander. It was during this last battle that he was felled by a sniper's

bullet. Sedgwick was later buried in Cornwall Cemetery, his grave marked in 1900 with a monument designed by prominent Hartford architect George Keller.

Citizens on the home front also threw their energies behind the troops. As early as April 1861 a special town meeting in New Hartford pledged financial support for the families of men away in service. The women of Norfolk made shirts, socks, underwear, quilts, and sheets for use by the United States Sanitary Commission to succor the wounded. Danbury's Ladies Aid Society made clothing, blankets, and caps, and also shipped canned goods to the front to supplement army rations. Many communities voted bounties of up to $500 to encourage enlistments or remunerate those drafted into the army. In the process they incurred high municipal taxes or indebtedness.

Local industry also played an important part in the war effort, with factories manufacturing great quantities of cannon, railroad car wheels, bullets, clothing, and, reputedly, some of the iron used in construction of *U. S. S. Monitor*, the nation's first ironclad warship. In Salisbury, ironmaster Horatio Ames produced a series of ever-larger cannon, cast in his foundry beside the Housatonic River and tested by firing heavy shot into the surrounding hills. Eventually he created a super gun capable of hurling a 125-pound ball several miles. Unfortunately for Ames, the war ended before he could complete delivery of his ordnance; he was unable to recoup his huge investment in the project and soon was forced to declare bankruptcy.

In the decades which followed the peace of 1865, area residents chose several ways to honor the living and commemorate the sacrifices of the dead. Veterans formed chapters of the Grand Army of the Republic, known always as the GAR, which lobbied for soldiers' pensions and played an active role in state and national politics. Most communities erected substantial monuments, many with bronze figures produced by prominent Poughkeepsie sculptor George Bissell. Norfolk commemorated 23 war casualties in 1868. That same year the Ladies of Litchfield initiated a drive to erect a marble monument on the town green, a project completed in 1871. In 1880 Danbury unveiled its memorial, a marble figure of a Union soldier with a flag in his right hand standing atop a 12-foot granite column, dedicated "To our brothers, beloved, heroed, revered, who died that our country might live."

Citizens of Winchester erected a particularly impressive memorial, a large battlemented rockfaced granite tower on a hill overlooking Winsted, designed by Robert Hill of Waterbury. Built in 1889-1890 of granite taken from a local quarry, the monument features a corner tourelle supporting a bronze figure of a soldier. The September 1890 dedication ceremony was one of the largest public events in the town's history, with local buildings smothered in banners, flags, and festoons. Governor Morgan Bulkeley led a procession of dignitaries and 450 veterans, and over 20,000 citizens attended the event, more than twice the population of the entire town.

Industry

Between 1850 and 1930 economic activity in the Northwest Highlands underwent profound change. Growing factory centers like Danbury, Torrington, and Winsted evolved into industrial

powerhouses, becoming leading producers of hats, brass products, machine tools, clocks, and knit goods. Ever-larger factories and mills employed hundreds and, in a few cases, thousands of workers. By contrast, rural manufacturing generally faded, squeezed by more efficient and better capitalized competitors. One prominent casualty, the region's iron industry, succumbed to a flood of cheaper goods produced in the vast factory complexes of the nation's emerging industrial heartland.

Following the Civil War, industry, particularly in factory centers like Danbury, Torrington, and Winsted, entered a new expansionary and dynamic phase. Danbury's rise to industrial prominence rested largely on its already established position as one of the country's leading hatmaking centers, and between 1850 and 1930 it emerged as America's dominant producer. By the end of the Civil War more than 20 local shops and factories turned out two million hats annually. The industry received further impetus through invention of the fur-blower, a machine which efficiently mixed various types of fur used in the felting process. Improving rail connections in the 1870s and 1880s aided growth, with local population doubling in the 1880s to almost 20,000. New and larger factories were constructed, consolidating the industry, and raising production still further, to five million hats in 1887, and over 15,000,000 hats after 1900.

At the time Tweedy Manufacturing employed 900 hatmakers and the William Beckerle firm employed 500 more. In 1895 women constituted 25 percent of the workforce. Not even the great Danbury hatters' strike of 1902-1903 put a serious crimp in overall output.[23] In 1909 Lee and Harry McLachlan built Danbury's largest hat factory yet, as the local industry turned out 75 percent of the nation's rough hats and 25 percent of its finished hats. Though Danbury's hat industry continued to grow and prosper, local leaders worried that too much concentration in one field might ultimately prove impractical, and after World War I the Chamber of Commerce began urging diversification. It soon created a local development corporation which helped new firms like Lansden Electric Truck and Keystone Foods to become established.

While Danbury concentrated on hatmaking and related industries, Torrington emerged as an important manufacturing center specializing in brass, machine tools, and woolens. The Coe Brass Company, founded in 1834 and reorganized in the 1860s, evolved into one of the state's important producers of brass and German silver wire and sheet, employing 1,200 hands in the late 1890s. After 1900 Coe Brass became part of the giant American Brass conglomerate, and during World War I employed more than 3,500 workers, turning out ammunition and a variety of military-related equipment. Excelsior Needle Company, brainchild of Achille Migeon, produced sewing machine needles by the millions, while the Turner and Seymour Company's 200 workers manufactured a wide range of metal products such as brass and iron castings, chain, scissors, curtain fittings, and hooks and eyes. Union Hardware, with 500 employees, produced ice and roller skates and an almost endless list of metal forgings and stampings. The Hendey Machine Company, founded in 1870 by Henry Hendey, an immigrant English toolmaker, developed into a large corporation manufacturing machine tools for the brass industry and, later, general-purpose machine tools. Torrington also supported an important textile concern, the Union Woolen Mills, first organized in 1845, and renamed the Warrenton Woolen Company in 1894. Its modern production facilities covered more than three acres.

Winsted, the Northwest Highlands' third important industrial center, contained a diversified manufacturing establishment which gained statewide prominence in production of clocks, knit goods, and hardware. The Gilbert Clock Company, founded in 1836 and already well established by the time of the Civil War, employed 60 workers in the 1860s and 200 after 1871 when the firm initiated a major expansion program. By 1907 the company counted 500 employees producing 2,000 clocks per day (Photograph 11). Winsted also contained several large knitting mills, including Winsted Hosiery, Norfolk Hosiery Company, and New England Knitting Company. Each employed several hundred workers, with their output measured in the millions of pairs of socks, stockings, and undergarments. Rising production required greater manufacturing capacity. Shortly after 1900, for example, Winsted Hosiery erected six large brick mills and related buildings along the banks of the Mad River. Until the 1930s Winsted reigned as the underwear capital of the state. Finally, Winsted contained several large and important metal fabrication factories, including the New England Pin Company; Winsted Manufacturing Company, makers of scythes, corn knives, and other farm implements; T. C. Richards Hardware Company; and Winsted Edge Tool Works, producing chisels, gouges, and drawing knives.

Other towns throughout the Northwest Highlands, though not fated to became major industrial cities, nonetheless continued to support significant manufacturing establishments throughout the period. The Collinsville Axe Company experienced nearly uninterrupted success in the late nineteenth century, constructing a range of new and larger buildings, raising employment levels, and increasing production. As early as 1870 a workforce of 650 manufactured 615,000 implements–axes, machetes, mattocks, and picks. (See Photograph 8 for c. 1880 view.) In the 1870s the company rebuilt the main dam and in 1912-1913 built a second dam below the factory, soon augmented by hydroelectric turbines to power the mills. At that time more than 1,000 employees labored in Collinsville. A few miles away in New Hartford the Greenwoods Cotton Mills erected a large manufacturing complex in the 1870s, including more than 70 company houses. During the 1880s the firm employed over 500 workers to tend 12,000 spindles and 226 looms.

Even as hatting in Danbury and production of brass and machine tools in Torrington enjoyed considerable growth, the rural iron industry commenced a sustained and ultimately terminal decline. Initially, the signs seemed propitious. In the 1850s Horatio Ames' firm in Amesville employed several hundred men, and during the Civil War produced some of the largest cannon cast in the United States. At Lime Rock the Barnum and Richardson firm entered a period of significant expansion, erecting company houses, splendid residences for owners and managers, stores, hotels, a Methodist chapel, an Episcopal church, and large production facilities. Fame and success rested especially on the high-quality railroad car wheels the company manufactured. Elsewhere in the region at least a dozen furnaces roared day and night producing rivers of molten iron.

But the iron industry faced severe and ultimately insurmountable obstacles. The end of the Civil War brought an end to government orders. Other furnaces, either antiquated or inconveniently situated, began to close. Macedonia Furnace in Kent ended operations in 1865. In the 1890s the Landon works in Taconic and Kent Furnace closed. Other casualties included ironworks in Sharon Valley, Cornwall, Huntsville (Canaan), and along the Blackberry River in East Canaan.

Less productive ore pits closed as well. Introduction of the Bessemer process by Salisbury native Alexander Lyman Holley, tremendous expansion of the Midwestern iron and steel industry, and the high cost of ore and fuel, as well as the limited amounts of waterpower available, all made Connecticut iron increasingly uncompetitive in national markets.

Barnum and Richardson, which consolidated almost complete control over the region's furnaces and mines during this period, struggled heroically against the odds. It continued to operate, and even rebuilt several furnaces and shops. It constructed a new furnace along the Blackberry River in 1872, and in 1897 rebuilt the nearby Beckley Furnace, raising the blast temperature, increasing blast pressure, and installing loading machinery, thus doubling output. Employing skilled workers and traditional technologies, the company continued to produce castings and forgings, especially railroad wheels and locomotive parts until 1920, at which time only one furnace, Canaan #3, continued in blast. In 1923 the last local operations ceased as the fires went cold and the old ore pits, now without the aid of continuous pumping, quickly filled with water. Today only small lakes and ponds remain to mark their presence.

Elsewhere, other forms of rural industry also faced severe challenges and stiff competition from urban producers with better transportation links, larger labor supplies, lower labor costs, and greater access to technical and capital resources. Over time, this inequity resulted in the decline and finally elimination of many rural industrial operations. Small undercapitalized firms proved especially vulnerable to financial storms created by nationwide depressions in the 1870s and 1890s. While numerous companies survived into the early twentieth century, the age of small-scale waterpowered rural industry was over.

Transportation

Modernization of the transportation system underlay urban and industrial expansion, first through completion of the railroad network and simultaneous introduction of horse-drawn and electric trolleys, then by road and bridge improvement, and finally through development of a modern system of roads and highways to accommodate automobile and truck transport.

In the late nineteenth century several important projects completed the region's railroad system. For several decades industrial interests and other promoters urged construction of an east-west route through the Northwest Highlands, linking the Connecticut and Hudson Rivers. Important centers of pro-railroad agitation included Collinsville, Winsted, New Hartford, and the Salisbury-Canaan iron complex. In 1866 the General Assembly granted a charter to the Connecticut Western Railroad. Other Connecticut lines, however, feared competition from the upstart railroad and refused to invest, whereupon promoters turned to outside partners, ultimately joining forces with builders of New York's Fishkill-to-Pine Plains route.

Communities along the proposed right-of-way purchased stock in the enterprise, many with great enthusiasm. Winsted residents voted 366-66 to contribute. Hartford put up $750,000, while Canton added $40,000 and Salisbury $50,000. Wealthy individuals also underwrote the project,

more than $175,000 from Salisbury and Winsted investors alone. Surveys were completed by 1870 and the line opened in December 1871, interconnecting with several important north-south routes along the way. Though the rails were torn up decades ago, surviving artifacts include Canaan's elegant and substantial Union Station (Photograph 10), a stone depot in Norfolk, and the well-preserved Lakeville station.

A second important regional line, the Shepaug Railroad, linked Litchfield to points south and west, with a route winding through the Shepaug River Valley on its way to Hawleyville, Danbury, and New York. The first corporate meeting gathered in 1869 and survey work commenced soon thereafter. Construction began in October 1870 and the line opened shortly after New Year's Day 1872. Of the approximately $1 million cost, Litchfield interests contributed three-quarters, thus providing their community with its first direct rail connections. Almost immediately a thriving tourist trade developed.

In addition to these major railroad lines, several smaller construction projects filled in gaps and provided linkages between larger routes. As early as 1868 a shortline joined Danbury and the Housatonic Railroad at Brookfield. Four years later another Danbury branch linked up with the Shepaug line at Hawleyville. In 1881 the New York and New England Railroad ran tracks from Boston to Brewster, New York, via Danbury. Twenty years later the New York, New Haven and Hartford Railroad, which had consolidated control of southern New England railroads during the 1880s and 1890s, realigned the tracks which passed through Danbury and erected Union Station, a large 99-foot by 123-foot depot which accommodated 125 passenger trains daily, including heavy traffic to and from New York City.

In the second half of the nineteenth century several municipalities laid out horse-drawn streetcar routes, and then electric trolley and interurban lines, permitting communities to expand beyond traditional limits imposed by foot transportation, and providing sprawling new residential neighborhoods with rapid access to business centers and factory sites. Street railways facilitated travel to resorts and amusement parks which were frequently constructed by railway companies at the end of the line. One early line linked Danbury and Bethel. In 1897 investors created the Torrington and Winsted Street Railroad, joining those two Naugatuck Valley towns. The line included a spur to Highland Lake, a popular summer resort.

The late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries also witnessed the first major improvements in the local road network since the initial days of the turnpike era almost a century earlier. Beginning in the 1880s, many communities acquired modern iron truss bridges, usually from Connecticut's famed Berlin Bridge Company, to cross the region's formidable streams. Important projects included large spans in Sharon Valley (1885), Collinsville (1888), New Milford (1888 and 1895), Canton (1895), and Amesville (1903). Many are still in active use, supporting traffic never dreamed of a century ago.

Roads, long the responsibility of local communities, began to receive serious attention from Hartford in 1895 when the General Assembly created the State Highway Commission. Two years later Connecticut's first highway commissioner took up his post. The enormous popularity of bicycle travel and demands for improved roads voiced by Connecticut's fervent wheelmen

helped spur these actions. Introduction of automobile traffic soon accelerated the trend. Beginning in 1908, authorities under the leadership of Commissioner James MacDonald designed a system of Trunk Line Highways, to be constructed and maintained at state expense. Fees from automobile registrations underwrote these projects. Smaller routes intersecting Trunk Line Highways were designated State Aid Roads and were intended to provide rural communities with year-round access to markets and distant destinations.

In 1909 state engineers laid out a new trunk route from Norwalk to Danbury, present Route 7. The modern regional road network, which now includes Routes 6, 33, 34, 37, 44, 53, 63, 100, and 202, was finalized soon after. In 1915 the General Assembly placed bridge construction under state authority and provided partial funding for maintenance of State Aid Roads. Finally, in 1924 it allocated receipts from gasoline taxes to road construction, providing rapidly increasing sums for the decade's numerous paving and bridging projects. Large steel truss bridges erected during this period included those at Kent (1923), Gaylordsville (1926), and Richards Corner in New Hartford (1929).

The same energies which spurred enormous expansion of automobile usage and wide-ranging construction and paving projects also brought the era of trolleys, interurbans, and passenger railroads to an end. The Connecticut Western Railroad lost almost all passenger traffic to highways and terminated passenger runs in 1928. (Freight service ended in 1938, lost to trucks.) During the same period trolley lines in Danbury, Torrington, and Winsted stopped running, replaced by buses and private cars. The post-World War I era also witnessed tentative introduction of commercial aviation in the Northwest Highlands as barnstormers' joyrides gave way to more structured service. In 1928 flying enthusiasts formed the Danbury Aero Club. The following year the Danbury Air Corporation set up operations at the city's newly created municipal airport, the first in the region.

Immigration

Rapid industrial growth depended directly upon an expanded labor pool created in part by movement of rural residents to urban centers, but primarily by sharply increased immigration from Europe and elsewhere. This movement of peoples fundamentally altered the demographic composition in both urban and rural communities. By 1920 Danbury's total population of 22,350 included 4,000 foreign-born residents and 7,050 inhabitants born of foreign parents. Winsted counted 1,565 immigrants and 2,550 children of immigrants in a population of 8,250. Torrington's 20,625 residents included 15,725 immigrants and their immediate offspring.

