

Cotton, Class and Commerce

Elite Durability in Nineteenth Century Connecticut

**Thesis submitted for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
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Abstract

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Thomas R. Beardsley

The thesis challenges two enduring tenets in American history and culture: (a) that nineteenth century modernity generated widespread incidences of 'social disorder', culminating in democratic waves that swept mercantile, landowning elites from power; (b) that industrialisation is explainable by a binary theory either in terms of anachronistic or autocratic mill villages, or as a modern, urban, democratic process. The former belief institutionalises the nation's pluralistic culture. The latter, aided by an expanding heritage industry, underpin the overarching paradigms laid down by the former. Together, they not only conceal the enduring roots and nature of social power, but also render opaque industrial and economic developments beyond a prescribed region. In demonstrating elite persistence and continuity, and to highlight the complexities and subtleties constituting modernising processes, this study takes a prosopographical and cultural-geographic approach. It explores the careers, character and capital of a representative leadership group in postbellum northeastern Connecticut by melding together structure and agency within contexts of memory, perception and spatiality. Integrative approaches such as these reveal the complex and elaborate techniques that in promoting particular interpretations of the past, deflects attention from the ways in which power is preserved and transmitted. Through an analysis of short biographies, obituaries, credit records, probate papers, censuses, contemporary newspapers, maps, pamphlets, bird's-eye-views and urban promotional materials, the thesis demonstrates how elites shaped and exploited organisations, institutions, and associations, modernising landscapes, urban and rural spaces, monuments, historic sites, art, and architecture in order to preserve and reproduce their control and authority over time.

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Chapter One

Nature, History, and Industry

From the wide-world standpoint, and especially as viewed from the so-called centres of civilization, Windham County is certainly a remote dwelling place. Yet there are many reasons why those interested in human progress look to Windham County for inspiration. Those reasons may be stated in a general way as three-fold: natural, historic, industrial.¹

Historians have often alleged that in the nineteenth century rapid industrialisation and urbanisation created social disorder across the United States. Amid the turbulence and confusion, men with log-cabin roots lifted themselves by their bootstraps and forged a vibrant pluralist political system that dislodged a mercantile and landed elite from the leadership of America.² This dissertation dismisses that contention by demonstrating the enduring political power of a regional Yankee aristocracy located in five northeastern Connecticut textile-manufacturing towns between 1870 and 1890.

No single theory has adequately explained the role of elites in small nineteenth-century American towns. Treatment of this broad subject ranges from Tocqueville's focus on small-town civic and voluntary associations as bases of power to Bryce's observation that an unelected patrician elite controlled city bosses. Mumford touches upon the question in his definition of towns as forms and symbols of integrated social relationships, with community power located in 'the seat of the temple, the market, the hall of justice, the academy of learning'. More recently, Foucault and Soja have

¹ Allen B. Lincoln, *A Modern History of Windham County* (Chicago, IL: S. J. Clarke Publishing Company, 1920), 1: 75.

² Roland Berthoff, *An Unsettled People: Social Order and Disorder in American History* (New York: Harper and Row, 1971); 'The American Social Order: A Conservative Hypothesis', *American Historical Review*, 65 (1960): 495-514; Louis Hacker, *The Triumph of American Capitalism: The Development of Forces in American History to the End of the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1947); Richard Hofstadter, *The Age of Reform; from Bryan to F.D.R.* (New York: Knopf, 1955).

introduced the concept of 'heterotopia', or towns as spaces where power relations and cultural representations are formulated or change over time.³

Social theory based upon American exceptionalism and pluralism has constructed the frameworks for analysing the role of small-town elites. It has fragmented the debate to such a degree that basing a study on such approaches is highly problematic. Therefore, this study views five nineteenth century northeastern Connecticut towns from a number of perspectives at once and explores a variety of cultural, spatial, and social processes in order to reconstruct their social and cultural frameworks and demonstrate how a local elite controlled the towns' intellectual and physical spaces in the postbellum period.

Exceptionalism, Pluralism, and the Rhode Island System/ Waltham-Lowell System Dichotomy

Notions of American exceptionalism and pluralism have clouded historical analyses of urban elites and contributed to a misleading theory of American industrialisation. Exceptionalism defines the United States as a highly moral country unified by individualism, antistatism, populism, and egalitarianism. This idea, in turn, underpins the notion of American political pluralism; i.e., that power is diffused throughout society and that many groups and individuals share in decision making. Rarely questioned, these dual notions are constantly, consciously and unconsciously, promoted by public and private institutions and transmitted by communication and information media. They are also responsible for the development and dominance of an analytical theory of early American industrialisation commonly known as the Rhode Island System/Waltham-Lowell System dichotomy, and hereonin referred to as the Rhode Island/Waltham dichotomy or binary.

³ Andre Jardin, *Tocqueville: A Biography* (Baltimore, MD: John Hopkins University Press, 1998); James Bryce, *The American Commonwealth* (New York: McMillan and Company, 1893); Lewis Mumford, *The Culture of Cities* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1938); Michel Foucault, 'Of Other Spaces', *Diacritics* 16 (1986): 22-27; Edward W. Soja, 'Heterologies: A Remembrance of Other Spaces in the Citadel-LA', in Sophie Watson and Kathleen Gibson, eds., *Postmodern Cities and Spaces* (Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1995), 13-34.

Rhode Island cotton manufacturer Zachariah Allen's ruminations on his visit to Manchester, England, in early 1822 reflect early American exceptionalism. In comparing the social and industrial conditions in southeastern New England with those in Manchester, Allen referred to his homeland's river valleys, where mill villages and hamlets were springing up 'as if by magic' to provide work for the 'sons and daughters of respectable farmers'. In stark contrast, Manchester's overcrowded and impersonal conditions encouraged 'bold practises of vice and immorality'. Allen blamed the intolerable social conditions on modern technology in the form of steam engines and on the influx of barges from canals. In Rhode Island, however, paternalistic mill owners knew all their employees personally and could quickly discharge the 'dissolute and vicious'. Allen pleaded for America's industrial future:

God forbid how fondly the patriot may cherish the hope of increasing the resources of his country by opening and enlarging the channels of national industry, that there ever may arise a counterpart of Manchester in the New World.⁴

Allen's worst fears were realised, as Manchester soon arrived in New England. In the 1820s the American textile industry rapidly adopted steam-powered mass-production processes and built integrated, large-scale spinning and weaving mills at Waltham, Lowell, and Lawrence in Massachusetts. America's Industrial Revolution modified the idea of exceptionalism. The romantic, rural notion of capital accumulation in picturesque river valleys beside millstreams was quickly abandoned, and the Waltham-Lowell System became the model and showcase for modern American capitalism. The paternalistic mill villages and water-powered cotton mills in isolated, rustic locations, so admired by Zachariah Allen, became part of the anachronistic, undemocratic, and un-American Rhode Island System. Subsequently, historians dismissed all early regional industrial development beyond Massachusetts because they deemed it part of a discredited system.