Newcomers hailed from many countries, with Irish immigrants forming the largest single group. They first came in the 1830s and 1840s to work on railroads and canals, and then sought employment in factories, construction, and service trades. The Irish settled in both urban and rural communities. Skilled English industrial workers also migrated to the Northwest Highlands, especially those originally from the Sheffield region who worked in Connecticut's nascent cutlery factories. In the mid-nineteenth century many Germans relocated to northwestern

Connecticut as well, particularly to large cities such as Danbury. Others moved to New Milford and entered the tobacco business.

At the end of the nineteenth century the pace of immigration accelerated as large numbers of Italians, Poles, Slovaks, and Lithuanians began arriving, settling predominantly in mill towns like Torrington. Smaller but nonetheless distinctive inflows included groups of Jews, Balkan peoples, Hungarians, French, Swiss, and French-Canadians. After the turn of the century many Syrians (Lebanese) relocated to Torrington and Danbury; by 1920 Danbury counted 219 residents of Middle Eastern extraction, including David Bocharhe, whose commercial building on Main Street contained a 1907 dedication stone inscribed in both English and Arabic.

Recent immigrants created many institutions to aid, comfort, and sustain them in their new homes. Ethnic churches were among the most important of these organizations. In Danbury Irish residents founded St. Peter's Roman Catholic Church. Danbury also contained a German Lutheran Church (1881) and St. Paul's Slovak Church (1901). In early twentieth-century St. Peter's in Torrington ministered generally to Italian worshippers. Other groups established Holy Trinity Slovak Lutheran Church and the First Hungarian Church (both 1912). Around these churches clustered parochial schools, convents, and parish halls, such as the German Lutheran Parochial School which opened in Danbury in 1882. St. Peter's Church of Danbury sponsored a library association, a band, and the Kennedy Guards marching group.

Benevolent societies and fraternal organizations also played a crucial role in community life. In the second half of the nineteenth century Danbury's immigrant population founded a German Benevolent Society (1872), Hebrew Benevolent Society (c. 1875), and Children of Israel Society (1887). Torrington's Italian Labor Society provided mutual support, especially among the city's construction workers. Fraternal organizations offered recreational opportunities with people of similar language and culture. The Germans of Danbury organized a *Saengerbund* (singing society) in 1881. Danbury's Italian-American Vespucci Lodge commissioned a large building on Elm Street (1927). Swedes in Torrington established a chapter of the Vasa Order of America. Other Torrington groups included an Italian-American Republican Club and a Sons of Italy lodge. Neighborhoods in southwest Torrington supported both Polish and Lithuanian community halls.

A combination of circumstance and custom caused many immigrants to cluster together in distinct neighborhoods, usually containing two and three-family houses situated within walking distance of factories and mills. Place names like Dublin, Bannon, and McGuinness Streets and Limerick Hill marked the Irish presence on Torrington's North Side. Southwest Torrington also emerged as an important center of immigrant life. Hoffman Street contained a largely German population, while French Street was home to immigrants from France and French-speaking regions of Switzerland. Other streets supported mixed communities. At the time of World War I residents of Torrington's Culvert Street included newcomers from England, France, Germany, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Lithuania, and Poland. Virtually all labored at the nearby Coe Brass and Hendey Machine factories.

Rural towns also experienced a surge of immigration after 1850. Goshen recorded no Irish inhabitants prior to 1835, and just a handful in the 1840s. By the 1870s, however, the local population of 1,224 included 170 residents born in Ireland, 32 in Germany, 21 in France, and three from Switzerland. The Irish filled many of the service positions in Litchfield's booming resort hotels. Similarly, iron mines and furnaces of Canaan, Cornwall, Kent, and Salisbury all attracted substantial numbers of immigrant workers. Salisbury's new Irish residents were responsible for establishing St. Mary's Church there in 1875, followed just a few years later by a convent and parochial school. Lithuanian immigrants later found employment burning charcoal in the hills above town. In the early twentieth century several Italian farmers and artisans moved to Canaan, where their descendants flourish to this day.

With hard work some new Americans achieved considerable success, especially in politics and business. The DeMichiel family of Torrington offered a good example, with John and Matthew DeMichiel among the first Italians to settle there. Trained as stonecutters, they reached America in the 1890s, eventually formed a contracting firm, and profitably participated in the city's rapid expansion. The DeMichiels, especially John, became major benefactors of St. Peter's Church, and helped found the Sons of Italy and the Italian Labor Society. John eventually served in the General Assembly and headed the statewide Road Building Association. His home overlooking the city, Villa Friuli, was named after his boyhood village and stands as a monument to his success.

African Americans remained relatively few in number, especially in rural areas where economic and social opportunities were limited. They did, however, constitute a small but growing presence in the city. Some were natives of the area, while others included recent immigrants from the Hudson River Valley and the South. Danbury's African American citizens cast their first votes in 1871. The first black to sit on a jury did so in 1881. Nonetheless, informal segregation persisted in public places, including theaters and skating rinks. During the 1880s the city's African American community numbered perhaps 200. Several men drove for hotels or labored in hat factories, while women typically performed domestic work. A few were employed in a local shirt factory. Residents founded the Mount Pleasant AME (African Methodist Episcopal) Zion Church in 1889, followed in 1895 by New Hope Baptist Church. Torrington and Winsted sustained proportionately smaller black communities, perhaps 100 or so residents in the first decades of the twentieth century. Even so, by 1923 both Winsted and Torrington also contained active African American congregations.

Urbanization and Changing Communities

The net result of growing industrial activity and large-scale immigration was a major shift in the region's urban-rural balance as modern cities emerged. Between 1850 and 1900 Danbury's population tripled to more than 19,000, increasing to over 27,000 by 1930. Torrington experienced even more explosive growth, the small rural town of 1,900 inhabitants in 1850 transformed into a bustling city of 12,500 in 1900 and 26,000 three decades later. Just to the north Winsted grew by four-fold in this period, to more than 9,000 inhabitants in the 1920s. In

addition to increasing size, these communities also saw their legal status evolve. Torrington became a borough in 1886 and a city in 1923. Danbury obtained its city charter in 1889; Winsted in 1917.

Cities which emerged at the end of the nineteenth century were very different places from the communities which preceded them before the Civil War. In the simplest terms, they were much larger, more industrialized, more varied in population, and far more complex socially, culturally, and economically. Such rapidly growing urban centers required vastly augmented urban amenities and services to accommodate increased populations and expanded neighborhoods, everything from paved streets and municipal water to parks and modern fire departments.

Danbury inaugurated a very limited public water system in 1834, but the local municipal water company initiated a much larger project in 1860 to serve the central business district and fight fires. Work included construction of a small reservoir and installation of nine miles of pipe. In later decades reservoir capacity and the delivery system were enlarged many times. Progress sometimes entailed risks, however, as in January 1869 when the Kohanza Dam burst, causing significant loss of life and extensive property damage. Other municipal improvements included installation of flagstone sidewalks and granite-block paving for Main Street, electric arc lights for illumination, and the first sewers. Fearing the devastation fire might inflict in a burgeoning city center crowded with frame buildings, municipal authorities in 1867 enacted a fire district ordinance which prohibited wooden structures in the business district. In 1875 local leaders banned slaughterhouses in the city center, and shortly thereafter required that buildings be numbered.

Winsted's first gas company opened for business in 1860. The following year $100,000 of work commenced on a public water system which incorporated ten miles of pipe. During the same era Torrington obtained both a gas plant and an electric generating plant which illuminated some downtown streets. The Torrington Gas Company also supplied fuel for local homes. The first sewer lines were installed, and both street paving and sidewalk installation commenced. Construction and improvement, begun with such energy in the second half of the nineteenth century, accelerated further in the early decades of the twentieth as population soared. Work included greatly expanded water supply and delivery systems, near-universal construction of electric lines, sewers in most built-up areas, and, after 1920, vigorous road-paving campaigns.

Increasingly crowded cities generated efforts to preserve or create open space by establishing parks and landscaped cemeteries. As early as 1852 Danbury set aside Elmwood Park for public use, and in 1879 equipped the site with benches, fountains, serpentine walks, and a bandstand. For decades the park served as a starting point for parades and other public celebrations. New cemeteries, created in the rural romantic style which stressed aesthetically pleasing landscaping, public walks, and impressive statuary, also provided open space, places where residents could stroll on sunny days. In 1851 several prominent Torrington residents incorporated Center Cemetery, landscaping the grounds with winding paths and tree-topped knolls.

Improved fire-fighting services required new firestations to accommodate equipment and men. In Danbury these included a Queen Anne-style station erected on Ives Street in 1883, and the Humane Company Firehouse completed in 1911. As early as 1887 Torrington citizens built a woodframe firehouse to shelter two newly organized companies which replaced the older bucket brigades. By 1900 the department counted 50 members, and in 1901 Torrington completed a new masonry Romanesque-style firehouse designed by local architect Charles Palmer (1879-1954). Winsted entered the new age of municipal services in 1862, organizing a fire department, and dividing the borough into four fire districts. Two years later voters established a police court.

Urban growth both inspired and required new municipal edifices to house expanding governmental functions and embody the community pride experienced by many citizens. In 1899 Danbury bested Bridgeport and Norwalk in a competition to be the site of a new county courthouse, and an impressive domed Beaux Arts structure soon rose on a prominent Main Street site. Danbury also contained an imposing High Victorian Gothic public library, built in 1878 (Photograph 12). By the end of the century modern hospitals had been erected in Danbury, Torrington, and Winsted, as well as smaller facilities in New Milford, North Canaan, and Sharon. Around the turn of the century Torrington completed both a substantial new town hall and a large Classical Revival-style library. A decade later the General Assembly funded construction of National Guard armories in both Danbury and Torrington.

Accommodating an exploding population of schoolchildren required much construction, and many new schools, usually architect-designed, reflected progressive ideas about classroom function and design. Generally built of brick masonry, urban schools of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries incorporated large bright and airy classrooms, banks of tall windows to provide illumination and ventilation, substantial central heating plants, and well-lit basement play areas. Danbury's new schools in this period included New Street (1865), Balmworth Avenue (1881), Morris Street (1892), and Locust Avenue (1896). In 1904 work began in Danbury on Connecticut's fourth normal school, a facility designed to educate teachers.

Winsted industrialist William Gilbert, little noted for philanthropy in his lifetime, left a will which provided a substantial bequest underwriting construction of a large public high school completed in 1894-1895. This imposing yellow brick structure (Winsted Green Historic District), now part of Northwest Connecticut Community College, remains a central element of the downtown streetscape. Torrington also embarked on a major construction program designed to provide classrooms for the swelling throngs of schoolchildren. New masonry structures either replaced or augmented earlier small wood-frame buildings. Among the most impressive was South School (1915), a two-story Beaux Arts-inspired edifice accommodating 750 pupils. Other projects included Midgeon Avenue (1896), Southwest (1904), and East (1905) Schools, and Torrington High School (1914). In the 1920s the community erected a new YMCA building and trade school. Following Torrington's incorporation as a city, municipal authorities ordered construction of several large modern schoolhouses in more rural areas which incorporated the same design principles employed in downtown schools.

As increasingly important commercial centers, urban communities developed large central business districts. Danbury acquired several new Italianate-style commercial blocks in the period

1850-1880, followed by Romanesque and Renaissance Revival stores and apartments in the 1880s and 1890s. In the west end of Winsted a major commercial hub emerged between 1878 and 1927, including eight substantial masonry buildings executed in a variety of styles. Vigorous business centers also encouraged construction of many large new bank offices, such as Torrington's elegant National Bank building of 1917 and Winsted's Mechanics Savings Bank, completed in 1929. In 1912 Main Street in Danbury became the site of the new City Trust Bank.

Both local residents and a traveling clientele patronized modern new hotels. Winchester Hotel in Winsted, completed in 1898, was the largest non-industrial masonry structure in the business district and provided a variety of services. The four-story hostelry contained a bar and barbershop, parlors and restaurant, and finely appointed rooms, all for a rate of two or three dollars per day. Shortly after the turn of the century Danbury received a first-class modern hotel, due in large measure to the efforts of hat manufacturer John Green. The Hotel Green on Main Street, completed in 1908, immediately attracted an important business and recreational patronage, and during succeeding decades prospered as a major tourist stop.

Municipal expansion and improvement were not confined to large urban centers, and many country towns and villages experienced similar developments. The growing popularity of places like Lakeville (in Salisbury), Litchfield, New Milford, Norfolk, and Ridgefield as summer resort destinations led to much new construction and rapid transformation of village centers. Local improvement societies in Litchfield, New Milford, Salisbury, Sharon, and elsewhere played an important role. These community organizations were established to beautify town centers and press for construction of a variety of municipal improvements. In many cases disastrous fires served as the spur to modernization and beautification efforts. Between 1880 and 1910 Falls Village, Litchfield, New Milford, Ridgefield, and Salisbury all suffered significant destruction from fires. Litchfield's rebuilding program included a new Congregational Church (1873), large Methodist Church (1885), county courthouse (1889), firehouse (1891), and historical society museum (1893).

New Milford and Ridgefield town centers also underwent extensive transformation in this era. Between 1866 and 1880 a single contracting firm erected more than 75 houses near the New Milford green. The Village Improvement Society, established in 1871, landscaped the green and erected a bandstand. Soon electric lights, municipal water, and a central sewer system were in place. Construction included a new commercial district near Railroad Street and a series of large brick tobacco warehouses, as well as modern churches, schools, library, town hall, and bank. Ridgefield probably experienced the most widespread rebuilding program of any of the region's towns: three new churches, firehouse, library, two banks, town hall, high school, commercial blocks, and numerous large homes, many of them designed by prominent architects in a variety of contemporary styles ranging from Renaissance Revival to Neo-Classical and Colonial Revival.

Smaller towns experienced a range of changes mimicking those underway in larger population centers. Norfolk, a popular summer place after 1870, acquired amenities ranging from a new railroad station, elegant Romanesque Battell Chapel with Tiffany windows, and an impressive stone and terracotta library, to a three-story frame opera house, four-story brick commercial

block, and memorial fountain designed by renowned architect Stanford White. In Lakeville three large commercial blocks appeared, while Canaan, a commercial and transportation hub, supported a range of jewelry and hardware stores, and two streets lined with attractive new Queen Anne, Shingle, and Colonial Revival-style houses. Several communities also established local newspapers, including the Connecticut *Western News* in Salisbury (1871, moved to North Canaan 1876), New Milford *Journal* (1871) and *Gazette* (1876), and Lakeville *Journal* (1897).

Agriculture and Rural Life

Throughout the period agriculture maintained a position of great importance within the regional economy. Even Torrington and Danbury, the largest urban centers, supported numerous farms well into the second half of the twentieth century. Two specialties practiced before the Civil War, dairying and tobacco production, became mainstays of agricultural efforts between 1870 and 1930. Overall, however, agriculture experienced significant decline, as less-productive homesteads were abandoned and rural population fell, in some cases precipitously.

For many decades tobacco cultivation flourished in the Still and Housatonic River Valleys surrounding Danbury, Kent, and New Milford, with growers raising some of the finest wrapper tobacco in the United States. Substantial production began in the 1850s as farmers sought new and profitable crops to replace staples made uneconomical because of depleted fields and crushing western competition. The tobacco industry received an important boost in the 1880s with introduction of high-quality Havana seed. As early as 1882 New Milford had eight packing firms, the number rising to an even dozen after the turn of the century. At the peak of the season more than 10 percent of New Milford's population picked, sorted, and prepared tobacco leaf for sale, with much of the product exported to Germany and Holland. The industry remained viable until the 1930s when rising use of synthetic wrapper, competition from Cuban-grown tobacco, and increasing popularity of cigarettes initiated a phase-out of production.

Dairy farms also found favor as the century progressed, gradually replacing traditional operations relying on staples such as beef, pork, wheat, and corn, most of which were now produced in huge quantities in the Midwest, the nation's agricultural heartland. Butter and cheese had always enjoyed ready markets in urban centers and kept fairly well in warm weather, but were very labor-intensive. Following completion of a regional railroad network in the 1840s and 1850s and introduction of refrigerated cars in the 1880s, production of butter and cheese declined and sales of liquid milk assumed great importance. In March 1855 Danbury farmers shipped 2,500 gallons of milk to New York City. Just 15 years later the total had risen to 30,000 gallons per month, and the quantities sold escalated rapidly thereafter. Daily trains moved along each of the region's railroads, carrying bulk milk to Bridgeport, Hartford, and Waterbury. In many communities cooperative creameries stood beside the tracks.

A typical turn-of-the-century dairy farm supported 10 to 25 milking cows, as well as young stock and heifers, perhaps 50 to 100 animals in all. By 1900, in fact, dairying and production of feed for dairy herds had become the Northwest Highlands' principal agricultural activity, a situation

which strengthened even further in the next 30 years. Ever-greater emphasis on commercial production brought a number of changes to the industry: improved breeds such as Jersey, Guernsey, and Holstein cows, ensilage of feedstuffs, more equipment, and reliance on research conducted by the state's newly established Agricultural Experiment Station in Storrs. Just before the outbreak of World War I the County Extension Service began its important work.

Rural residents also experienced the first stirrings of the twentieth century. Consolidation of one-room schoolhouses began. Those living closest to town obtained telephones and, in a few cases, electricity. Paving projects transformed many local roads, as did the arrival of automobiles and trucks. The first tractors appeared on area farms. By the 1920s movies were available throughout the region. First established in the early nineteenth century, agricultural fairs remained an important and enjoyable aspect of rural life. The Danbury Agricultural Society, organized in 1869, began holding annual fairs shortly thereafter, attracting 10,000 to 20,000 visitors. Despite industrial expansion and later suburbanization, the Danbury Fair continued operating until the early 1980s. Other towns established annual fairs as well, notably Canton, Goshen, and Salisbury. The Goshen fair continues to this day, each year attracting large crowds who come to inspect prize livestock and produce and to watch pulling competitions of working oxen and draft horses.

Despite the successful pursuit of dairying and tobacco culture, overall contraction characterized much of the farm community, marked by increasing numbers of abandoned homesteads and sharply falling rural populations. Hilltop settlements lost forests and fertile topsoil in the early nineteenth century and were abandoned first, places like North Goshen, Mount Riga in Salisbury, and Dibble Hill in Cornwall. Meekertown on the Goshen-Norfolk line reverted to forest. In much of the region a general decline of the rural population set in after 1850, especially in rugged towns with the least accommodating soil and topography. Until the decline halted c. 1930-1940, Kent lost 43 percent of its population and Canaan lost 56 percent. Barkhamsted, Colebrook, Cornwall, Goshen, and Sherman all experienced declines of 60 percent or more. Other towns fared worse. In Warren and Hartland population fell between 70 and 80 percent.

In some areas considerable land was acquired for watershed or impoundment purposes to accommodate growing urban water systems, as in Torrington, and along the Rocky River where the Connecticut Light and Power Company created Candlewood Lake. One of the most significant projects was initiated in the New Hartford-Barkhamsted area where Hartford's Metropolitan District Commission built three large reservoirs in the period 1915-1940 to supply the region's rapidly escalating needs. Construction began with Nepaug Reservoir and the nearby Compensating Reservoir (Lake McDonough), which guaranteed sufficient hydraulic flow to power area industry. Planning for the much larger Saville Dam-Barkhamsted Lake system commenced in the late 1920s, with completion of the project in 1940. Creation of Barkhamsted Lake required razing the village of Barkhamsted Center situated on the valley floor. Some buildings were moved, as was the cemetery.

Recreation and Leisure Time

Throughout the period recreational pursuits attained ever-greater importance, until they ranked among the most significant regional characteristics. Such activities included both amenities serving local residents, and those which attracted enormous crowds of visitors, summer vacationers, and estate owners.The Northwest Highlands' growing urban centers created a wide array of recreational activities and facilities, including baseball teams, skating rinks, theaters, opera houses, and park bandstands. In the early twentieth century movie theaters emerged as important recreational venues as well. Enterprising developers constructed amusement parks and lake resorts on the outskirts of cities, almost always serviced by newly completed trolley, interurban, and railroad lines. Highland Park, a summer resort near Winsted, opened in 1879, the entrance only 100 feet from the Connecticut Western Railroad. Fraternal organizations also attracted numerous members, especially the Oddfellows, Masons, International Order of Redmen, Grand Army of the Republic, National Guard companies, YMCA and YWCA, and temperance societies. Immigrant groups, in particular, established societies to meet the recreational needs of their specific communities.

Many places became popular retreats for business, artistic, and educational elites. From Danbury to Salisbury affluent citizens erected elegant summer homes and substantial rural estates. A range of publications and advertisements touted the lure of the region, particularly its scenic hills and cool lakes. One turn-of-the-century author extolled the "pure kaleidoscopic scenery and well-cared-for roads" which made outdoor life "a joy and delight." He claimed "summer visitors and oldtime residents mix cordially together, forming a most delightful community."[24] Ridgefield, enjoying convenient access to New York City, attracted a wide range of newcomers. In the town's West Mountain district affluent businessmen established several gentlemen's farms. In Ridgefield town center former governor Phineas Lounsbury constructed a large Neo-Classical Revival mansion. Famed architect Cass Gilbert (1859-1934) purchased the Revolutionary War-era Keeler Tavern as a vacation home. Artist and illustrator Frederick Remington moved to Ridgefield in 1909, while Impressionist painter J. Alden Weir lived on a farm straddling the Ridgefield-Wilton line.

Both Norfolk and Sharon also attracted substantial vacation communities. In Norfolk, easily accessible after 1870 via the Connecticut Western Railroad, Alfredo S. G. Taylor (1872-1947), whose education included time spent in Italy, at Harvard University, and at Paris's Ecole des Beaux Arts, designed many rural retreats. Between 1880 and 1920 wealthy vacationers erected a series of Colonial Revival-style mansions on Sharon's South Green. New residents included diplomat Paul Bonner, editor and architectural critic Montgomery Schuyler, financier C. Stanley Mitchell, and Dr. Charles Tiffany, Episcopal Archdeacon of New York.

The same factors which inspired affluent families to create substantial vacation homes and estates throughout the Northwest Highlands also underlay establishment of a thriving resort hotel trade. Completion of the Shepaug Railroad in 1872 provided Litchfield with direct connections to New York City, and three large hotels were soon built, staffed by the town's growing population of Irish immigrants. The large frame Sharon Hotel (Photograph 16) stood at the south

end of the town green. In Salisbury the presence of Lake Wonoscopomuc led to construction of Wononsco House and Interlaken Inn, which attracted thousands of guests annually. President Theodore Roosevelt, perhaps the most prominent guest, twice visited Lakeville in 1904. Both Bantam Lake (Litchfield) and Lake Waramaug (Warren) enjoyed considerable popularity as resort destinations in the same period.

For many urban residents, small towns and rural communities seemed ideal sites to establish elite college preparatory schools, and the era from 1890 to 1930 witnessed creation of many such institutions, beginning with the Hotchkiss School in Lakeville in 1892. This school was quickly followed by the Taconic School for Girls (Lakeville, 1895), Salisbury School (Salisbury, 1901), Kent School (Kent, 1906), Rumsey Hall (Cornwall, 1907), Canterbury (New Milford, 1915), Indian Mountain School (Salisbury, 1915), South Kent (Kent, 1923), Wooster (Danbury, 1926), and Forman (Litchfield, 1930). The Northwest Highlands also attracted a number of cultural institutions, most notably Music Mountain in Falls Village, which presented its inaugural concert in 1929. That event attracted a distinguished audience, including three senators, actress Ethel Barrymore, and Mrs. Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge, founder of the Berkshire String Quartet. In time the Stoekel Summer Music Festival was established in nearby Norfolk.

One of the most extensive recreational developments, Candlewood Lake, began as a unique hydroelectric power project. In 1926 the Connecticut Light and Power Company dammed the Rocky River, inundated several farms and mills, and created the present lake, an expanse of 600 acres, with 75 miles of shoreline running through Brookfield, Danbury, New Fairfield, New Milford, and Sherman. Fifteen miles long and up to two miles wide, Candlewood Lake was the largest body of water in the state, and attracted rapid real estate development, especially the projects of two local doctors, Frederick Pickett and William Bronson, who laid out subdivisions with names like Aqua Vista, The Cedars, and Cedar Heights. The plan included construction of a generating plant and huge flume at Rocky River. In periods of low electric demand water was pumped uphill from the Housatonic River into Candlewood Lake, while at times of peak demand, water flowed back through the plant to produce electricity. This pump-storage generating system, the first of its type in the world, has since been designated both a National Historic Civil Engineering and a Mechanical Engineering Landmark.

For those seeking more rustic vacations, the Northwest Highlands offered a wide variety of attractions, notably extensive forests, rushing rivers, and secluded ponds. In the late nineteenth century prominent Salisbury attorney Donald Warner and several partners purchased the abandoned woodlands and lakes atop Mount Riga to create an enclave of Adirondack-style "camps" with names like Lotus Lodge, Camp-de-Mer, Wish-Come-True, and Sportsman's Retreat. Other area visitors established many private fishing and game clubs. During the 1920s a group of Hartford men acquired a 6,000-acre tract in Hartland, constructed access roads, and erected a large log dam on Hartland Pond to improve fishing and other recreational activities.

The same appreciation of rustic recreation underlay development of a state park system in the early twentieth century. In 1901 the General Assembly created the position of State Forester, and in 1913 established a Park Commission (reorganized as the Park and Forest Commission in 1920). The state also moved to acquire desirable recreation land within 25 miles of all major

urban centers, especially shoreline and river frontage. By 1932 the Commission had purchased more than 70,000 acres. That process has continued to the present day, leading to establishment of numerous forests, parks, and recreation areas. Notable examples include American Legion, Housatonic, Mohawk, and Tunxis State Forests, as well as Black Rock, Kent Falls, Macedonia Brook, Mohawk Mountain, Mount Riga, and Squantz Pond State Parks. Peoples State Forest in Barkhamsted was donated to the state after being purchased with citizens' funds.

Victorian and Early Twentieth-Century Revival Architecture

Architecture encountered throughout the Northwest Highlands in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries encompassed a vast array of distinctive Victorian and revival styles. Proud, expanding communities wished to herald their growing stature through construction of fine public buildings, while affluent private patrons commissioned residences designed to display their prominence and good taste. Many buildings were executed by architects of regional and national importance. In addition to high-style exemplars of specific architectural styles, several factors combined to spread popular design types to a wider middle-class audience of homebuyers, often in eclectic, vernacular, or attenuated form.

Pattern books such as Andrew Jackson Downing's *Cottage Residences*, George Woodward's *Architecture and Rural Art,* and R. W. Shoppel's *Modern Houses*, as well as the published designs of Bridgeport's Palliser, Palliser and Co. and Stamford's Hudson Holley, all found receptive audiences. Introduction of balloon framing speeded construction while lowering costs, even as large numbers of immigrant workers created an abundant labor supply. Employment of water, steam, and later electrically powered machinery made structural and decorative elements widely available. These developments facilitated the appearance of new middle-class neighborhoods in many communities, marked by substantial homes of varied and picturesque appearance. Finally, this era's continued industrial expansion necessitated construction of ever-larger mills and factories, as well as extensive tracts of modest homes to shelter their workers.

Signaling the growing importance of Paris as a center of taste and sophistication, adoption of the Second Empire, or mansard, style by builders in the post-Civil War period introduced an exotic new silhouette to many townscapes. Though incorporating familiar Italianate details, Second Empire buildings employed distinctive roofs with two slopes on all four sides, the upper slope almost horizontal and the lower slope almost vertical, usually punctuated by prominent dormers. The style enjoyed its greatest popularity between 1860 and 1880 and excellent examples can be found in several communities, including the c. 1865 Lewis June House a few miles north of Ridgefield Center, a distinguished building incorporating a three-story entry pavilion, heavily molded projecting cornice with elaborate foliate brackets, and mansard dormers. June was a circus impressario whose troupe visited more than 75 towns in six states every year. Each winter the showman kept animals and equipment on the property. Other good examples of the mansard style include prominent ironmaster M. L. Richardson's house and estate in Lime Rock (Lime Rock Historic District in Town of Salisbury) and the Fairfield County Jail, a substantial municipal structure erected in Danbury (Main Street Historic District) in the early 1870s.

Also favored in the postwar period, the High Victorian Gothic style was frequently utilized for large public buildings such as churches, libraries, and town halls. Typical features included polychrome masonry and patterned slate roofs. The Danbury Public Library (Main Street Historic District, Photograph 12), erected in 1878 according to plans developed by Lorenzo Wheeler (d. 1899), typifies the style. Cruciform in plan with broken roof lines and asymmetrical massing, it is constructed of orange-red pressed brick resting on a coping of rusticated granite and displays polychrome banding in the door and window arches, elaborate exterior woodwork, and stained glass windows. Constructed in 1873 on a more modest scale, Lime Rock's Trinity Episcopal Church (Lime Rock Historic District), designed by noted Gothicist Richard Upjohn (1802-1878), also incorporates many typical features, including native rockfaced stonework, patterned slate roof, and open belfry with wooden arches and quatrefoils.

Purer forms of the Gothic Revival flourished as well, most notably in many new churches erected throughout the era. Danbury's St. James Episcopal Church (Main Street Historic District), built 1867-1872, utilizes locally quarried rusticated granite and incorporates a castellated turret and patterned slate roof. Smaller communities also favored ecclesiastical Gothicism. New Milford's 1882 Episcopal Church (New Milford Center Historic District) exhibits a distinctive Norman Gothic style, while the Ridgefield Congregational Church (Ridgefield Center Historic District), designed by architect J. Cleveland Cady (1837-1919), represents an amalgam of English styles and utilizes a square turreted tower, pointed arches, and significant half-timbering. The 1896 design of Joseph Jackson (1868-1946) for St. Mary's Roman Catholic Church, also in Ridgefield, incorporates lancet windows, square turreted tower, tall pyramidal roof, clerestories and buttresses, and brownstone dripmolds. One of the finest expressions of the Carpenter Gothic aesthetic applied to a religious structure stands in Litchfield, the 1885 Methodist Church (Litchfield Historic District), sheathed with board-and-batten siding.

In the two decades preceding the turn of the century, the Romanesque style popularized by Boston architect H. H. Richardson (1838-1886) gained many adherents, and numerous important public commissions embodied his use of rough masonry, powerful round arches, and apsidal roofs. Architects frequently utilized Romanesque forms for libraries, of which several fine regional examples survive. In Sharon stands the Hotchkiss Library (Sharon Historic District), the work of architect Bruce Price (1845-1903), designer of Tuxedo Park (and also father of Emily Post). Similarly, the New Milford Public Library (New Milford Center Historic District), designed in 1897 by Bridgeport architect Joseph Northrop (1861-1940), employs a powerful Romanesque design vocabulary. Salisbury's Scoville Library, designed in 1894 by the Providence, Rhode Island, firm of Stone, Carpenter, and Willson, is constructed of gray rockfaced random ashlar limestone and incorporates two asymmetrical gabled wings (one apsidal) flanking a 55-foot battlemented tower, round-arched entrance portal, and round-arched windows.

The Queen Anne style, enjoying its greatest popularity in the late nineteenth century and deriving originally from the work of English architect Richard Norman Shaw, incorporated a variety of eclectic features, including complex rooflines, engaged towers, textured wall cladding, and elaborate turned woodwork. Adapted to American tastes and building materials, Queen Anne

homes, rowhouses, and larger public buildings proliferated rapidly. The David Hunt Memorial Library, erected in Falls Village in 1891 (Falls Village Historic District), was designed by the Bridgeport firm of Lambert and Bunnell and embodies the exuberance which characterizes the style. Distinctive features include a three-story tower, asymmetrical massing, two-stage gable roof of unusual design, eclectic and whimsical detailing, half-round windows, sunburst motifs, and decorative terra cotta tiles.