⁴ Zachariah Allen, *Sketches of the State of the Useful Arts and of Society and Scenery in Great Britain, France and Holland or the Practical Tourist in Two Volumes* (Hartford, CT: Beach and Beckwith, 1835), 2: 151–53.

The Rhode Island/Waltham dichotomy is an example of the tailoring of exceptionalism to fit successive social and economic structures. This dualism misleadingly pigeonholes the northeastern Connecticut towns under consideration in this study—Windham, Thompson, Putnam, Killingly, and Plainfield. These towns are located geographically and politically in Windham County, which shares its northern border with Massachusetts and its eastern boundary with Rhode Island. The county's contributions to American industrialisation have been overlooked or ignored, their industrial communities considered mere offshoots of the Rhode Island System.

For Weil, who points to important local and regional developments beyond Massachusetts, the Rhode Island/Waltham dichotomy is a 'worn-out paradigm' of early American industrialization.⁵ In a similar vein, Conrad views the Rhode Island System as reflecting 'a dynamic middle ground between the large-scale Waltham-Lowell mills and the small, individually owned and operated mills found throughout the country'.⁶ Adopting Weil's hypothesis, this study views the five Windham County towns as part of Conrad's 'dynamic middle ground', a stage upon which to examine urban elites in an overlooked Connecticut region. However, in peering beyond exceptionalism and pluralism, it is necessary to add further analytical perspectives to obtain a clear picture of the role local urban elites played in industrialisation.

Beyond Pluralistic Approaches to American Urban Elites

The study of American elites has taken place largely within the confines of traditional elite theory, conflict elite theory, and, more recently, democratic elite theory. American elites first came under close academic scrutiny in mid-twentieth-century studies of political power at the local and national level. The emerging research models remained firmly fixed within the parameters of traditional and conflict elite theory, as were the models for exploring historical American

⁵ Francois Weil, 'Capitalism and Industrialization in New England, 1815-1845', *Journal of American History* 84 (1998): 1334-54.

⁶ James L. Conrad Jr., 'Drive That Branch: Samuel Slater, the Power Loom, and the Writing of America's Textile History', *Technology and Culture* 36 (1995): 1-28.

communities. To varying degrees, the vast majority of studies concluded that elites were a transient group whose power was limited because of the inherent competitiveness within pluralistic and meritocratic political systems.

Traditional elite theory is based on positivism, an organic analogy of society originally posited in Comte's *The Positive Philosophy of August Comte* (1853). Comte argued that the diverse parts of human society work in harmony, just like parts of the human body. Partly in response to Marxian theories of economic determinism, Spencer, Durkheim, Weber, and Pareto elaborated positivist theory as the nineteenth century progressed. Spencer's nine-volume *A System of Synthetic Philosophy* (1862–96) applied Darwin's theory of evolution to social development. In *The Division of Labour in Society* (1893), Durkheim studied the influence of social structures on the behaviour of individuals and explained social class in functional terms, wherein the division of labour filled the needs of society as a whole, not those of individuals. Discerning a direct relationship between the Protestant work ethic and the rise of Western capitalism, Weber's *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (1904), analysed modern capitalism as a function of Calvinism. Pareto, in *Course of Political Economy* (1906), maintained that history consisted of a succession, or circulation, of elites, with those with superior abilities in the lower strata eventually challenging and overcoming the ruling elite.

Adapting the social theories of liberalising Europe to fit the United States, these scholars redefined social class in terms of stratification, status, and power and employed the survival of the fittest, or social Darwinism, to explain away the vast fortunes garnered by an American elite during the postbellum years. The structural-functionalist theories of Parsons, Merton, Davis, and Moore, and the social mobility theories of Sorokin, Lipset, and Bendix further institutionalised traditional elite theory in American society.

Applying traditional elite theory to the functionality of American political culture, Parsons and Merton developed the theory of structural-functionalism.

Parsons' *The Structure of Social Action* (1937) merged economics and psychology to create a positivistic sociological theory that supposedly encompassed all human behaviour. Merton applied structural-functionality to criminal deviance and anomie whilst avoiding any analysis of power or social divisions. In 1945, Davis and Moore stressed the functionality of American society, maintaining that social inequality was an 'unconsciously evolved device' that ensured top jobs were taken 'by the most qualified persons'.⁷ Parsons further elaborated upon structural-functionalism in *The Social System* (1951), in which he theorised that American society consisted of mutually dependent parts that contributed to its efficient functioning.

The social mobility theories posited by Lipset, Bendix, and Sorokin contended that the United States avoided class conflict because its lower strata were 'vertically mobile', a phrase Sorokin coined in *Social Mobility* (1959) to describe how individuals move up and down career ladders.⁸ Lipset and Bendix's *Social Mobility in Industrial Society* (1959) maintained that mobility was essential for the stability of industrial society, since open access to elite positions allowed talented and ambitious people to rise from lower social levels, thus minimising societal unrest.

Structural-functionalism came under attack in the United States during the 1950s and 1960s. Mills, Dahrendorf, Horowitz, Domhoff, and Collins adopted the neo-Marxist theories of Mosca, Michels, and Gramsci and developed a conflict elite theory to explain American social conditions.⁹ According to this theory, the American upper class held on to economic and political power behind a facade of democracy. By

⁷ Kingsley Davis and Wilbert Moore, 'Some Principles of Stratification', *American Sociological Review* 10 (1945): 242–49.

⁸ Seymour Lipset and Reinhard Bendix, *Social Mobility in Industrial Society* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1959); Pitirim Sorokin, *Social and Cultural Mobility* (Glencoe, IL: Free Press, 1959).

⁹ C. Wright Mills, *The Power Elite* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1956); Ralf Dahrendorf, *Class and Social Conflict in Industrial Society* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press 1959); Irving Horowitz, *Three Worlds of Development: The Theory and Practise of International Stratification* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972); William G. Domhoff, *Who Rules America?* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1967); Randall Collins, *Conflict Sociology: Toward an Explanatory Science* (New York: Academic Press, 1974).

controlling all channels of information, elites transmitted their values to the wider, passive population, whose major social role was to consume. Despite the radical implications of this theory, critical elite theorists maintained that elite domination of society was not a threat to democracy because internal conflicts and competition between elites ensured that if necessary elites were replaceable without resorting to extra-democratic means.