Two regional houses also offer fine interpretations of the Queen Anne style, the James Alldis House in Torrington and the N. A. McNeil House in Lime Rock (Lime Rock Historic District). Alldis was superintendent of the Excelsior Needle Company, one of Torrington's most important industrial concerns, and his elaborate late nineteenth-century home employs the full range of Queen Anne design features: irregular plan and massing, clapboard and shingle sheathing, three-story tower with conical roof, multiple gables, tall paneled brick chimney, terracotta roof cresting, granite ashlar foundation, bay windows, and porches with sawn and turned woodwork. Equally elaborate is the Lime Rock home of N. A. McNeil (Photograph 13), an official of the Barnum and Richardson Iron Company. His c. 1880 house closely resembles the work of Bridgeport designers Palliser, Palliser and Co. and incorporates a polygonal turret, elaborately detailed Eastlake-style porch, decorative shinglework, prominent vergeboards, Palladian window, and large inset foliated panel in the street facade.

At the same time some architects and builders produced increasingly elaborate and ornamented Queen Anne residences, others utilized the contemporary Shingle style which employed asymmetrical facades, intersecting gables, extensive porches, and, most importantly, uninterrupted wall cladding and roofing of continuous wooden shingles. Tarrywile, a former country estate in southern Danbury, was erected in 1895-1897 for Dr. William Wile, one of the first physicians on the staff of the new Danbury Hospital. The main house, cruciform in plan, rests on a foundation of rockfaced granite and is sheathed entirely with dark shingles. The estate grounds also include a Shingle-style carriagehouse known as Norfolk House. In the bustling iron-producing community of Lime Rock investors erected (c. 1895) a substantial Shingle-style casino (Lime Rock Historic District) to accommodate local social events, a design type pioneered by McKim, Mead, and White in Newport and Narragansett, Rhode Island, some years earlier. Other Shingle-style structures in the vicinity include Alexander Selkirk's c. 1900 Methodist Church erected in Falls Village (Falls Village Historic District), and several Charles Lorrain-designed buildings on Granite Avenue in Canaan (Canaan Village Historic District), most notably his 1888 Pilgrim Congregational Church.

The search for architectural innovation knew few limits in this period, and designers employed the broadest range of styles and precedents. Occasional castellated structures harked back to the Middle Ages, most notably Hearthstone Castle in Danbury, the 1895 creation of New York architect Ernest Dietrich (1857-1924), who designed a Normanesque residence with battlemented parapeted roof, D-ended engaged towers, stone porte-cochere, and corbelled bartizans (small overhanging wall turrets), all for client Elias Sanford, a renowned portrait photographer. In Torrington Orsemus Fyler, wealthy businessman and politician, hired William Allen to create a Chateauesque residence (Photograph 14). Allen had previously designed several similar houses on Whitney Avenue in New Haven. Completed in 1900, Fyler's home stands two-and-one-half

stories tall, irregular, colorful, with elaborate detailing including recessed terracotta panels, stone corbels, towers, porte-cochere, hip-on-gable roof with copper cresting, and piazza with cast-iron rails.

In the late nineteenth century a number of important revival styles began to attract considerable attention, with precedents ranging from ancient Greece and Rome, to Renaissance Italy, Georgian England, and America of the colonial and early national eras. Often executed by architects trained at or imbued with the principles of France's famed Ecole des Beaux Arts, these designs accommodated uses as varied as a large country home, museum, fire station, bank, hotel, or courthouse. One of the most elegant revivals drew on the heritage of Renaissance Italy and incorporated ornate cornices, prominent pedimented windows (often round-arched), and rusticated masonry.

A jewel of Renaissance Revival architecture faces the green in Litchfield, the headquarters of the Litchfield Historical Society (Litchfield Historic District), erected in 1893 and consisting of two wings connected by a quarter-round Ionic portico. The South Street facade contains an elaborate Palladian window glazed by the Tiffany studios of New York. Ridgefield's 1901 public library (Ridgefield Center Historic District) also employs the Renaissance Revival style. The five-story Winchester Hotel in Winsted, completed in 1898, is an excellent example of the Renaissance Revival translated for commercial use, its symmetrical banks of round-headed windows and elaborate projecting cornice typifying the style.

Substantial Beaux Arts-inspired Neo-Classical Revival buildings also appeared in the Northwest Highlands, typically displaying rigid symmetry, elaborate classical cornices, columned porticoes and colonnades, and pilasters. Beaux Arts classicism proved the ideal medium to express growing civic pride and was often employed in the design of significant municipal structures. Danbury's 1899 county courthouse, the work of Warren Briggs (1850-1933), is one of the region's most important examples of the style. The symmetrical building constructed of buff brick with limestone trim is dominated by a pedimented central pavilion flanked by Ionic columns and a large central copper-roofed dome.

Many landmark turn-of-the-century Neo-Classical Revival commercial edifices also survive in an excellent state of preservation, including a number of banks. New Milford's United Bank Building (New Milford Center Historic District), constructed after the fire of 1902, typifies the type. A two-story buff brick structure with brownstone trim, the building has a facade which incorporates three recessed bays, broad frieze, molded cornice, and crowning parapet. It was designed by Wilson Potter (1868-1936), a New York architect with a home in Bristol, Connecticut, who had worked for Richard Morris Hunt (1827-1895) and Henry Van Brunt (1832-1903). Other fine Neo-Classical examples include the Mechanics Savings Bank of Winsted (Winsted Green Historic District), Ridgefield's Union Trust Company (Ridgefield Center Historic District), and both the Union Trust and City Trust buildings in Danbury (Main Street Historic District).

A rather chaste version of the Neo-Classical Revival mode defines Torrington's attractive Public Library (Downtown Torrington Historic District), designed by Ernest Greene (1864-1936) and

erected in 1901. Its restrained composition, highlighted by fluted Ionic columns and precisely carved moldings, emphasizes symmetry, proportion, and form. One of the region's most elaborate Neo-Classical residences, the Governor Phineas Lounsbury Mansion (Photograph 15), stands in the center of Ridgefield, and was built in 1895 to resemble the Connecticut State Building erected at Chicago's Columbian Exposition three years earlier. The work of architect Charles Northrop, Lounsbury's Grovelawn is dominated by an elaborate and monumental two-story Ionic portico and embellished by a wraparound porch with Doric columns and pedimented dormers which punctuate the mansard roof.

Colonial Revival structures, based on American architectural precedents of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, enjoyed enormous popularity from the late 1800s onward, whether for residences, churches, academic campuses, municipal offices, or commercial buildings. Many of these were grand structures, large in scale, and adhering fairly closely to historic examples. The majority, however, were less rigorous in their application of authentic forms and features and paid only "lip service" to Colonial or early national buildings, employing random elements such as pedimented porch gables, Tuscan porch columns, or millwork inspired by, but not faithful to, original examples.

In some cases virtually entire town centers were rebuilt or remodeled in the Colonial Revival style almost overnight. Ridgefield's St. Stephen's (Episcopal) Church is a fine Georgian Revival design erected in 1914, its principal facade consisting of a Doric portico, tower, and steeple. Other Colonial Revival structures in Ridgefield include the 1896 town hall, 1907 high school, and 1908 firehouse (all Ridgefield Center Historic District). The same process occurred in Litchfield, the most important instance being restoration of the grand 1829 Federal-style Congregational Church, which had been moved from its site and replaced by a Victorian masonry structure in the 1870s. The 1889 Italianate courthouse designed by Robert Hill (1828-1909) received a complete makeover as well, including addition of a bell-shaped dome with eagle finial, classical pilasters, and Adamesque trim.

College preparatory schools established in the region in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries frequently employed various Colonial Revival idioms in their initial building programs. The Hotchkiss School campus in Lakeville contains approximately one dozen fine Georgian Revival buildings–dormitories, gymnasium, residences, infirmary, chapel–erected between 1892 and 1937, and designed by noted architects Bruce Price, Cass Gilbert, and Delano and Aldrich. Nearby atop Frink Hill stands the Salisbury School Main Building (1901), an enormous symmetrical clapboarded structure with cupola, quoins, gambrel roof, flanking wings, Palladian windows, and pedimented dormers, fronted by a monumental two-story pedimented Ionic portico. Similarly, the Kent School in Kent possesses several important Georgian Revival academic structures.

Large country houses constructed in the Northwest Highlands after 1890 frequently employed the Colonial Revival style. One particularly dense concentration stands in the West Mountain Historic District of Ridgefield, including West Mountain Farm (1914); the James Rogers House (1927); two Bulkeley family properties (after 1894); and Orenca (1932), all defined by classical porticos and detailing, Palladian windows, and gable or gambrel roofs. Several similar homes

were erected on the South Green in Sharon (Sharon Historic District) during the same era. Fine Litchfield examples include the 1895 Underwood House and the 1914 Quincy House (Litchfield Historic District), both graced with Georgian entries and classical details. Between 1915 and 1920 Alfredo S. G. Taylor designed a series of impressive Georgian Revival residences for wealthy patrons in Norfolk, as well as a large group of fieldstone and timber summer "camps," a church, a war memorial, a commercial building, and several Swiss Chalet and Tudor Revival-style homes.

An unusual grouping of Colonial Revival buildings stands at Music Mountain in Falls Village, a collection of five pre-fabricated structures built by Sears, Roebuck & Company, including a concert hall, a large house, and three cottages. Erected in 1930, the buildings utilize clapboard sheathing, six-over-six double-hung sash windows, and simple classical details. The concert hall incorporates twin entrance pavilions with paired attached columns. All the buildings were designed by David Bectone, Sears' chief architect between 1929 and 1935. They were constructed at the firm's Newark factory and then shipped to Connecticut by railroad.

Tudor Revival structures, picturesque buildings incorporating an amalgam of late-medieval features such as steeply pitched slate roofs, asymmetrical facades, prominent chimneys, half-timbering, casement windows, and stuccoed walls, gained considerable popularity after the turn of the century. One of the area's finest examples, Topsmead in Litchfield (Photograph 17), was the summer home of Edith Morton Chase, heiress to an important brass fortune. It was designed by Richard Henry Dana (1879-1933) of New York and built in 1924 to replace an earlier, more modest and rustic structure. Topsmead exhibits nearly all the requisite features of a fine Tudor Revival building, including stuccoed walls, half-timbered gables, brick nogging, slate roof, recessed front door beneath a second-story oriel, banks of leaded casement windows, large brick chimney with four chimney pots, and a dovecote linked to the main house via a high stone wall.

While large architect-designed residences, schools, churches, libraries, banks, offices, and municipal structures attracted the greatest attention, by far the most numerous buildings erected in the period, especially after 1900, were more modest houses designed for growing numbers of industrial workers, shopkeepers, and white collar employees. These included a range of single- and multiple-family frame dwellings in a variety of distinctive styles. Many industrial neighborhoods, especially in Torrington and Danbury, were dominated by two- and three-family houses, large blocky vernacular frame structures with gable roofs, oriented with the narrow end fronting the street, and employing varying degrees of decorative detailing in the late Queen Anne, Colonial Revival, and Craftsman styles. Such buildings almost always incorporated substantial stacked front porches, along with single or stacked side porches, balcony porches, and/or rear porches.

Residents with somewhat more income often purchased one of the modest single-family houses which appeared by the hundreds in real estate subdivisions after 1900. These included homes constructed in the Craftsman, Foursquare, Colonial Revival, and Picturesque (Old English) Cottage styles. Craftsman-influenced houses represented the architectural expression of the contemporary Arts and Crafts movement, especially the work of California designers Charles (1868-1957) and Henry (1870-1954) Greene, and popularizer Gustave Stickley (1858-1942).

Craftsman Bungalows, the most popular home style, usually stood one-and-one-half stories tall and typically exhibited low-pitched roofs, substantial shed or gable dormers in the street elevation, integral full-width porches, clustered windows, exposed rafter tails and purlins, and prominent eaves brackets. The American Foursquare, another popular early twentieth-century house type, evolved from the rectangular Prairie style of Frank Lloyd Wright (1867-1959) and his contemporaries. Generally square, as the name implied, it commonly featured full-width front porches, hip roofs, broad eaves, and gable or hip roof dormers. Decorative details were drawn from the Colonial Revival, Prairie, Craftsman, and Shingle design vocabularies.

Other single-family homes reflected a variety of historical precedents. Early twentieth-century "Colonials" mimicked eighteenth-century New England farmhouses, with central entries, gable roofs, and balanced three- and five-bay facades. Decorative details included a range of Georgian and Federal features. Closely related Dutch Colonial homes employed a signature gambrel roof, usually augmented with full-width shed dormers. The principal facade incorporated a central entry and gable-roofed entry hood or porch. Many homebuyers, especially after 1920, acquired houses modeled after English cottages, seemingly asymmetrical compositions with large external chimneys in the street elevation and steeply pitched entry gables. Defining features included casement windows, multiple gables and dormers, and decorative half-timbering.

Finally, the Northwest Highlands contain numerous important examples of industrial architecture, the mills and factories which produced the knit underwear, clocks, brass castings, cutlery, machine tools, and hats generating the wealth which underwrote construction of more elegant residential and commercial structures. Though dozens have been lost to fire or demolition, many survive. Some stand abandoned; others have been converted to residential or commercial use; the remainder often house new tenants, either light manufacturing or warehousing operations.

Earlier mills frequently resembled the well-preserved c. 1866 Holley Manufacturing Company factory in Lakeville (Lakeville Historic District), a four-story brick building measuring 100 feet by 35 feet, with stone foundation, prominent iron tie rods, banks of segmental arched windows, and clerestory monitor roof. Contemporary industrial structures include the surviving c. 1871 Gilbert Clock Factory in Winsted, a four-story brick mill with mansard-roofed stairtower, and the c. 1870-1872 Greenwoods Cotton Mills in New Hartford, a pair of four-story buildings aligned at right angles and measuring 161 feet by 60 feet and 170 feet by 50 feet, joined by a five-story mansarded stairtower. Other period buildings on site include the 1874 steam plant and 1878 picker house.

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries the scale of industrial operations increased dramatically and new, larger factories, often of brick pier construction with flat or nearly flat roofs, were built to accommodate expanded production. Typical features included segmental-arched windows, brick lintels, stone sills, stone foundations, and corbelled brick cornices. Torrington's Warrenton Woolen Mills included two early twentieth-century factory buildings designed by Charles Main, an important industrial architect responsible for plants in Manchester, New Hampshire, and Lowell and Lawrence, Massachusetts. Of the Torrington buildings, one measured 340 feet in length, and the other 280 feet. In the same period Winsted Hosiery Mill

built two new factories, each approximately 300 feet long. Other important industrial survivors include Danbury's late nineteenth-century four-and-one-half-story P. Robinson Fur Cutting Company factory and Torrington's Hendey Machine complex erected between 1906 and 1920 and incorporating a 1906 brick pier factory (120 feet by 260 feet), a second mill of 1910 (250 feet by 200 feet), and a 1920 brick factory with sawtooth roof (100 feet by 500 feet).

The region also contains two special subcategories of industrial structures, the tobacco warehouses of New Milford and a series of early hydroelectric generating plants constructed by the Connecticut Light and Power Company along the Housatonic River between 1903 and 1929. The c. 1897 wedge-shaped Schoverling tobacco warehouse, three stories tall and steam-heated, originally provided space where harvested leaves were sorted by aroma, texture, size, and quality, and then cured in piles on the warm floors. Area hydroelectric plants include those at Bulls Bridge (1903), Falls Village (1912), and Rocky River (1929, Photograph 18). The design and capacity of the three facilities were integrated to assure even and efficient production of power. Tall rectangular structures of brick pier construction, incorporating large expanses of industrial metal sash, they house turbines and generating equipment and continue producing electricity to the present day.

V. MODERN PERIOD 1930-1995

Between 1930 and 1995 the Northwest Highlands underwent rapid modernization, the process punctuated by major events such as the Great Depression and World War II, and several significant trends, notably suburbanization and urban transformation. Automobile traffic and highway construction dominated transportation policy and practice. The destructive flood of August 1955 devastated downtown districts and triggered major urban renewal efforts. Much regional industry withered, unable to adjust to changing conditions or compete with outside producers. Danbury, however, literally reinvented itself, becoming a major commercial hub and attracting both high-tech manufacturing and corporate headquarters. Many communities experienced significant suburbanization as former farmland filled with real estate subdivisions. Farming receded in many places, remaining viable in only a few towns.

The Great Depression and Wartime Recovery

The Depression which descended upon the United States after 1929 did not spare the Northwest Highlands, and every community felt its impact, especially industrial centers which experienced huge layoffs and high rates of business failure. Across the state more than 25 percent of the workforce stood unemployed. In 1932 bankruptcy felled 1,000 firms, and 50 banks were merged or liquidated. Torrington's brass industry was very hard hit when copper prices slumped and inventories mounted. Layoffs quickly followed and local emergency funds proved completely incapable of meeting residents' needs. Similar conditions prevailed in Danbury as both city and town governments ran out of money. Municipal layoffs escalated rapidly and police and fire departments went unpaid for weeks at a time. Much of the local populace relied on soup kitchens established by area businesses.

The New Deal sponsored by President Franklin D. Roosevelt and enacted by Congress beginning in 1933 went a long way towards ameliorating conditions in many communities. New programs provided home relief, sponsored conservation, reforestation, and recreation initiatives, and subsidized major construction projects. Important New Deal agencies included the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC), Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA), Public Works Administration (PWA), and Works Progress Administration (WPA). The Home Owners Loan Corporation (HOLC) underwrote mortgages. Within a few years these agencies hired tens of thousands of workers and pumped hundreds of millions of dollars into the state economy. In Torrington alone more than 1,000 residents secured employment in federal work programs, while 1,100 families obtained relief payments.

New Deal agencies implemented vast relief and construction programs, and many of their efforts remain important elements of both urban and rural communities. Danbury projects included enlargement and improvement of the local airport. The city also obtained a water filtration plant, as well as several new schools. Torrington received a new post office (1936) and city hall (1940). Rural communities also benefited from increased federal spending. In Salisbury WPA workers

cut a new road to the summit of Mount Riga. Canaan's attractive Art Deco State Police Barracks originated as a New Deal project. Other federal programs hired artists, sculptors, writers, and actors to decorate public buildings, prepare local histories, and present Shakespeare productions to youth audiences. In Danbury, Bethel artist Charles Federal crafted a series of murals in the Childrens' Room of the Public Library using Danburians as models for his Mother Goose characters. Similar murals graced the lobby of Lakeville's WPA-funded post office and schools in Litchfield, New Milford, and Winsted.

One of the most interesting New Deal programs, the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC), played a major role in developing and improving Connecticut's parks and forests. Many of these lands had been depleted by fire, improper clearing, overharvesting, and agricultural use before being incorporated into the state system. Few contained significant public conveniences. Between 1933 and 1942, however, more than 30,000 young men stationed at 20 camps planted millions of new trees, constructed roads and trails, carried out disease and insect control efforts, and built dams to create swimming areas. The CCC worked at a variety of Northwest Highlands sites, erecting trail shelters, ski cabins, and administration buildings in Barkhamsted, Cornwall, Hartland, Sharon, and Torrington.

Inspired by the new outdoor recreational opportunities available in the Northwest Highlands, Walter Schoenknecht, an avid hiker familiar with the forest and park improvements initiated by the CCC and similar agencies, established the area's first downhill skiing facility at Mohawk Mountain in Cornwall on land leased from the state. He constructed the original Pine Lodge at the site in 1946-1947, and in 1948-1949 introduced artifical snowmaking to the region, a development which revolutionized the industry.

The outbreak of World War II in Europe in 1939 rapidly reinvigorated much of the Northwest Highlands' manufacturing establishment. Indeed, by 1940 industrial production exceeded levels attained in 1929. By 1943, two years after the United States entered the war, approximately 90 percent of Connecticut's industrial efforts focused on war work. Danbury's Barden Corporation manufactured the Norden bombsight, installed on the thousands of bombers which ranged over Germany and Japan. At the nearby Lee Company, workers produced million of shellcases. Many Torrington factories also participated actively in the war effort, especially American Brass, Hendey Machine, and Torrington Manufacturing Company. Together, these three firms employed more than 6,500 workers.

Transportation

The transportation network of the Northwest Highlands experienced considerable change after 1930. Passenger service along routes pioneered by the Connecticut Western, Shepaug, Housatonic, and Naugatuck Railroads ceased, and freight service declined significantly. In those places where passenger service survives, such as Danbury, it does so at much-reduced levels, often supplemented or replaced by intercity bus lines. Along some former railroad routes the tracks have been taken up and the roadbed restored to private ownership or dedicated to public

uses such as trails and bikepaths. Vacant stations have been converted to a variety of retail, commercial, and residential purposes.

Though rail service generally declined after 1930, highways grew in importance. Construction of the Merritt Parkway in the 1930s and the Connecticut Turnpike in the 1950s allowed shoreline residents and visitors from New York City to interconnect more rapidly with older Routes 7 and 8 which ascended the Housatonic and Naugatuck River Valleys. In the 1950s work began on an improved Route 8, a major limited-access highway running all the way to Winsted. A similar plan was envisioned for an augmented Route 7/202, and a short spur between Danbury and Brookfield was completed, but the project has since been postponed by concerns over environmental and quality-of-life issues.

Construction of Interstate 84, which runs along the southern flank of the Northwest Highlands from Danbury to Waterbury to Hartford, began in 1958 and was completed a few years later. This superhighway connects with Interstate 684 and provides direct highspeed access to New York City. The new route played a major role in convincing many businesses to relocate to the Danbury area, underpinning that city's economic transformation in the postwar era. Elsewhere in the region, the road network remains much the same as it has been since the 1920s, a system composed of two-lane rural roads and small bridges which exert relatively minimal impact on the environment. Periodic improvements have been largely confined to upgrading safety features, straightening dangerous curves, installing occasional passing lanes, and replacing deteriorated bridges.

Suburbanization

Many Northwest Highlands towns, especially those in closest proximity to urban centers such as Danbury, Hartford, and Waterbury, or heavily developed areas of the Connecticut shore and New York metropolitan region, experienced considerable suburbanization in the post-World War II era. Barkhamsted, Burlington, Canton, and Hartland have all been drawn into Hartford's expanding orbit. Between 1940 and 1995 Barkhamsted's population increased by a factor of five to 3,433. Burlington grew six times to 7,535, and Canton doubled its population to over 8,400. Hartland, counting barely 300 inhabitants in 1940, rebounded to nearly 2,000 by 1995. Litchfield and Torrington, which both enjoy access to Hartford and Waterbury, experienced similar growth. Litchfield's population doubled to 8,599, while Torrington, despite losses in the urban core, saw its overall population rise to 33,962, based entirely on construction of suburban subdivisions.

Communities closest to Danbury, the Connecticut shore, and the New York metropolitan region have experienced some of the largest increases in the number of inhabitants. Sherman, with fewer than 500 residents in 1940, counted almost 3,000 in 1995. In neighboring New Fairfield the gain was much sharper, from 600 residents to more than 13,000. In the same 55-year span New Milford's population surged by 18,900, while Ridgefield added 17,500 new residents.

More rural towns also experienced significant population growth, reversing the great contraction underway between 1830 and 1940. In fact, by the 1930s a new migration to the Northwest Highlands had begun, composed of writers, artists, musicians, actors, retired professors, nature lovers, and antique dealers. Many first visited on the weekends or to participate in summer musical and theatrical festivals and then decided to stay. More recently, growth has been fueled by a rapidly swelling body of exurban residents seeking a change of pace and searching for more congenial environments in which to operate small businesses, and a growing service sector which sustains the region's large summer and weekend population. In some of the more heavily visited towns, non-residents own as much as half the local real estate. Large numbers of retirees have also resettled in the Northwest Highlands.

Urban Change

In the second half of the twentieth century a combination of natural disasters, government initiatives, and new business and residential patterns dramatically altered the face of cities in the Northwest Highlands. In that same period urban communities experienced waves of dispersal, renewal, and preservation. The great flood of August 1955 devastated the region's downtowns. In Winsted the Mad River tore away the southern half of the business district, leaving only rubble and wreckage in its wake. So extreme was the destruction that Governor Abraham Ribicoff mobilized the National Guard to patrol the beleaguered community. Torrington, bisected by the Naugatuck River, suffered similar damage, with much of the city center flattened by a wall of water which roared down the valley. The Still River in Danbury proved equally destructive, especially in the Wooster Square and White Street neighborhoods. In Collinsville the Farmington River surged over its banks, wreaking havoc at the Collinsville Axe Company.

In the aftermath of this destruction federal, state, and local authorities responded by implementing a massive flood control program, constructing dams, rechanneling streams, and rebuilding bridges and streets. Danbury, one of the worst-hit communities, quickly voted to join the federal program. The city established a redevelopment agency and planning commission, and aired a comprehensive plan by 1958. Work began shortly thereafter and included rechanneling the Still River and initiating wholesale demolition in the river floodplain, especially on the north side of White and Elm Streets, on Main Street above White Street, and on several other nearby thoroughfares. In Torrington the portion of the city devastated by the flood was cleared of houses and shops and redeveloped as a shopping center. Winsted's Main Street was widened to four lanes, but the houses and stores washed away by the Mad River were never replaced.[25]

Throughout the postwar period urban communities watched population and business activity move to the periphery, usually in the form of residential subdivisions and auto-accessible retail and commercial development. Cities also established industrial parks in outlying areas to accommodate new technologies and provide easy access to new highways. In Danbury the process of demolition and renewal triggered by the 1955 flood caused many businessmen to relocate to the city's edge in new shopping centers, or along Routes 6, 7, and 37. Completion of Interstate 84 accelerated the trend, leading to construction of the Berkshire and North Street

Malls. Construction of the Danbury Mall in the early 1980s at/near the junction of Interstates 84 and 684 and Routes 6 and 7 capped the process. The largest shopping complex in the region, the mall occupies the site of the former Danbury Fair, which closed in 1981.

Danbury's dramatic growth, from 30,300 inhabitants in 1950 to more than 66,400 by 1995, was also accommodated by building homes and garden apartments on the periphery. This, in turn, led to construction of new schools to handle the exploding, and shifting, population. Both Torrington and Winsted experienced similar dispersion away from downtown business districts. In Torrington recent retail development occurred north and east of the city, along Route 8 and in Torringford. New commercial construction in Winsted took place eastward along Route 44.

Attempting to revive downtown districts, city governments implemented a variety of renewal projects involving significant land clearance, street construction, and retail or residential development. In Torrington the site of the defunct Fitzgerald Gasket factory complex was transformed into a large shopping center with stores, restaurants, and theaters. Apartment towers for senior citizens arose at the former Coe Brass Mill complex, later joined by another large in-town shopping center. Danbury initiated a significant municipal construction program which included a new city hall, library, and fire department. In the early 1970s the city cleared six acres of frame dwellings east of Main Street and re-routed Liberty Street to improve traffic flow.

Cities benefited from a growing education sector. Danbury's small turn-of-the-century normal school evolved into Western Connecticut State University, the largest institution of higher learning in the region. In Torrington a branch of the state university opened on land originally used as the local poor farm, while Northwest Connecticut Community College in Winsted provides important educational services to a diverse student body.

Despite the great shift of business and population to the periphery, many communities made strenuous efforts to preserve and refurbish their urban and architectural heritage, recycling buildings for new uses. In Torrington the Police Department now occupies the old North School, while the former Riverside School became apartments. Winsted's Gilbert Clock Factory and Hosiery Mill were converted to housing. Danbury also recorded many successes in the area of adaptive re-use. The P. Robinson Fur Cutting Factory, one of Danbury's few surviving buildings related to the hatting industry, was renovated for residential use.The nineteenth-century county jail became a senior center, while the former public library houses offices and a creative arts center. The city's 1912 National Guard Armory no longer shelters drilling soldiers; it will be converted by Western Connecticut State University into an anthropological research center instead. Urban preservation work has been furthered by listing individual properties on the National Register of Historic Places, as well as creation of several large National Register Historic Districts.

In the second half of the twentieth century evolving minority communities included immigrants who trod the path blazed by their predecessors, seeking success and acceptance in an unfamiliar environment. During World War II demands for labor spurred in-migration of African Americans from New York and the South, along with new residents of African descent from the Caribbean. In the 1950s and 1960s significant numbers of Hispanics joined the flow. For the first time

Danbury, the region's largest urban municipality, supported a substantial minority community, including 1,369 African Americans by 1960. In the next 30 years those numbers increased sharply, to more than 4,300. Even more dramatic was the rise in Hispanic residents, totalling over 5,000 in 1990. Danbury's Asian American population grew quickly also, to almost 2,600. In addition to these groups, in the 1960s and 1970s Danbury attracted a significant Portuguese population, drawn largely from the Azores, the European mainland, Brazil, and former Portuguese colonies in Africa. The new immigrants supported their own newspaper and radio station.

In other Northwest Highlands communities, however, the pace of racial and ethnic change has been much slower. Torrington, the region's second-largest urban center, with a 1990 population of more than 33,000, counted approximately 570 African American, 415 Asian American, and 360 Hispanic residents, barely 4 percent of the total. Suburban and rural towns frequently sustain even lower numbers. According to the most recent census, New Milford's 350 African American residents constituted just 1.5 percent of population, while in Ridgefield the proportion was lower still, just one-half of 1 percent.

Industry

The postwar era proved challenging, and often dispiriting, to industrial communities. In some cases changing fashions or new products undercut local efforts. Simultaneously, lower labor, energy, and transportation costs in other parts of the country either lured many corporations away from the Northwest Highlands or convinced area manufacturers to close up shop. A period of tremendous economic readjustment began. The decline of manufacturing hit Torrington and Winsted particularly hard, especially in the textile, brass, and machinery sectors.

During the decades after 1950 Torrington watched one large concern after another shut down, move away, or sharply reduce its workforce. Substitution of plastic and aluminum for products formerly manufactured of brass proved devastating. Local losses included the Coe (American) Brass plant, Hendey Machine, Fitzgerald Gasket, and Torrin Company, all firms established in the nineteenth or early twentieth centuries. Such losses, including several thousand high-paying manufacturing jobs, temporarily caused some of the highest unemployment rates in Connecticut and substantial declines in Torrington's grand list.

Winsted experienced similar industrial displacement. Once a leading producer of knit goods, Winsted's major hosiery mills went through an era of reorganization, automation, layoffs, and relocation. Norfolk Hosiery Company, first organized in 1857, eventually shifted all manufacturing to New Brunswick, New Jersey. The century-old Winsted Hosiery Company reorganized in 1960 and then moved to Asheville, North Carolina, in 1965. The Gilbert Clock Company, another of the city's industrial pioneers, ceased operations in 1964.

Yet another of the Northwest Highland's famous manufacturers faltered in this period. The Collinsville Axe factory, a world leader in production of edged tools and implements, had experienced considerable expansion in the late nineteenth century, installed two hydroelectric

plants on the Farmington River, employed 1,000 workers c. 1920, and remained very active until the mid-twentieth century. Thereafter the situation deteriorated rapidly as damage inflicted during the 1955 flood, excessive dependence on foreign markets, and seeming disinterest of corporate directors led to closure of the plant in 1967 after nearly 130 years of operation. Danbury's mainstay hatting industry proved unable to stem the tides of change either. Though some pundits blamed the industry's demise on President John F. Kennedy's failure to wear a hat to his January 1961 inauguration, the seeds of failure were planted long before that. Overseas competition and the instability of a single-product economy combined with changing fashions to close virtually every hat manufacturing facility in the city within the space of a few decades. Of all the older industrial centers, however, Danbury enjoyed the most success re-orienting and reinvigorating its economy, thanks in part to new transportation links via Interstates 84 and 684 and its position on the fringe of the New York metropolitan area.

Efforts at diversification begun in the 1920s continued through the 1940s, so that by 1950 non-hatting industrial employment already exceeded levels in Danbury's mainstay industry. In the postwar era the city attracted several relocating companies, both headquarters and manufacturing plants, including BEROL, Republic Foil, Preferred Utilities, Connor Engine, Heli-Coil, National SemiConductor, Sperry Products, and Davis and Geck. New industrial parks situated on the urban periphery provided large efficient spaces and easy transportation access. Between 1950 and 1969 a total of 50 new companies arrived, augmented by 40 more in the next five years. The greatest relocation came in the late 1970s when Union Carbide moved its corporate headquarters to the Ridgebury district near the New York State line, bringing 2,000 employees with it.