Blending traditional elite theory with conflict elite, Parry, Aron, Etzioni-Halevy, and Gellner have contributed to the formulation of democratic elite theory, which claims that 'civil society' operates efficiently in a competitive system of free markets, democracy, socioeconomic flexibility, and social fluidity. In Gellner's view, civil society represents a type of social behaviour that mediates among the individual, the family, and the state. Its separate but interacting voluntary associations, citizens groups, and other nongovernmental bodies ensure that ruling groups cannot practise 'tyranny'. In linking the associational culture of small towns to the notion of civil society, voluntary associations and clubs become arbitrators between the rulers and the ruled.¹⁰

If democratic elite theory failed to break free of the traditional/conflict dichotomy in the study of elites, so too did the community power studies undertaken in the postwar period. The Chicago School of sociologists carried out the first studies in the 1930s within a strict structural-functionalist framework that applied ecological concepts to human behaviour.¹¹ This urban ecological model viewed the city as a social organism wherein communities evolved through natural processes such as competition, segregation, and dominance. For example, people competed for the best urban locations, and the market responded by creating differing land values that ultimately segregated people into groups that could afford specific rent values. The ecological model, which remained dominant in the numerous studies undertaken in

¹⁰ Geraint Parry, *Political Elites* (New York: Praeger, 1969); Raymond Aron, ed., *Politics and History: Selected Essays* (New York: Free Press, 1978); Eva Etzioni-Halevy, *The Elite Connection: Problems and Potential of Western Democracy* (Cambridge, MA: Polity Press, 1993); Ernest Gellner, *Conditions of Liberty: Civil Society and its Rivals* (New York: Allen Lane/Penguin Press, 1994).

¹¹ Amos Hawley, *Human Ecology: A Theory of Community Structure* (New York: Ronald Press Company, 1950).

the postwar period, resulted in four analytical theories: the reputational, decisional, positional, and historical.

Hunter pioneered the reputational approach in a study of politics in Atlanta, Georgia, which depicted the persisting dominant role of local elites.¹² Dahl responded to Hunter with a decisional theory of politics in New Haven, Connecticut, which maintained that as the twentieth century progressed, the local democratic system marginalized the elites who had dominated city politics during the nineteenth century.¹³ The positional method examined elite control at the national and international level, whilst the historical method combined aspects of decisional, positional, and reputational approaches to examine power relationships during a particular period.¹⁴ With few exceptions, all these studies favoured the conclusions of either traditional elite or conflict elite theory. Hunter's work, for example, supported conflict elite theory, while Dahl's supported traditional elite theory. Similarly, studies by Vidich and Bensman buttressed the claims of conflict elite theorists, while those of Polsby, Sayre, and Laufman supported the conclusions of traditional elite theorists.¹⁵

In the belief that the study of the past could reveal the nature of political power, historians searched nineteenth-century communities for clues, despite a paucity of suitable sources. Interpretations of data gleaned from tax rolls, real estate transactions, voluntary association membership, account books, and census figures were often inconclusive and rarely included cultural perspectives. The restrictive traditional elite/conflict elite theoretical framework also hindered them. Predictably,

¹² Floyd L. Hunter, *Community Power Structure: A Study of Decision Makers* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1953).

¹³ Robert A. Dahl, *Who Governs: Democracy and Power in an American City* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1961).

¹⁴ Michael Useem, *The Inner Circle: Large Corporations and the Rise of Business Political Activity in the U.S. and U.K.* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984).

¹⁵ Arthur J. Vidich and Joseph Bensman, *Small Town and Mass Society: Class, Power and Religion in a Rural Community* (Garden City, NJ: Doubleday, 1960); Wallace S. Sayre and Herbert Kaufman, *Governing New York City: Politics in the Metropolis* (New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 1960); Nelson B. Polsby, *Community Power and Political Theory* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1963).

historical researchers concluded either that the elites were swept away in democratic tidal waves, or that they persisted into the twentieth century. Comparative analyses of urban elites operating in different communities within specific regions also failed to break free from the traditional/conflict elite theory dichotomy.

Historians taking up the mantle of traditional elite theory, such as Hacker, Berthoff, Hofstadter, and Gutman, employed the term 'social disorder' to describe how rapid industrialisation and urbanisation removed elites from dominant roles in American society.¹⁶ Historians embracing conflict elite theory, including Alcorn, Pessen, and Blumin, argued that urban elites persisted.¹⁷ Ingham, Davies, and Folsom, who analysed the urban elite in communities within subregions of Pennsylvania and Ohio, reached similar conclusions. They argued that regional, business, transportation, communication, and family networks enabled elites to hang on to power longer. In response to evidence suggesting that elites persisted in the industrialising Eastern states, pluralist historians looked to the West.¹⁸ Wade and Boorstein suggested that opportunities for upward social movement were more common in Western cities and that elites found it difficult to establish economic, political, and social control.¹⁹

¹⁶ Hacker, *The Triumph of American Capitalism*; Hofstadter, *The Age of Reform*; Berthoff, *An Unsettled People*; 'The American Social Order: A Conservative Hypothesis'; Herbert Gutman, 'The Reality of Rags to Riches Myth', in Stephan Thernstrom and Richard Sennett, eds., *Nineteenth Century Cities* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1969), 98–124.

¹⁷ Richard S. Alcorn, 'Leadership and Stability in Mid-Nineteenth-Century America: A Case Study of an Illinois Town', *Journal of American History* 61 (1974): 685–702; Edward Pessen, *Jacksonian America: Society, Personality and Politics* (Homewood, IL: Dorsey Press, 1969); *Riches, Class, and Power Before the Civil War* (Lexington, MA: D. C. Heath, 1973); Robert H. Wiebe, *The Search For Order 1877–1920* (New York: Hill and Wang 1967).

¹⁸ John N. Ingham, *The Iron Barons: A Social Analysis of an American Urban Elite* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1978); Edward J. Davies II, *The Anthracite Aristocracy: Leadership and Social Change in the Hard Coal Regions of Northeastern Pennsylvania, 1800–1930* (DeKalb, IL: Northern Illinois University Press, 1985); Burton W. Folsom, *Urban Capitalists: Entrepreneurs and City Growth in Pennsylvania's Lackawanna and Lehigh Regions, 1800–1920* (Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1981).