Agriculture

Rural life in the Northwest Highlands witnessed dramatic changes in the twentieth century. Tractors, combines, and pickup trucks replaced horse-drawn vehicles and machinery of the early 1900s. Electricity and telephone service became nearly universal by 1950, and have since been supplemented by satellite dishes and computers. Electric milking machines now do the work of a dozen hands. One-room schoolhouses gave way before consolidation, a movement which accelerated greatly in the 1920s as paved roads and efficient motor vehicles made townwide transport possible. Torrington began consolidating rural schools after creation of city government in 1923. Many other towns, large and small, commenced erecting consolidated elementary schools and regional high schools shortly thereafter. Salisbury closed its last one-room schoolhouse in 1962.

Since the 1930s the number of farms in the region has fallen sharply, reflecting statewide trends. In that period Connecticut saw the amount of land devoted to agriculture reduced by 75 percent and the number of farms by 80 percent. By the mid-1990s less than 300 working dairy farms survive, with fewer than 60 in the Northwest Highlands. Those which remain face great challenges. Increasing costs for feed, fertilizer, labor, insurance, and equipment combined with stagnant prices and competition from more efficient out-of-state producers to drive many dairymen off the farm. The region never possessed vast supplies of excellent farmland to begin

with, while the value of land for commercial and residential development has risen sharply, convincing many other growers to abandon the effort. Fewer farms mean greater difficulty obtaining and maintaining equipment and securing treatment for animals. Few young people are able or willing to take up the challenges and burdens of trying to make a large farm successful.

In some towns traditional agriculture has virtually disappeared, especially in heavily developed places like Danbury, New Fairfield, and Ridgefield, or places with generally inhospitable terrain, such as New Hartford. In such areas less than 1 percent of the workforce is employed in agriculture. Even more traditionally agricultural communities have seen the farming economy contract sharply. Only three dairy farms each remain in Kent and Norfolk, five in Cornwall and Litchfield, six in Salisbury and New Milford. North Canaan, however, with more than 1,300 dairy cows, continues as one of Connecticut's most important milk-producing communities. In one of the state's few surviving rural areas, the proportion of the workforce employed in agriculture ranges from approximately 3 percent in Kent and Norfolk to 5 percent in Canaan, Goshen, and Sharon, 6 percent in Salisbury, and more than 7 percent in Cornwall.

The Northwest Highlands also support a variety of other agricultural activities. Many fruit and vegetable farms serve local markets. Each year the region attracts numerous customers for its apples, maple syrup, and cultivated Christmas trees. Horse farms have grown in step with the area's recreational posture, while nurseries and greenhouses do a booming business supplying trees, plants, and shrubs to urban and suburban consumers.

Modern Architecture

Public and private buildings erected after 1930 embraced a great variety of styles, some traditional and others frankly modern. Though enjoying its greatest popularity before 1930, the Colonial Revival style continued as a mainstay of civic architecture for several decades thereafter. Canaan's Housatonic Valley Regional High School, which opened in 1939, is a fine example of the style, its design features including a two-story entrance portico, small-pane double-hung sash, cupola, and large elliptical windows in the end gables. Lakeville's hip-roofed post office (1940) exhibits a simplified Colonial Revival form, while many of the large buildings erected at the nearby Hotchkiss School, the work of Delano and Aldrich and others, maintain the Georgian Revival theme established in previous years. At a more modest level, residential neighborhoods from Torrington to Ridgefield to Norfolk contain hundreds of Colonial and Dutch Colonial homes, styles popularized before 1930. During the 1930s and 1940s the traditional Cape Cod also re-emerged as a popular house form.

The same federal programs which played such a large part in expanding and improving Connecticut's woodlands and recreational facilities during the Great Depression also left an important architectural heritage in a series of interesting forest structures. Several were built at convenient locations along the Appalachian Trail. Executed to the highest standards of workmanship and design, they are well-proportioned and well-constructed, exhibiting excellent masonry and detailing. A number of rustic styles were employed for these buildings. The

American Legion Forest Shelter in Barkhamsted, completed in 1935, is a saddlenotched log trail shelter, while the People's Forest Museum, also constructed in 1935, is a nicely detailed fieldstone building with bellcast gable roof. A ski cabin erected in Hartland's Tunxis Forest (1937) utilizes notched log walls with pyramidal (battered) corners and an external fieldstone chimney. Other fine examples stand in Cornwall (Red Mountain Shelter, 1934), Hartland (Tunxis Forest Headquarters House, 1936), Sharon (Cream Hill Shelter, 1935), and Torrington (Paugnut Forest Administration Building, 1937) (all Connecticut State Park and Forest Depression-Era Federal Work Relief Program Structures Thematic Resources).

At the same time architects and communities utilized the Colonial Revival style for homes, shops, and public buildings, Modernist alternatives began to appear, originating first in Europe and then migrating westward. The new aesthetic valued simplicity, streamlining, and a conscious break with historical precedent. One variant, the Art Deco style, fused modernism and fantasy, incorporating stepped towers, buttresses, and facades, and decorative elements ranging from chevrons and zig-zags to geometric floral and sunrise motifs. Art Moderne buildings, a second Modernist style, drew heavily on contemporary industrial design by rejecting embellishment and instead emphasizing smooth streamlined surfaces, flat roofs, steel railings, curving wall planes, and ribbons of windows formed of glass block or industrial metal sash.

Art Deco buildings gained considerable popularity in the region's largest cities. The finest example in the region, Torrington's Warner Theater (Downtown Torrington Historic District, Photograph 19), was built by the Warner Brothers Studio and completed in 1931, the work of New York architect Thomas Lamb (1871-1942), particularly well-known for his theater designs. Part of a larger block of Art Deco structures, the theater itself has a soaring facade and projecting marquee, incorporating towers with ziggurat and stepped metal caps and vertical reeding. The interior retains its period detailing of lavish geometric and floral designs. Danbury's Art Deco structures include the Woolworth Building on Main Street (Main Street Historic District), which exhibits a glazed terracotta facade in ziggurat style, with the storefront incorporating a frieze employing a chevron design.

One of the finest regional examples of Art Moderne design is, ironically, one of the most modest, the Collins Diner located in the center of Canaan Village (Canaan Village Historic District). Among the best of its kind in the state, it was manufactured in 1942 by the Jerry O'Mahoney Company of Elizabeth, New Jersey. The diner's exterior fabric, almost unaltered, includes aluminum and blue enamel panels, glass-block vestibule, operable vent panels in the monitor-type roof, and original clock over the entry. The diner retains its interior appointments as well. Moderne design principals also found their way into more traditional construction projects, one notable example being the c. 1935-1940 Lilley Block in downtown Torrington (27-33 Main Street; Downtown Torrington Historic District).

The roots of the International style, the most influential Modernist style, reach back to early twentieth-century Europe, especially the work of pioneers like Walter Gropius (1883-1969), J. J. P. Oud (1890-1960), Le Corbusier (Charles-Edouard Jeanneret, 1887-1965), and Mies van der Rohe (1886-1969). In the 1920s Walter Gropius' Dessau-based Bauhaus School emerged as an important center of International-style design. Architects working in this style favored

asymmetrical rectilinear compositions, where mass and weight were minimized in favor of volume, and predominant materials like steel, concrete, stucco, and glass. Design features included flat and cantilevered roofs, horizontal bands of windows, corner windows, total absence of moldings, and generally elimination of decorative details. Emigration to the United States in the 1920s and 1930s by several important advocates, Gropius and Mies among them, helped disperse the style across the Atlantic Ocean.

Among the best-known proponents of the International style was William Lescaze (c.1896-1969). Born in Zurich, he emigrated to the United States c. 1920 and won important commissions in the Philadelphia area, including Oak Lane Country Day School (1929) and the Philadelphia Savings Fund Society building, completed three years later and designed in partnership with George Howe (1886-1955). That same year he secured his first residential commission, a house in New Hartford, Connecticut, for Frederick Vanderbilt Field, grandson of retail magnate Marshall Field and great-grandson of Commodore Cornelius Vanderbilt. Lescaze's creation, known as Sun Terrace (Photograph 20), sits on a south-facing wooded hilltop, a one-and-one-half-story concrete and stucco structure with a steel skeleton. The design, devoid of ornamentation, employs asymmetrical rectilinear massing, ribboned and cornered windows with minimum reveals, flat and cantilevered roofs, exposed columns, and a curved second-story surface which contrasts with the house's overall rectangular plan. The importance of this Northwest Highlands landmark is augmented by the fact that it is one of the first International-style country houses erected in the nation.

Litchfield contains several Bauhaus-derived buildings designed by Marcel Breuer (1902-1981), one of the most influential proponents of the International style. Born in Hungary, Breuer moved to Vienna in 1920, and then to Walter Gropius' Bauhaus School shortly thereafter. In 1937 he emigrated to the United States, joining his mentor at Harvard University. After a career which also took him to South America, Breuer settled in Connecticut. Breuer's work included the Whitney Museum in New York City, the Pennsylvania Pavilion at the 1939 New York World's Fair, and headquarters of the U. S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) in Washington, D. C. He was drawn to Litchfield by Rufus Stillman, former chairman of the Torin Company. Beginning in 1950 with the first of three successive Stillman homes, Breuer designed nearly a dozen structures in Litchfield, including elementary schools in Bantam and Northfield, Litchfield High School, and three residence halls at the Connecticut Junior Republic. Breuer also designed Caesar Cottage in Lakeville (1952) and Kent Girls School Chapel (1957).

In recent decades a profusion of building types has appeared throughout the Northwest Highlands. Modern commercial and public buildings typically incorporate International-style elements, including flat roofs, unembellished facades, visible structural elements, horizontal massing, and continuous bands of windows. Many schools constructed in the region after 1950 to accommodate rapidly growing numbers of young pupils fall into this category, as do offices and retail stores which appeared along major highways. Others designers, especially after 1970, adopted a Post-Modernist aesthetic, which alludes to historical styles in shape, massing, and details, though often abstracted, simplified, or altered in proportion.

Residential construction has utilized a similar mix of styles. After 1945 the Colonial and Cape Cod residences erected in many suburban subdivisions were challenged, but never fully displaced, by the California Ranch, and its Raised Ranch and Split-Level variants. In fact, the traditional center-hall five-bay Colonial remains among the most popular house types. A significant number of International-style residences, usually architect-designed, were also constructed, followed by Post-Modernist houses which reference various Colonial, Stick, and Shingle precedents, but with exaggerated forms and details. Since 1970 architects have revisited a number of classical and historical styles, and many updated versions of Mansard, French, Georgian, and Mediterranean houses have appeared.

VI. CONCLUSION

In one billion years of geological upheaval and ten thousand years of human habitation the Northwest Highlands Geographic Historic Context has experienced ceaseless change. Mountains have risen and fallen, glaciers advanced and melted away. Native Americans succeeded their Paleo-Indian forebears, supplanted, in turn by new settlers from Europe, Africa, South America, the Middle East, and elsewhere. A society of hunter-gatherers gave way to men and women who tilled the soil, in turn largely replaced by those who dwelt in cities and suburbs and labored in factories, shops, and offices. Builders have utilized bark and saplings, timber frames and clapboards, bricks, stones, and cement to create shelter and workplaces. Where once simple trails and earthen paths threaded through the forest, parallel steel rails and broad concrete highways define the landscape. Forest and swamp became fields and towns, and then often reverted to forest again.

Changes, large and small, continue to envelop the region's residents. Urban centers strive to reinvent their economies. Small towns replace the familiar dump with recycling and transfer stations. Communities everywhere wrestle with intertwined issues of growth and planning, zoning and new construction. Demographic transformation continues unabated. Between 1990 and 1995 Danbury added 1,000 new residents, New Milford added 1,300. In fact, all but three towns grew in that period, several by substantial percentages. Those who move away are quickly replaced by newcomers. Regional industry also blends the old and the new. In Torrington the venerable Torrington Company and Turner and Seymour trace their origins to the nineteenth century. Other communities, Danbury and neighboring towns especially, support a range of high-tech and corporate activities which point towards the next millennium.

Despite continuous changes, much of the region's tradition survives. Though under extreme pressure, farming remains an important element of life in the Northwest Highlands. A statewide farmlands preservation program begun in 1978 has acquired development rights to approximately 40 agricultural properties in the region, permitting owners to continue practicing their age-old occupation. Apple orchards flourish in several towns. Communities in the colonial Evergreen District have finally discovered a crop which thrives in the rocky acidic soils encountered there, Christmas trees. Each year residents and visitors attend one of several agricultural fairs which fill the calendar.

In smaller communities old-fashioned town meeting democracy thrives. Church spires punctuate rural vistas. Stone walls and historic buildings everywhere embody the past, be they large mills, public libraries, immigrant churches, downtown commercial blocks, derelict iron furnaces, or thousands of houses in a dozen distinctive styles. Autumn in the Northwest Highlands still means winding roads dotted with farm stands, lined with maple trees wearing crimson and gold. Along any route, Interstate 84 as it speeds by Danbury, Route 7 or 8 up the Housatonic and Naugatuck Valleys, Route 44 on the way to Hartford, or Route 63 as it wends southward from Falls Village to Litchfield, old and new combine in a seamless tapestry. As William Faulkner observed about another region with a rich history, "The past is never dead; it is not even past."

ENDNOTES

[1]Fear of raids by hostile tribes in New York and Canada persisted into the 1740s. In 1744-1745 Torrington settlers erected a palisaded fort of split chestnut logs on Klug Hill. In nearby Goshen the houses of Gideon Thompson, Jonathan North, and John Beach were also palisaded against Indian attack. Additional fortifications were erected at New Hartford and elsewhere. In 1747 several Northwest Highlands towns requested aid in defending their settlements. No attacks, however, occurred.

[2]*History of Litchfield County* (J. W. Lewis, 1881), p. 378.

[3]Geoffrey L. Rossano, ed., *Salisbury Town Meeting Minutes: 1741-1784* (Salisbury Association, 1988), pp. 11, 62.

[4]Wayne Andrews, *Architecture, Ambition, and Americans* (Harper and Brothers, 1955), p. 48.

[5]*History of Litchfield County,* p. 102.

[6]In the mid-1840s the Milton mercantile partnership of Gerritt Welch and Harold Kilborn stocked 34 kinds of fabric, as well as socks, boots, hats, gloves, fancy spices, molasses, flour, beef, cod, bluefish, oysters, medicine and liniments, almanacs, pencils, pens, ink, notebooks, primers, spellers, farm implements, harness, nails, door handles, spirits, and sarsaparilla.

[7]John W. Barber, *Connecticut Historical Collections* (Durrie & Peck, 1836), p. 485.

[8]Eliphaz Alvord, *Winchester-Winsted in 1813* (Reprinted by Acorn Club of Connecticut, 1961), pp. 5-6.

[9]D. Hamilton Hurd, *History of Fairfield County* (J. W. Lewis, 1881), p. 653.

[10]John Pease and John Niles, *A Gazetteer of the States of Connecticut and Rhode Island* (William Marsh, 1819), p. 248.

[11]*History of Fairfield County,* p. 653.

[12]Barber, *Connecticut Historical Collections,* p. 468.

[13]*Ibid.,* p. 481; *History of Fairfield County*, p. 653.

[14]*History of Fairfield County,* p. 203.

[15] In addition to the development of larger denominations, the early national period also witnessed religious activity of a more idiosyncratic sort. Jemima Wilkinson, who called herself

the "Second Incarnation," appeared in New Milford in 1782, and by 1784 had gathered a congregation called Jemimakins around her. They soon erected a modest frame church in Northville. By 1789, however, Wilkinson had relocated to a small settlement in Yates County, New York, called Jerusalem. Several local adherents followed her westward.

[16]Chard P. Smith, *The Housatonic-Puritan River* (J. J. Little and Ives Co., 1946), p. 226. A significant degree of religious diversity resulted from these decades of extraordinary activity, marking a rather sharp break with colonial traditions. Even a town as small as Sherman, only 938 inhabitants in 1840, supported four separate denominations, including a group of Quakers. In Burlington for a time could be found one of the region's few congregations of Seventh-Day Baptists, first organized in 1780.

[17] *History of Litchfield County,* pp. 305-306.

[18] Other children of Reverend Beecher born in Litchfield included Henry Ward Beecher and Isabella Beecher Hooker.

[19]*History of Litchfield County,* pp. 425-426, 620.

[20]On occasion, slaves freed themselves. In 1782 the Reverend Amos Thompson of Virginia became pastor of the Canaan Congregational Church and brought several slaves North. A few years later he decided to return South and take his slaves with him, whereupon they fled to Norfolk, and remained hidden until Thompson went back to Virginia without them.

[21]*Winchester-Winsted in 1813,* p. 9.

[22]A. J. Downing, *The Architecture of Country Houses* (D. Appleton & Co., 1850), p. 105.

[23]In 1902 the United Hatters struck the factory of Deitrich Loewe in an attempt to win a "closed shop" contract from their employer. They were aided by a nationwide union-led boycott of Loewe hats. In 1903 Loewe retaliated and sued the union for violation of the Sherman Anti-Trust Act. After more than a decade of legal battles, Loewe's claims were upheld and in 1917 local union leaders forfeited their houses to pay the damages assessed.

[24]Newell Calhoun, *Picturesque Litchfield County* (The Gravure Illustration Company, 1900), pp. 7-16.

[25]Flood control efforts also included construction of large dams in Winsted and Colebrook. Creation of Colebrook River Lake caused parts of the old village of Robertsville to be razed. Some houses were moved, as was the cemetery. Creation of Barkhamsted Reservoir to augment Hartford's supply of fresh water divided Hartland in half, hence East and West Hartland.

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While no single publication comprehensively examines the history of the Northwest Highlands, many sources are available. These include general histories, town and county studies, relevant government publications, nineteenth-century gazetteers, city directories, maps and atlases, newspapers, 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 herein, information gleaned from manuscript land records, vital statistics, probate records, and tax lists plays a vital role in any study of the region.

One useful starting point is Roger Parks' 1986 publication *Connecticut: A Bibliography of its History.* Valuable overviews of state history include Harold G. 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. Representative examples include *Puritans Against the Wilderness: Connecticut History to 1763* (Albert E. Van Dusen), *From Revolution to Constitution: Connecticut 1763-1818* (Freeman W. Meyer and David M. Roth), 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 Northwest Highlands 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 *Indians of the Housatonic and Naugatuck Valleys* (1882) and John De Forest's *History of the Indians of Connecticut* (1853) contain considerable information, but much of it anecdotal and less than authoritative.

Three works from the early nineteenth century provide excellent snapshots of communities throughout the Northwest Highlands. 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 much-traveled 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 multi-volume, 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), J. Hammond Trumbull's *Memorial History of Hartford County* (1886), and the Lewis Publishing Company's *History of Litchfield County* (1881).

Many local histories, of varying quality and scope, exist for towns in the Northwest Highlands. The most substantial document the history of Danbury and Torrington, the region's leading urban centers. Useful sources include James M. Bailey, *History of Danbury, Connecticut, 1684-1896*, William E. Devlin, *We Crown Them All: An Illustrated History of Danbury*, and Samuel Orcutt, *History of Torrington*. Smaller locales have also generated many studies, and good examples include Charles S. Grant, *Democracy in the Connecticut Frontier Town of Kent*, A. G. Hibbard, *History of the Town of Goshen*, Edward C. Starr, *A History of Cornwall, Connecticut*, Alain C. White, *The History of the Town Of Litchfield 1720-1920*, and John Boyd, *Annals of Winchester*.

City directories for Danbury and Torrington-Winsted, published from the late nineteenth century 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 or business, and in the twentieth century alphanumerically by street address, 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.

Large-scale maps and atlases published from the mid-nineteenth century onward are indispensable historic resources. Wall maps published by the Clark Company of Philadelphia in the 1850s provide overviews of Connecticut, individual counties, and specific towns, including smaller inset maps of important villages and hamlets and illustrated vignettes of houses and other significant buildings. The Clark maps locate and identify virtually all residential, municipal, and commercial structures 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 prepared 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.

For the period since World War II, publications of various state agencies and departments are vital to understanding continuing economic and social transformation 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 of Historic Places 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 Northwest Highlands. Constituting the most substantial and accessible body of information currently available, these reports typically contain historical and architectural overviews, as well as maps, photographs, and specific data for individual structures. To date 112 individual properties and 29 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 15 towns, documenting literally thousands of houses, factories, inns, railroad stations, stores, cemeteries, bridges, and monuments.

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Historical and Architectural Surveys

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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.

BARKHAMSTED

Townwide, Reconnaissance-level, 41 properties. Litchfield Hills Regional Planning Agency and Connecticut Historical Commission, 1978.

CANTON

Townwide, Intensive-level, 101 properties. Denegre and Connecticut Historical Commission, 1979.

COLEBROOK

Townwide, Intensive-level, 151 properties. Connecticut Historical Commission, 1997.

DANBURY

Balmforth-Maple Avenue Corridor, Intensive-level, 187 properties. Danbury Preservation Trust, 1981.
Main Street (Central Business District), Intensive-level, 254 properties. Danbury Preservation Trust and Connecticut Historical Commission, 1980.
Northwest Neighborhoods, Intensive-level, 140 properties. Danbury Preservation Trust and Connecticut Historical Commission, 1987.

GOSHEN

Townwide, Reconnaissance-level, 11 properties. Litchfield Hills Regional Planning Agency and Connecticut Historical Commission, 1978.
West Goshen Area, Intensive-level, 22 properties. Town of Goshen and Connecticut Historical Commission, 1985.

HARWINTON

Townwide, Reconnaissance-level, 24 properties. Litchfield Hills Regional Planning Agency and Connecticut Historical Commission, 1978.

LITCHFIELD

Bantam and Milton, Intensive-level, 215 properties. Greater Litchfield Preservation Trust and Connecticut Historical Commission, 1987.
Borough, Intensive-level, 391 properties. Greater Litchfield Preservation Trust and Connecticut Historical Commission, 1987.
Milton, Reconnaissance-level, 61 properties. Litchfield Hills Regional Planning Agency and Connecticut Historical Commission, 1980.
Northfield, Intensive-level, 117 properties. Greater Litchfield Preservation Trust and Connecticut Historical Commission, 1986.

NEW HARTFORD

Pine Meadow, Reconnaissance-level, 22 properties. Litchfield Hills Planning Agency and Connecticut Historical Commission, 1978.
Town Center, Reconnaissance-level, 23 properties. Litchfield Hills Regional Planning Agency and Connecticut Historical Commission. 1978.

NEW MILFORD

Central Business District, Intensive-level, 99 properties. New Milford Preservation Society and Connecticut Historical Commission, 1979.

NORFOLK

Townwide, Reconnaissance-level, 41 properties. Litchfield Hills Regional Planning Agency and Connecticut Historical Commission, 1978.

NORTH CANAAN

Canaan Village, Intensive-level, 75 properties. Falls Village-Canaan Historical Society and Connecticut Historical Commission, 1988.

RIDGEFIELD

Townwide, Intensive-level, 661 properties. Ridgefield Preservation Trust and Connecticut Historical Commission, 1979.

SALISBURY

Salisbury Center and Part of Lakeville, Intensive-level, 100 properties. Town of Salisbury and Connecticut Historical Commission, 1990.
Townwide, Intensive-level, 175 properties. Salisbury Association and Connecticut Historical Commission, 1996.
Village of Lakeville, Intensive-level, 100 properties. Salisbury Association and Connecticut Historical Commission, 1994.

TORRINGTON

Central Business District, Intensive-level, 229 properties. Torrington Historical Society and Connecticut Historical Commission, 1983.
Residential Neighborhoods, City of Torrington, Intensive-level, 200 properties. City of Torrington, 1987.
Torringford Road Area, Intensive-level, 47 properties. Torrington Historical Society and Connecticut Historical Commission, 1985.
Torrington Lower West Side, Intensive-level, 87 properties. Torrington Historic Preservation Trust and Connecticut Historical Commission, 1996.
Torrington West Side, Intensive-level, 58 properties. Torrington Historic Preservation Trust and Connecticut Historical Commission, 1994.
Townwide, Reconnaissance-level, 27 properties. Litchfield Hills Regional Planning Agency and Connecticut Historical Commission, 1978.
West Torrington-Wrightville, Intensive-level, 42 properties. Torrington Historic Preservation Trust and Connecticut Historical Commission, 1988.

WINCHESTER

Townwide, Reconnaissance-level, 16 properties. Litchfield Hills Regional Planning Agency and Connecticut Historical Commission, 1978.
Winsted Central Business District, Intensive-level, 102 properties. Town of Winchester, 1987.

Part 2

Management Guide

VII. NORTHWEST HIGHLANDS PROPERTY TYPE MATRIX

	COLONIAL PERIOD 1614-1780	AGRICULTURAL AND EARLY INDUSTRIAL PERIOD 1780-1850	INDUSTRIAL AND URBAN GROWTH PERIOD 1850-1930	MODERN PERIOD 1930-1995
AGRICULTURE/ 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	warehouses/merchant houses/ artisans shops/apothecaries/ inns/taverns	warehouses/merchant houses/banks/ company stores/general stores/grain and feed stores/artisans shops/ apothecaries/inns/taverns/hotels	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	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/inns/hotels/ motels/restaurants/diners/bars/fast food chains/gas stations//garages/auto dealerships/parking garages
EDUCATION	schoolhouses	schoolhouses/academies	schoolhouses/academies/high schools/parochial schools/normal schools/elementary schools/ private day schools/boarding schools/state colleges	schoolhouses/academies/high schools/parochial schools/ elementary schools/private day schools/boarding schools/ state community colleges/state university branches
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/ workers housing	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 1930-1995
INDUSTRY	carriagemakers and wagonmakers shops/wheelrights shops/blacksmiths shops/coopers shops/joiners shops/ shoemakers shops/iron works/quarries/ potteries/sawmills/gristmills/fulling mills/oil mills/cider mills/distilleries/ tanneries	carriagemakers and wagonmakers shops/wheelrights shops/blacksmiths shops/coopers shops/shoemakers shops/ clothiers shops/iron works/slitting mills/ hat shops/machine shops/quarries/twine mills/printers shops/potteries/sawmills/ gristmills/cider mills/distilleries/oil mills/ tanneries/fulling mills/carding mills/spinning mills/weaving mills/paper factories/clock factories	carriagemakers and wagonmakers shops/wheelrights shops/blacksmiths shops/coopers shops/joiners shops/ clock factories/shoemakers shops/clothiers shops/foundries/iron furnaces/machine shops/brass factories/quarries/sawmills/ gristmills/breweries/cider mills/tanneries/ hat factories/creameries/textile mills/twine mills/brickyards/paper factories/ gas manufacturing facilities/electricity generating plants/petroleum storage tanks/ bicycle factories	machine shops/textile mills/brass factories/machine shops/paper and box factories/clock factories/corporate headquarters/electronic components factories/electricity generating plants/ petroleum storage tanks/chemical storage tanks/sand and gravel quarries/ printing plants
MILITARY	parade grounds/magazines/ encampments/hospitals/ warehouses/cannon foundries	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	post offices/courthouses/municipal buildings/jails/police stations/ firehouses/union halls/widows homes/ orphanages/hospitals/water pumping stations/sewage treatment plants/cities/ boroughs/greens/town farms/reservoirs/ water supply dams/parks	post offices/courthouses/municipal buildings/jails/federal correctional institutions/police stations/ firehouses/ 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 1930-1995
RELIGION	cemeteries/burying grounds/ meetinghouses/churches/Sabbath-day houses/parsonages	cemeteries/meetinghouses/Catholic churches/Protestant churches/Sunday schools/parsonages/rectories	cemeteries/Catholic churches/ Protestant churches/synagogues/ parsonages/rectories/parish houses/ chapels/convents/parochial schools/ 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/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/ski structures and trails
TRANSPORTATION	taverns/bridges/trails/post roads	bridges/post roads/stage roads/ stagecoach taverns/livery stables/ turnpikes/tollgates/tollhouses/train depots/railroad rights-of-way/freight yards	bridges/turnpikes/hotels/livery stables/ train depots/freight yards/railroad rights-of-way/streetcar barns/Trunk Line Highways/State Aid Roads/tourist courts/ airfields	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 10 percent of the annual Historic Preservation Fund grant administered by the Connecticut Historical Commission under the National Historic Preservation Act and in accordance with 36 CFR Part 61 must be distributed among Certified Local Governments in the state. Note: only municipalities which have at least one local historic district or property established pursuant to Connecticut General Statutes Section 7-147 *et seq.* are eligible for participation in this program.

National Register Listing: The National Register of Historic Places was established by the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966. Administered by the Connecticut Historical Commission under 36 CFR Part 60, the listing recognizes properties that have significance in American history, architecture, archaeology, and culture at the local, state, or national level. Districts, sites, buildings, structures, and objects may be nominated. Listing results in consideration in planning for federal, federally licensed, or federally assisted projects in accordance with Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act of 1906, 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 nomination 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 define a state scenic road as any state highway or portion thereof that (1) passes through agricultural land or abuts where a National Register or State Register property is located; or (2) affords vistas of marshes, shoreline, 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 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 with 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 commission 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 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 decision-making 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 remodeling 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 to unreasonably 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 the Connecticut General Statutes Section 29-259 (a) recognize the specific 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. NORTHWEST HIGHLANDS PROTECTION PROGRAM/ACTIVITY TABLE

	PROGRAM/ACTIVITY	BARKHAMSTED	BURLINGTON	CANAAN	CANTON	COLEBROOK	CORNWALL	DANBURY	GOSHEN	HARTLAND	HARWINTON	KENT	LITCHFIELD
FEDERAL PROTECTION PROGRAMS	National Register Listing	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
	Historic Resource Survey	X	X		X	X		X	X		X		X
	Certified Local Government Status				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	X
	Preservation Plan												
	Cultural Resources Planning Map												
	Overlay Zoning												
	Demolition Delay Ordinance				X							X	
	State Scenic Roads Designation	X			X	X					X	X	
	Municipal Scenic Roads Designation			X				X			X	X	
	National Register Land Record Citation												
	Design Review Board												
	Local Historic District/ Property Study Committee												
	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												

	PROGRAM/ACTIVITY	NEW FAIRFIELD	NEW HARTFORD	NEW MILFORD	NORFOLK	NORTH CANAAN	RIDGEFIELD	SALISBURY	SHARON	SHERMAN	TORRINGTON	WARREN	WINCHESTER
FEDERAL PROTECTION PROGRAMS	National Register Listing	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
	Historic Resource Survey		X	X	X	X	X	X			X		X
	Certified Local Government Status			X				X					
	National Historic Landmark Listing						X						
STATE AND LOCAL PROTECTION ACTIVITES	State Register Listing	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
	Preservation Plan												
	Cultural Resources Planning Map												
	Overlay Zoning												
	Demolition Delay Ordinance		X								X		
	State Scenic Roads Designation		X		X			X	X		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		X	X	X	X			
	Local Historic Preservation Trust			X							X		
	Municipal Preservation Planner												
	Municipal Historian		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 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 historic 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 significance; or

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

XI. NORTHWEST HIGHLANDS RESOURCES LISTED ON NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES

The listings below are alphabetized by resource name within the 24 towns and cities of the Northwest Highlands, 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 April, 1997.