¹⁹ Richard C. Wade, *The Urban Frontier: The Rise of Western Cities, 1790–1830* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1959); Daniel J. Boorstin, 'The Businessman as City Booster', in Alexander B. Callow Jr., ed., *American Urban History: An Interpretive Reader with Commentaries* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973), 94–101.

However, in studies of Chicago and Portland, Oregon, Buettinger and Merriam dismissed the 'egalitarian notions' of a classless West.²⁰

Urban elite studies have mainly taken place at the national or local level. Mills, Lundberg, and Gregory and Neu examined American elites nationally, whilst Baltzell carried out his studies of urban aristocracies either on a national scale or within the nation's largest cities.²¹ The Chicago School instigated the study of small towns in the 1920s. Subsequent studies by Shelton, Prude, Armstrong, Wallace, Green, Anderson, and Shlackman identified a range of social and political factors influencing the exercise of power in small towns.²² These studies, however, were limited both by focusing on a single town and by fitting the towns' elites neatly into a structural-functionalist framework.

The traditional/conflict elite dichotomy, now blended into a democratic elite theory, can add no new perspectives to the study of American elites. In an effort to

²⁰ Craig Buettinger, 'Economic Inequality in Early Chicago, 1849–1850', 57–62; Paul Merriam, 'Urban Elites in the Far West: Portland, Oregon, 1870–1890', 41–56, in Neil L. Shumsky, ed., *Social Structure and Social Mobility*, vol. 7, *American Cities* (New York: Garland, 1996).

²¹ C. Wright Mills, 'The American Business Elite: A Collective Portrait', in I. Horowitz, ed., *Power, Politics and People: The Collected Essays of C. Wright Mills* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1963), 110–39; Francis W. Gregory and Irene Neu, 'The American Industrial Elite in the 1870s: Their Social Origins', in William Miller, ed., *Men In Business: Essays on the Historical Role of the Entrepreneur* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1952); Ferdinand Lundberg, *America's Sixty Families* (New York: The Vanguard Press, 1937) and *The Rich and the Super-Rich* (New York: L. Stuart, 1969); E. Digby Baltzell, *Philadelphia Gentlemen; the Making of a National Upper Class* (Glencoe, IL: Free Press, 1958); *The Protestant Establishment: Aristocracy and Caste in America* (New York: Random House, 1964).

²² Cynthia Shelton, *The Mills of Manayunk: Industrialization and Social Conflict in the Philadelphia Region, 1787–1837* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986); Jonathan Prude, *The Coming of the Industrial Order: Town and Factory Life in Rural Massachusetts, 1810–1860* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983); Anthony F. C. Wallace, *Rockdale: The Growth of an American Village in the Early Industrial Revolution* (New York: Knopf, 1978); John B. Armstrong, *Factory under the Elms: A History of Harrisville, New Hampshire* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1969); Elin L. Anderson, *A Study of Cleavage in an American City* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1937); Liston Pope, *Millhands and Preachers: A Study of Gastonia* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1942); Vera Shlackman, *Economic History of a Factory Town. Chicopee, Massachusetts* (Northampton, MA: The Department of History of Smith College 1935); Constance M. Green, *Holyoke, Massachusetts: A Case History of the Industrial Revolution in America* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1939).

lower the analytical barriers erected by traditional, conflict, and democratic elite theory, this study mediates national and local views of urban elites by adopting a regional approach like that of Ingham, Folsom, and Davies to compare the roles of local elites across the five towns.²³ It also utilises Lampard and Pred's cultural geography to examine power relationships in the five towns being examined. This method dovetails with current discussions in cultural studies and the new historicism, which consider how 'region' can supplant discursive discussions of 'nation' for a better understanding of nineteenth-century American urban elites.²⁴

Lampard and Pred point out the importance of regional, ecological, and spatial factors in analyses of urban communities and argue that the cultural aspects of geography cannot be divorced from the economic, social, and political aspects of society. In this vein, urban historians and geographers have utilised central-place theory to explore the historical roles of small towns and their relationships with hinterlands, contiguous areas, and urban systems.²⁵

Urban geographers focus on a settlement's initial locational advantages, such as suitable waterpower privileges or a favourable position on a transport network, to predict the initial location of cities. Central-place theory also forecasts the functions of cities and their distribution within regions, showing how cultural impulses and retail capital naturally travel along the conduits linking urban settlements. Each central place develops as a service centre for the surrounding region and becomes home to a variety

²³ Ingham, *The Iron Barons*; Folsom, *Urban Capitalists*; Davies, *The Anthracite Aristocracy*.

²⁴ Johannes Willem Bertens and Hans Bertens, eds., *Writing Nation and "Writing" Region in America* (Amsterdam: VU University Press, 1997).

²⁵ Eric Lampard, 'The History of Cities in the Economically Advanced Areas', *Economic Development and Cultural Change* 3 (1954): 278-94; 'American Historians and the Study of Urbanization', *American Historical Review* 67 (1961): 49-61; Allen R. Pred, *Making Histories and Constructing Human Geographies: The Local Transformation of Practice, Power Relations, and Consciousness* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1990); *Urban Growth and the Circulation of Information: The United States System of Cities, 1790-1840* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1973).

of urban services, such as the transmission of information, the transportation of goods, and the provision of housing.²⁶

Whilst recognising the importance of intraregional conduits of transportation and information, central-place theory nevertheless fails to explain both how less favourable locations can evolve into sizeable urban communities and why many places in favourable locations do not fulfil their potential. For example, industrial ghost mill villages at relatively convenient sites litter Northeastern Connecticut. Linking geography and culture as Pred advocates can explain these errors and surprises. Pred considers all human activity geographical, especially the invisible geographies of power relations and human discourse. He has shown how the distribution of information affects community development and how cultural considerations can explain why elites and investors often made poor spatial decisions.

Rodger argues that in order to distinguish between urban place and process, descriptive studies should take place within an interactional framework that considers the cultural, physical, organizational, and behavioural aspects of urban life. A synthesis of the 'descriptive' and the 'interactional' enables an analytical approach that weaves together aspects of urban space, geography, and culture to reveal how political power and authority reproduces itself over time.²⁷

Structure and Agency in an Interactional Framework

Social psychology and structurational-temporal theory make it possible to explore the social structures responsible for developing and maintaining elite identity and character. Research in social psychology is critical in any analysis of power because it uncovers important aspects of political and social behaviour by exploring how people understand, influence, and relate to each other. In general, European

²⁶ Brian Berry and Chauncy Harris, 'Walter Christaller: An Appreciation', *Geographical Review* 50 (1970): 116–19.

²⁷ Richard Rodger, ed., *European Urban History: Prospect and Retrospect* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1993), 1–18.

research is embedded in a broader social and cultural tradition than American studies, taking into account the links between the individual and the collective and the subject and the system.²⁸ For example, in demonstrating social integration, Moscovici considers a society's beliefs, values, and ideologies in order to understand how individuals organize their experiences in the social realm.²⁹

European-based structuralist sociologists also posit an integrative perspective. By investigating the nature and continuity of social power over time, their historical sociological approach transcends the theoretical dualism of structure and agency that has hampered studies of power in American communities. Giddens, Elias, and Bourdieu have constructed interactional frameworks in order to explore the nature of the relationship between structure and agency and to understand how individuals produce or reproduce social structures in societies. This approach naturally draws upon a psychosocial perspective as it considers cultural interaction and aspects of individual character and identity.

Giddens evokes notions of time and space in conceptualizing the interaction between structure and agency as a duality in which neither exists independently. When activated by agents, structures dissolve time-space and trigger social interaction and relations. Because social power is unevenly distributed and contested, agents draw on the past and extend themselves into the future by developing 'storage capacity' through locales and techniques such as cities, markets, writing, and education. Accordingly, cities are 'power containers' wherein elites store allocative and authoritative resources in historical time.³⁰

²⁸ For examples of the American approach, see Theodor Adorno et al., *The Authoritarian Personality* (New York: Harper and Row, 1950); Fritz Heider, *The Psychology of Interpersonal Relations* (New York: Wiley, 1958); Solomon Asch, *Social Psychology* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1952).

²⁹ Serge Moscovici and Gerald Duveen, eds., *Social Representations: Explorations in Social Psychology* (New York: New York University Press, 2001).

³⁰ Anthony Giddens, *A Contemporary Critique of Historical Materialism*, vol. 1, *Power, Property and the State* (London: Macmillan, 1981), 91–100.

Elias, who is critical of all binary oppositions and philosophical dualisms characteristic of social theory, traced changes in manners and etiquette from the Middle Ages onwards in order to establish the complex relationship between the development of power relations and developments in personality structure. In exploring the structured processes that occur over time and space, he developed a 'process', or 'figurational', sociology to unravel the complex and dynamic relationships between people and between people and social organisations. Figurations are networks of interdependent human beings caught up in alliances, conflicts, and fluctuating balances of power. These webs of interrelations explain how people come to inhabit particular social positions over time.³¹

Bourdieu also employed an historical social-psychological approach to demonstrate how the present has emerged out of the past. He combined objective history, the history of theories, customs, and laws, with subjective history, an embodied history in the form of an individual's 'acquired and limited dispositions', or 'habitus'. Individuals enter social structures and then distinguish themselves through taste, language, breeding, education, and good manners. These collectives of elite individuals compete in 'fields of power' extending from the economic field at one end to the field of cultural production at the other. In the process, elite individuals and institutions utilise economic, cultural, and symbolic capital over time to maintain power. Mirroring the role of Elias's civilising process and figurations in identifying structure-producing processes, Bourdieu's interactional sociological approach reveals the chains of interdependencies that underpin the differences between social classes and assure the reproduction of those differences over time.³²

³¹ Norbert Elias, *What is Sociology?* (New York, Columbia University Press, 1978), 128–33; *The Court Society* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1983); *The Civilising Process*, vol. 1, *The History of Manners* (Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1978); vol. 2, *State Formation and Civilization* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1978).

³² Pierre Bourdieu, 'Men and Machines', in K. Knorr-Cetina and Aaron V. Cicourel, eds., *Advances in Social Theory and Methodology: Towards an Integration of Micro and Macro-Sociology* (London: Routledge, Kegan and Paul, 1981), 305–06; *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, Richard Nice, trans. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1984); *The Field of Cultural Production: Essays on Art and Literature* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993); *The State Nobility: Elite Schools in the Field of Power* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1996).

Abrams combined the structurational approach of Giddens, Bourdieu, and Elias with Goffman's theory of 'moral careers' to develop an interactive historical sociology. Goffman employed mental institutions as metaphors for society to demonstrate how selves have 'moral careers' that allow individuals to move back and forth between the personal and the public, between the 'self and significant society', within the confines of an institutional system, 'or a complex of personal and professional relationships'.³³ Abrams defines the moral career as 'the moving point of articulation' between a two-dimensional time of life history and world history characterised by a series of experiences of categories of people as represented by the actual biographies of specific individuals. He writes, 'The analysis of any career—surgeon, prostitute, marihuana user or revolutionary—is at root an analysis of the conditions governing recruitment to it, exclusion from it and especially success or failure within it'. Although moral careers are lived by individuals, they are the 'typical destinies of collectives'.³⁴

A postmodern cultural approach provides a window to view and a way to interpret the role that structure-agency and space-time played in elite persistence in the nineteenth century. Placing these conceptual categories in a postmodern context provides an interpretive framework based on an interactional, historical sociology of power.

A Postmodern Cultural Context

Thompson argued that the English working class contributed greatly to shaping its own class identity through a long historical process involving cultural and social factors.³⁵ Foucault, who stressed the importance of space in the construction of social power and knowledge, tested cultural assumptions in historical contexts in *Histoire de la Folie* (1961) and *Les Mots et les Choses* (1966), whilst Levebvre and Soja

³³ Erving Goffman, 'The Moral Career of the Mental Patient', in *Asylums: Essays on the Social Situation of Mental Patients and Other Inmates* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1961), 168.

³⁴ Philip Abrams, *Historical Sociology* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1982), 281–82.

³⁵ Edward P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (New York: Vintage Books, 1966).

have defined space in terms of power, politics, and ideology and as a social entity with specific, localised meanings.³⁶

Williams also undertook a cultural approach in analysing aspects of social class and power. He defined culture as a power struggle between a dominant culture and residual and emergent cultures, where those in power reinterpret meanings, values, and practices to strengthen and reinforce their position. A residual culture consists of practices based on older social institutions that still play a role in the present. Emergent culture is one of new meanings, values, practices, and relationships. As society evolves, the dominant culture spawns emergent cultures that eventually challenge it but are absorbed into the dominant culture by the application of physical and intellectual symbols.³⁷

Postmodern cultural theories conceive urban spaces as either physical or intellectual and as symbols that are conscious social products concealing power relationships through false and symbolic representations. Zukin contends that specific urban symbolisms of space and place reinforce social divisions and power relationships. In this way, elites construct synthetic spaces to conform to the needs of the private market, thus detaching people from a sense of place and social institutions.³⁸

Geertz developed a process of 'thick description' that identifies urban symbols and images, reads them as texts in their specific cultural context, and relates them to historical and social processes. Linking anthropology with literary theory, he sees religious, aesthetic, philosophical, and scientific cultural patterns as templates for

³⁶ Maria Belshaw and Liam Kennedy, eds., *Urban Space and Representation* (London: Pluto Press, 2000), 2–12; Michel Foucault, *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings, 1972–77*, ed., Colin Gordon, trans. (New York: Pantheon Books, 1980); Henri Levebvre, *The Production of Space*, D. Nicholson-Smith, trans. (1991); Edward Soja, *Postmodern Geographies: The Reassertion of Space in Critical Social Theory* (London: Verso, 1989).