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

BARKHAMSTED

AMERICAN LEGION FOREST CCC SHELTER (CONNECTICUT STATE PARK AND FOREST DEPRESSION-ERA FEDERAL WORK RELIEF PROGRAM STRUCTURES TR), West River Rd. in American Legion State Forest, 09/04/86
OLD RIVERTON INN, 436 E. River Rd., 07/24/92
PEOPLES FOREST MUSEUM (CONNECTICUT STATE PARK AND FOREST DEPRESSION-ERA FEDERAL WORK RELIEF PROGRAM STRUCTURES TR), Greenwood Rd. in Peoples State Forest, 09/04/86

BURLINGTON

BROWN TAVERN (Elton House), George Washington Tpke., 05/05/72
HART'S CORNER HISTORIC DISTRICT, 274 Monce Rd., 102 and 105 Stafford Rd., 07/08/87
HITCHCOCK-SCHWARZMAN MILL, Foote and Vineyard Rds., 09/13/77
TREADWELL HOUSE (Barton House), George Washington Tpke. at Green, 04/27/82
WIARD, JOHN, HOUSE, CT Rt. 4, 03/25/82

CANAAN

FALLS VILLAGE HISTORIC DISTRICT, Roughly bounded by Beebe Hill Rd., Railroad and Water Sts., and Brewster Rd., 06/14/79
HOLABIRD HOUSE (Gregg House), Kellogg Rd. and CT Rt. 126, 06/28/82
MUSIC MOUNTAIN, Music Mountain Rd., 12/18/87
SOUTH CANAAN CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH, Rt. 63 and Barnes Rd., 03/16/83

CANTON

COLLINSVILLE HISTORIC DISTRICT, Roughly bounded by Dunne Ave., Collins Rd., High St., Cemetery Rd., and Farmington River, 06/23/76, LHD

COLEBROOK

COLEBROOK CENTER HISTORIC DISTRICT, Roughly jct. of Rockwell, Colebrook, Schoolhouse, and Smith Hill Rds. and CT 183, 07/26/91, LHD
COLEBROOK STORE, CT 183, 04/26/76, HABS
PHELPS, ARAH, INN, Jct. of Prock Hill Rd. and CT 183, 08/05/71
PHELPS FARMS HISTORIC DISTRICT, CT 183, 08/18/83, LHD

CORNWALL

CORNWALL BRIDGE RAILROAD STATION, Jct. of Poppleswamp Brook Rd. and Kent Rd., 04/26/72
CREAM HILL AGRICULTURAL SCHOOL (Cream Hill Farm), Cream Hill Rd., 03/26/76
RED MOUNTAIN SHELTER (CONNECTICUT STATE PARK AND FOREST DEPRESSION-ERA FEDERAL WORK RELIEF PROGRAM STRUCTURES TR), CT 4 adjacent to Appalachian Trail, 09/04/86
RUMSEY HALL, 12 Bolton Hill Rd., 05/10/90
SEDGEWICK, MAJOR GENERAL JOHN, HOUSE, 52 Hautboy Rd., 04/08/92
WEST CORNWALL BRIDGE, Rt. 128 at Housatonic River, 12/30/75

DANBURY

BALL AND ROLLER BEARING COMPANY, 20-22 Maple Ave., 08/25/89
HEARTHSTONE, 18 Brushy Hill Rd., 12/31/87
IVES, CHARLES, HOUSE, 7 Mountainville Ave., 04/26/76
LOCUST AVENUE SCHOOL, Locust Ave., 05/30/85
MAIN STREET HISTORIC DISTRICT, Boughton, Elm, Ives, Keeler, Main, West, and White Sts., 11/29/83
MEEKER'S HARDWARE (The Red Block), 86-90 White St., 06/09/83
OCTAGON HOUSE, 21 Spring St., 05/07/73

RIDER, JOHN, HOUSE (Danbury Scott-Fanton Museum and Historical Society), 43 Main St., 11/23/77
P. ROBINSON FUR CUTTING COMPANY (Oil Mill Road Building), Oil Mill Rd., 11/30/82
TARRYWILE, Southern Blvd. and Mountain Rd., 01/06/86
UNION STATION, White St. and Patriot Dr., 09/25/86

GOSHEN

GOSHEN HISTORIC DISTRICT, Rts. 4 and 63 and Gifford Rd., 12/27/82
WEST GOSHEN HISTORIC DISTRICT, Roughly bounded by CT 4, Beach, Mill, and Milton Sts., and Thompson Rd., 10/23/87

HARTLAND

TUNXIS FOREST HEADQUARTERS HOUSE (CONNECTICUT STATE PARK AND FOREST DEPRESSION-ERA FEDERAL WORK RELIEF PROGRAM STRUCTURES TR), N. of Town Rd. on Pell Rd., 09/04/86
TUNXIS FOREST SKI CABIN (CONNECTICUT STATE PARK AND FOREST DEPRESSION-ERA FEDERAL WORK RELIEF PROGRAM STRUCTURES TR), W. end of Balance Rock Rd., 09/05/86

HARWINTON

BURLINGTON-HARMONY HILL ROADS HISTORIC DISTRICT, Harmony Hill, Locust Grove, and Burlington Rds., 12/06/96, LHD
LITCHFIELD-SOUTH ROADS HISTORIC DISTRICT, Roughly Litchfield Rd. from Bridge Park to Harwinton Heights Rd. and South Rd. from Litchfield Rd. to South Cemetery, 12/06/96, LHD
SKINNER, JASON, HOUSE (moved), 21 Wintergreen Circle, 06/19/85

KENT

BEARDSLEY, CAPTAIN PHILO, HOUSE, Beardsley Rd., 07/03/79
BULL'S BRIDGE, Bull's Bridge Rd. over Housatonic River, 04/26/72
FLANDERS HISTORIC DISTRICT, US 7, Cobble Rd., Cobble Ln., and Studion Hill Rd., 04/13/79, LHD
KENT IRON FURNACE (Sloane-Stanley Museum), US 7, 10/05/77

LITCHFIELD

BISSELL, HENRY B., HOUSE, 202 Maple Rd., 09/07/90
BULL, CAPTAIN WILLIAM, TAVERN, CT 202, 06/30/83
CATLIN, J. HOWARD, HOUSE, 14 Knife Shop Rd., 08/06/93

LITCHFIELD HISTORIC DISTRICT, North and South Sts., 11/24/68, NHL, HABS, LHD
LITCHFIELD HISTORIC DISTRICT, Coterminous with village and borough boundaries, 11/29/78, NHL, LHD
MILTON CENTER HISTORIC DISTRICT, Roughly bounded by Milton, Shearshop, Headquarters, Sawmill, and Blue Swamp Rds., 12/23/86, LHD
MOUNT TOM TOWER (also in Morris and Washington) off US 202 SE of Woodville, Mount Tom State Park, 12/02/93
REEVE, TAPPING, HOUSE AND LAW SCHOOL, South St., 10/15/66, NHL
TOPSMEAD, 25 and 46 Chase Rd., 11/19/93
TRINITY CHURCH, Milton Rd., 04/23/76
WELCH, DAVID, HOUSE, Potash and Milton Rds., 02/16/84
WOLCOTT, OLIVER, HOUSE, South St., 11/11/71, NHL

NEW FAIRFIELD

COSIER-MURPHY HOUSE, 67 CT 39, 07/31/91

NEW HARTFORD

CHAPIN, PHILIP, HOUSE, 1 Church St., 08/29/77
GILLETTE'S GRIST MILL, Maple Hollow Rd., 08/29/77
PINE MEADOW HISTORIC DISTRICT, Roughly bounded by Farmington River, N. Ten, Church, and Main Sts., 12/06/96, LHD
SUN TERRACE (Frederick V. Field House), Stub Hollow Rd., 12/20/78

NEW MILFORD

BOARDMAN'S BRIDGE, Boardman Rd. at Housatonic River, NW of New Milford, 05/13/76, HAER
J. S. HALPINE TOBACCO WAREHOUSE, West and Mill Sts., 12/16/82
HOUSATONIC RAILROAD STATION, Railroad St., 03/01/84
LOVER'S LEAP BRIDGE, S. of New Milford on Pumpkin Hill Rd., 05/13/76, HAER
MERRITT BEACH AND SON BUILDING, 30 Bridge St., 04/28/92
MERRYALL UNION EVANGELICAL SOCIETY CHAPEL, Chapel Hill Rd., 06/05/86
MERWINSVILLE HOTEL, E. of Gaylordsville on Brown's Forge Rd., 08/29/77
NEW MILFORD CENTER HISTORIC DISTRICT, Roughly bounded by Bennet and Elm Sts., Center Cemetery, East, S. Main, and Mill Sts., and Railroad, 06/13/86
NOBLE, JOHN GLOVER, HOUSE, 586 Danbury Rd., 08/29/77
SCHOVERLING, CARL E., TOBACCO WAREHOUSE, 1 Wellsville Ave., 04/12/82
UNITED BANK BUILDING, 19-21 Main St., 04/12/82
WILDMAN, E. A., AND CO. TOBACCO WAREHOUSE, 34 Bridge St., 10/20/88

NORFOLK

BRAMAN CAMP (TAYLOR, ALFREDO S. G., TR), Doolittle Lake, 08/02/82
CHILDS, STARLING, CAMP (TAYLOR, ALFREDO S. G., TR), Doolittle Lake, 08/02/82
FARNUM HOUSE (TAYLOR, ALFREDO S. G., TR), Litchfield Rd., 08/02/82
GOULD HOUSE (TAYLOR, ALFREDO S. G., TR), Golf Dr., 08/02/82
HAYSTACK MOUNTAIN TOWER, 43 North St., 12/02/93
HILLSIDE HOUSE (TAYLOR, ALFREDO S. G., TR), Litchfield Rd., 08/02/82
LOW HOUSE (TAYLOR, ALFREDO S. G., TR), Highfield Rd., 02/17/84
MEAD CAMP (TAYLOR, ALFREDO S. G., TR), Doolittle Lake, 08/02/82
MOSELEY HOUSE (TAYLOR, ALFREDO S. G., TR), Greenwoods Rd., 02/17/84
MOSS HILL (TAYLOR, ALFREDO S. G., TR), Litchfield Rd., 08/02/82
MULVILLE HOUSE (TAYLOR, ALFREDO S. G., TR), Mountain Rd., 02/17/84
NOBLE HOUSE (TAYLOR, ALFREDO S. G., TR), Highfield Rd., 02/17/84
NORFOLK COUNTRY CLUB HOUSE (TAYLOR, ALFREDO, S. G., TR), Golf Dr., 08/02/82
NORFOLK DOWNS SHELTER (TAYLOR, ALFREDO S. G., TR), Gold Rd., 02/22/84
NORFOLK HISTORIC DISTRICT, Roughly bounded by Greenwoods Rd. W. and Litchfield, Mountain, and Westside Rds., 10/15/79, LHD
RECTORY AND CHURCH OF THE IMMACULATE CONCEPTION (TAYLOR, ALFREDO S. G., TR), North St., 08/02/82
ROCKWELL HOUSE (TAYLOR, ALFREDO S. G., TR), Laurel Way W., 08/02/82
SHEPARD, JOHN, HOUSE (TAYLOR, ALFREDO S. G., TR), Shepard Park Rd., 08/02/82
SPORTS BUILDING (TAYLOR, ALFREDO S. G., TR), Windrow Rd., 02/22/84
STOEKEL, ROBBINS, HOUSE (TAYLOR, ALFREDO S. G., TR) Litchfield Rd., 08/02/82
TAMARACK LODGE BUNGALOW (Dennis Hill Park Pavilion), Dennis Hill Park, 09/16/77
THUMB, TOM, HOUSE (TAYLOR, ALFREDO S. G., TR), Windrow Rd., 02/22/84
WORLD WAR I MEMORIAL (TAYLOR, ALFREDO S. G., TR) Greenwoods Rd. W. and North St., 02/17/84

NORTH CANAAN

BECKLEY FURNACE (East Canaan Iron Furnace Industrial Monument), Lower Rd., 02/14/78
CANAAN VILLAGE HISTORIC DISTRICT, Roughly bounded by W. Main, Bragg, and Orchard Sts., and Granite Ave., 12/13/90
FORBES, SAMUEL, HOMESTEAD, 89 Lower Rd., 11/25/92
LAWRENCE, ISAAC, HOUSE (Lawrence Tavern), Elm St., 03/10/83
UNION DEPOT, US 44, 04/26/72

RIDGEFIELD

BRANCHVILLE RAILROAD TENEMENT, Old Main Hwy., 08/12/82
HYATT, THOMAS, HOUSE, 11 Barlow Mountain Rd., 02/16/84
JUNE, LEWIS, HOUSE, 478 N. Salem Rd., 02/16/84
KEELER TAVERN, 132 Main St., 04/29/82
LOUNSBURY, PHINEAS CHAPMAN, HOUSE (Grovelawn), 316 Main St., 10/03/75
REMINGTON, FREDERIC, HOUSE, 154 Barry Ave., 12/21/65, NHL
RIDGEBURY CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH, Ridgebury Rd. and George Washington Hwy., 03/01/84
RIDGEFIELD CENTER HISTORIC DISTRICT, Roughly bounded by Pound St., Fairview Ave., Prospect Ridge, and Whipstick Rd., 09/07/84, LHD
WEIR, J. ALDEN, FARM (District) (also in Wilton), Nod Hill Rd. and Pelham Ln., 01/05/84, NHS
WEST MOUNTAIN HISTORIC DISTRICT, CT 102, 02/23/84

SALISBURY

COFFING, JOHN C., HOUSE, US 44 W. of Lime Rock Rd., 12/18/90
LAKEVILLE HISTORIC DISTRICT, Bounded by Millerton Rd., Sharon Rd., Allen St., and Holley St., 8/02/96, LHD
LIME ROCK HISTORIC DISTRICT, Roughly bounded by White Hollow, Elm, Lime Rock, Norton Hill, and Furnace Rds., 07/05/84, LHD
SCOVILLE MEMORIAL LIBRARY, Main and Library Sts., 04/29/82
SCOVILLE POWERHOUSE, Twin Lakes and Beaver Dam Rds., 02/16/84

SHARON

CREAM HILL SHELTER (CONNECTICUT STATE PARK AND FOREST DEPRESSION-ERA FEDERAL WORK RELIEF PROGRAM STRUCTURES TR), Wickwire Rd., 09/04/86
GAY, EBENEZER, HOUSE, Main St., 07/09/79
SHARON HISTORIC DISTRICT, Roughly Main St., from Low Rd. to jct. with Mitchelltown, Amenia, Union, and W. Woods Rds., 04/15/93, LHD, HABS
SHARON VALLEY HISTORIC DISTRICT, Jct. of Sharon Valley and Sharon Station Rds., 09/09/82
SMITH, GOVERNOR, HOMESTEAD, South Main St., 03/25/82

SHERMAN

SHERMAN HISTORIC DISTRICT, Roughly jct. of Old Greenwich Rd. and CT 37 Center NE past jct. of CT 67E and CT 39N, and Sawmill Rd., 07/31/91, LHD

TORRINGTON

ALLDIS, JAMES, HOUSE, 355 Prospect St., 05/15/82
DOWNTOWN TORRINGTON HISTORIC DISTRICT, Roughly bounded by Church and Alvord Sts., Center Cemetery, Willow, E. Main, Litchfield, and Prospect Sts., 12/22/88
FYLER-HOTCHKISS ESTATE, 192 Main St., 02/12/87
PAUGNUT FOREST ADMINISTRATION BUILDING (CONNECTICUT STATE PARK AND FOREST DEPRESSION-ERA FEDERAL WORK RELIEF PROGRAM STRUCTURES TR), 385 Burr Mountain Rd., 09/05/86
SOUTH SCHOOL, 362 Main St., 03/27/86
TORRINGFORD STREET HISTORIC DISTRICT, Torringford St. from Main St. N. to W. Hill Rd., 07/31/91
TORRINGTON FIRE DEPARTMENT HEADQUARTERS, 117 Water St., 12/31/87
VILLA FRIULI, 58 High St., 04/11/91
WARNER THEATER, 68-82 Main St., 02/16/84
WARRENTON WOOLEN MILL, 839 Main St., 02/12/87

WARREN

WARREN CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH, 4 Sackett Hill Rd., 11/29/91

WINCHESTER

CAMP, MOSES, HOUSE, 682 Main St., 05/10/84
GILBERT CLOCK FACTORY, Wallens St., 12/13/84
ROCKWELL, SOLOMON, HOUSE, 226 Prospect St., 07/15/77, HABS
WINCHESTER SOLDIERS' MONUMENT. Crown St., 01/26/84
WINSTED GREEN HISTORIC DISTRICT. US 44 and CT 8, 08/16/77
WINSTED GREEN HISTORIC DISTRICT (BOUNDARY INCREASE), 86 Main St., 04/29/82
WINSTED HOSIERY MILL, Whiting St. at Holabird Ave., 02/21/85
WEST END COMMERCIAL DISTRICT, N. side of Main St. between Union and Elm Sts., 08/03/90