³⁷ Raymond Williams, *Marxism and Literature* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1977), 121–27.

³⁸ Sharon Zukin, *Landscapes of Power: From Detroit to Disney World* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991); *The Cultures of Cities* (Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1995).

organising and examining social and psychological processes.³⁹ In addition, Warner has demonstrated how urban symbols and images can denote and transmit the dominant culture's values and ideology.⁴⁰

Poststructuralists argue for the abolition of traditional sociological distinctions such as agency-structure, micro-macro, distinctions between paradigms, and the importance of language, culture, and writing to construct meaning. For example, Derrida, in examining the subjective and objective, the appearance and the reality, asserts that reinterpreting the obvious meanings of texts, pictures, symbols, images, or spaces can provide alternatives to analyses based upon dichotomies such as urban/rural, good/bad, or male/female.⁴¹

Castells has posited three modes of historical development: agrarian, industrial, and informational. For him, every industry has its own unique spatial logic arising from its specific history of formation. Noting how much informational society relies on the quality of knowledge, he argues that emerging socio-spatial forms and processes ensure that information space will displace the space of places that local state and local power coalitions have long been rooted in.⁴²

In order to understand how elites are formed and how they work, Woods has studied the places and spaces where elite interaction takes place. 'By focusing upon this geography, and by approaching it through a reading of poststructuralist notions of

³⁹ Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Culture: Selected Essays* (New York, Basic Books, 1973); 'Ideology as a Cultural System', in David E. Apter, ed., *Ideology and Discontent* (London: Free Press of Glencoe, 1964), 47–73.

⁴⁰ Warner focused on the symbol of the skyline in literature, photographs, and film. He argues that the city skyline was widely employed to transform 'intolerable social facts' into traditional, acceptable aesthetic objects: 'So transformed, the new urban images of skyline were capable of mass transmissions, even of commercial exploitation as signs of fashion, luxury, and social success'. Samuel B. Warner, Jr., 'The Management of Multiple Urban Images', in Derek Fraser and Anthony Sutcliffe, eds., *The Pursuit of Urban History* (London: Edward Arnold, 1983), 393.

⁴¹ David Wood, ed., *Derrida: A Critical Reader* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992), 7.

⁴² Manuel Castells, *The Informational City: Information Technology, Economic Restructuring, and the Urban-Regional Process* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1989).

power and society,' he writes, 'the rediscovery of elites in social science can be given a stronger analytical and explanatory resonance'.⁴³

There are important points of contact between a postmodern, Foucauldian approach and the antidualism of Giddens and Elias. Both point to a critical, historical sociological practise that can explain how elites pursue and retain power.⁴⁴ In analysing 'administrative power' of the modern state, Giddens emphasises the importance of communication, transportation, information gathering, surveillance, discipline, and supervision concentrated in a city's offices, factories, schools, hospitals, and prisons. State and religious edifices architecturally articulate administrative power. This complex coordination of timing and spacing, or 'distanciation', enables power to stretch across time and space. Although differing on degree, both Giddens and Foucault point to the institutions of organised repressions, such as offices and prisons.

For Dean, however, the disciplinary approach to power is more germane to an analysis of the relations between power, time, and space in the context of Foucault's theory of 'governmentality'.⁴⁵ This theory emerges from Foucault's notion of 'biopolitics', or the power over life that operates at the level of whole populations.⁴⁶ Defined at its most basic level, governmentality is the contact between the domination of others and the domination of the self. This interaction with the self and political forms correlates with the structuralist notion of the civilising process, Elias's account of how modern forms of personality emerged from behavioural processes traced back to the Middle Ages, and how these related with power and authority in modernising Europe. Foucault and Elias both address the relationships between political forms and the forms of the self in the production of subjectivity, and like

⁴³ Michael Woods, 'Rethinking Elites: Networks, Spaces and Local Politics', *Environment and Planning A* 30 (1998): 2098–100.

⁴⁴ Mitchell Dean, *Critical and Effective Histories: Foucault's Methods and Historical Sociology* (New York: Routledge, 1994).

⁴⁵ Mitchell Dean, *Critical and Effective Histories*, 203–08.

⁴⁶ Michael Foucault, 'On Governmentality', *Ideology and Consciousness* 6 (1979), 5–22.

Giddens, provide an interactive sociological approach to explore the temporal and spatial way in which administrative power operates.⁴⁷

Nevertheless, as with Giddens, Foucault's wider analysis of power reproduction differs from that of Elias, whose history of manners takes place within a prescribed social theory. Foucault's open analytical approach is based on the premise that historical forms of the relation of self to self relate entirely to the infrastructural or administrative power of the state. For Foucault, government promotes, shapes, and regulates individual and group conduct, so it is pointless to posit a notion of civil society, agencies, and structures that exist outside of the state. Foucault and Giddens agree that nothing exists outside of the purview of the state. Power is a political subjectification, aspects of which swarm within the social body and operate from dispersed fields, multiple and heterogeneous locales, in closed institutions, or in power containers linked by discipline and governmental practises.

Foucault never responded to Giddens or to David Harvey's observations that oppressed spaces are in fact partially autonomous and that power is contestable and negotiable.⁴⁸ However, in presupposing Foucault's response, Dean argues that Giddens and Harvey overlook the fact that oppressed spaces constitute the building blocks and foundation of governmentality. This biopolitical method of power rules over time and space. Certain bodies reconstitute themselves as sites of administrative power and coordinate with locales and figurations centred upon international markets, local and regional government, corporations, families, and individuals.⁴⁹

A poststructural emphasis on contingency can reunite the individual with society. Rustin points to the paradox that despite a preoccupation with individuals in the history of Western culture, social science has filtered biography out of its field of interest. Following the lead of the 'representational arts of imaginative literature' and

⁴⁷ Anthony Giddens, *The Nation State and Violence* (Cambridge: Polity, 1985).

⁴⁸ David Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1989), 213–14.

⁴⁹ Mitchell Dean, *Critical and Effective Histories*, 168–73.

psychoanalysis, he argues that socially representative biographical analyses can reveal the spaces within which individuals create meaning, devise life strategies, and construct power networks. By studying cultures and societies within a sociological frame of reference from the individual upward, rather than from society downward, the study of individual life stories can provide unique insights into social structures, processes, and change.⁵⁰

Descriptive Sources in a Poststructural Framework

Abrams' theory of biographical contingencies, in which social institutions link the individual with society by attributing common fates and character to individuals, provides a solid framework for a prosopographical or career-line analysis of elites. Lawrence Stone says that prosopography is an exploration of a group's common background characteristics that juxtaposes and combines information about individuals in the group, examines it for significant variables, and tests it both for internal associations and for correlations with other forms of behaviour or action.⁵¹

Keats-Rohan, however, argues that prosopography is an analysis of biographical detail about individuals in aggregate in which the individuality of each actor is preserved. 'Still rooted in the core distinction between one individual and another', she writes, 'the subjects of prosopography are no longer being defined in terms of social status, or confined within closed groups. Instead, they now belong to the expanding universe of networks'. Explorations of biographical data about many individuals, prosopographical studies are multi-layered and interactive and operate within and upon the social, political, legal, economic, intellectual institutions in

⁵⁰ Michael Rustin, 'Reflections on the Biographical Turn in Social Science', in Prue Chamberlayne, Joanna Bornat, and Tom Wengraf, eds. *The Turn to Biographical Methods in Social Science: Comparative Issues and Examples* (London: Routledge, 2000), 33–52, 45.

⁵¹ Lawrence Stone, 'Prosopography', in Felix Gilbert and Stephen Graubard, eds., *Historical Studies Today* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1972), 107.

defined regions and times. They vary little from period to period, and in each case, the type of source material available determines the methodology.⁵²

Prosopography, then, is a form of biographical contingency that combines life history with the hidden social history of long-term evolutionary processes. It considers individuals within the context of family, other social groups, the place or places in which they were active, and the functions they performed in society.⁵³

Census figures and tax rolls provide the basic institutional and personal information from which a prosopographical study can commence, but such dry lists marginalize individual agency and character. However, information from contemporary biographical sources can resurrect individual identity. The lives of the five-town elite were recorded in short biographies in 'urban booster' historical volumes, obituaries, trade newspapers, R. G. Dun credit assessments, and probate papers. Urban histories in particular are a rich source of information. For example, four Windham County history volumes published between 1874 and 1920 include biographies and genealogies of more than 3,000 local worthies.⁵⁴

Yet, as an historical literary form, these biographies are often maligned. Williams views them as examples of the 'selective tradition' in action. In exploring elite cultural hegemony over time, he observes that consecutive generations create a unique 'structure of feeling', a 'particular and native style', which operates in 'the most delicate and least tangible parts of our activity'. However, when that culture's carriers die, all that remains is its 'documentary culture', represented in art and literature. From this, the dominant elite excludes 'considerable areas of what was once a living

⁵² Katherine Keats-Rohan, 'Prosopography', *History and Computing* 12 (2000), 2.

⁵³ Karl F. Werner, 'L'apport de la prosopographie à l'histoire des élites', in Katherine Keats Rohan, ed., *Family Trees and the Roots of Politics: Prosopography of Britain and France from the Tenth to the Twelfth Century* (Rochester, NY: Boydell and Brewer, 1997), 1-21.

⁵⁴ Ellen D. Larned, *History of Windham County, Connecticut* (Worcester, MA: published by the author, 1874-80); Richard M. Bayles, *History of Windham County, Connecticut* (New York, Preston, 1889); *Commemorative Biographical Record of Tolland and Windham Counties Connecticut* (Chicago, IL.: J. H. Beers and Co., 1903); Lincoln, *A Modern History of Windham County*.

culture', whilst selecting and emphasising others. The culture of the selective tradition absorbs the historical record and creates a 'sense of predisposed continuity' that underpins the hegemony of a specific class over generations.⁵⁵

Other historians argue that these sources lack representative or typical social facts. Written in an uncritical and celebratory fashion that stresses social Darwinist theory, human enterprise, Yankee ingenuity, and family background, they fail to assign meaning or to establish causal connection and typicality. Bourdieu warns that biography lacks sociological rigour. Life history, he says, resembles a journey on the underground, which fails to take the structure of the network into account.⁵⁶ Dismissing this genre as bad literature and bad history, scholars have not explored it with the same intensity as they have literary genres like dime novels.

Nevertheless, biography was a powerful medium in shaping America's national character and promoting particular moral values and virtues by highlighting civic responsibility, patriotism, local pride, puritan morals, and the Protestant work ethic. Therefore, as Casper stresses, biography both 'illuminates' nineteenth-century elite American culture and provides a valuable contextual framework in which to fit the life courses of the elite.⁵⁷ His analysis of the plethora of biographical albums that appeared across the United States during the nineteenth century clearly reveals the evolving and changing cultural values of which Williams speaks.

Similarly, Halbwach's theory regarding the social construction of memory, more recently elaborated by Lowenthal, Connerton, Kammen, and Nora, asserts that in the process of communication, memory and culture are constantly renegotiated through a dialectic that reconstructs a lost past on the basis of present cultural and

⁵⁵ Raymond Williams, *The Long Revolution* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1961), 41–53, 230–45; *Marxism and Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), 115.

⁵⁶ Pierre Bourdieu, *Practical Reason: On the Theory of Action* (Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press, 1998), 45.

⁵⁷ Scott E. Caspar, *Constructing American Lives: Biography and Culture in Nineteenth Century America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999), 1–18.

political requirements. Horowitz's analysis of urban biographies of New Haven, Connecticut, demonstrates the shaping of the public memory by the creation of 'usable' pasts. Such volumes typically recorded a city's history through the individual biographies of its leading citizens. Although they regularly expressed a nostalgic longing for preurban days and regrets for the lost morals, simplicity, innocence, and religious cohesiveness of rural life, they also had a didactic function. By reading the lives of a community's most successful men, new urban dwellers could discover the secrets of urbanity by following the examples of local worthies.⁵⁸

Short biographical sketches are valid forms of representation, revealing an individual's interdependency with broader social trends. In shaping the public memory, they also demonstrate social and cultural change over time. Obituaries, for example, provide glimpses of American culture at particular times. Other than highlighting an individual's specific attributes, they reflect the legitimate social order of the period and provide facts, values, ideas, and judgments unavailable elsewhere.⁵⁹ Furthermore, credit reports, which feature life events normally omitted from traditional biographical forms, are virtually immune to the selective tradition. Madison believes that credit reports provide information about the culture of nineteenth-century small-town America that is unavailable elsewhere.⁶⁰ These widely overlooked

⁵⁸ Maurice Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1992); David Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985); Paul Connerton, *How Societies Remember* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 63–4; Michael Kammen, *Mystic Chords of Memory: The Transformation of Tradition in American Culture* (New York: Vintage Books, 1993); Pierre Nora, ed., *Realms of Memory: Rethinking the French Past* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998); Daniel Horowitz, 'The Meaning of City Biographies: New Haven in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries', *Connecticut Historical Society Bulletin* 29 (1964): 65–76.

⁵⁹ Michael Rustin, 'From Individual Life Histories to Sociological Understanding', SOSTRIS Working Paper 3, 1998, Centre For Biography in Social Policy, University of East London; Robert Lanning, *The National Album: Collective Biography and the Formation of the Canadian Middle Class* (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1996); Janice Hume, *Obituaries in American Culture* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2000).

⁶⁰ James L. Madison, 'The Evolution of Community Credit Reporting Agencies in Nineteenth-Century America', *Business History Review* 48 (1974): 164–168; 'The Credit Reports of R. G. Dun and Company as Historical Sources', *Historical Methods Newsletter* 8 (1975): 128–31.

documents constitute a form of biography, as they document career, institutional, and organisational change over time.

In identifying the public offices held by a group, prosopography is directly concerned with the history of institutions. Observing the interactions of the institutions and organisations entered into by the five-town elite can shed light on how this agrarian region was transformed into an industrial region and thus on the role that capitalism played in industrialisation. 'Moral economy historians' have contended that family networks and cooperative structures were more important than the structures of capitalism to late eighteenth-century and early nineteenth-century farmers until merchants and manufacturers imposed new institutions on society.⁶¹ However, Rothenberg challenges this view, arguing that once freed from religious and political constraints, farmers were agents of change, fully supporting the expanding insurance, banking, and manufacturing organisations in the same fashion as the developing technocratic and bourgeois groups.⁶²

Lamoreaux says that this dichotomy of opinion emerges from, and is restricted by, traditional neoclassical economics. She argues that the same account-book evidence employed by scholars to prove that farmers were not capitalists can yield identical proof with regard to merchants and manufacturers. Cultural imperatives, she argues, played important roles in each group's decisions.⁶³ Hannah points to the atheoretical nature of business history, whose practitioners scour account books and other commercial and industrial records in the pursuit of their subject, but often only

⁶¹ James A. Henretta, 'Families and Farms: *Mentalité* in Pre-Industrial America', *William and Mary Quarterly* 35 (1978): 3–32; Christopher Clark, 'The Household Economy, Market Exchange and the Rise of Capitalism in the Connecticut Valley, 1800–1860', *Journal of Social History* 13 (1979): 169–89; Martin Bruegel, *Farm, Shop, Landing: The Rise of a Market Society in the Hudson Valley, 1780–1860*. (Durham, N.C: Duke University Press. 2002).

⁶² Winifred Barr Rothenberg, *From Market Places to a Market Economy: The Transformation of Rural Massachusetts, 1750–1850* (Chicago, IL.: University of Chicago Press, 1992).

⁶³ Naomi R. Lamoreaux, 'Rethinking the Transition to Capitalism in the Early American Northeast', *Journal of American History* 90 (2003): 437–61.

succeed in producing, dry corporate-sponsored tomes.⁶⁴ To avoid this approach, Lipartito and Westall call for a cultural model of business history that takes into account the historical nature of organisations.⁶⁵

Voluntary associations were ubiquitous as America made the transition to industrial capitalism. Democratic elite theorists have contended that the most important function of these associations was to provide an egalitarian forum that kept elites in check. However, Glazer's study of nineteenth-century Cincinnati concludes that voluntary associations strengthened the local elites' hold on political power, thanks to the information provided to those who held memberships in several associations. The communication networks provided by Cincinnati's clubs and lodges mirrored those of interlocking corporate directorships and acted as a forum and power base for elites to extend their social, political, and economic control.⁶⁶ Similarly, Gamm and Putnam conclude that associational activity was greatest in smaller, homogeneous communities and that associations more successfully sustained local elites there.⁶⁷

In exploring the nature of social class and the reproduction of power in a modernising northeastern Connecticut urban context, this study considers a wide range of descriptive sources from a variety of interacting critical perspectives. Urban biographies, obituaries, contemporary newspapers, census and credit reports, probate papers, state registers and manuals, trade journals, and state, city, and county directories all descriptively documented the individual careers and lives of the regional elite. In addition, promotional material, maps, and bird's-eye urban views recorded images and descriptions of metaphoric and symbolic urban attributes,

⁶⁴ Leslie Hannah, 'Entrepreneurs and the Social Sciences', *Economica* 51 (1984), 219–34.

⁶⁵ Kenneth Lipartito, 'Culture and the Practice of Business History', *Business and Economic History* 24 (1995), 1–41; 'British Business History and the Culture of Business', Andrew Godley and Oliver M. Westall, eds., *Business History and Business Culture* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996), 21–47.

⁶⁶ Walter S. Glazer, 'Participation and Power: Voluntary Associations and Functional Organization of Cincinnati in 1840', *Historical Methods Newsletter* 5 (1972), 150–68.

⁶⁷ Gerald R. Gamm and Robert D. Putnam, 'The Growth of Voluntary Associations in America, 1840–1940', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 29 (1999): 511–57.

stressed Windham County's rich mixture of 'nature, history, and industry', and vividly depicted the towns' green spaces, their aboriginal and colonial heritage, residential mansions, town halls, opera houses, and cotton mills. When these disparate sources are analysed in the context of larger processes, the subtle and effective ways by which local urban elites held on to power becomes clearer.

In order to transcend the traditional dualisms applied to class analysis in American historical urban contexts this study employs an interactional methodology that combines social-psychological, cultural, and historical sociological approaches. Semantics often cloud discussions of social class in the United States, and Katz has accused American urban historians, sociologists, and political scientists of ahistoricism for abandoning social class analysis and confusing social class with apolitical social stratification.⁶⁸ To avoid this semantic dead-end, wealth and property holdings are utilised to identify the five-town elite. Also, the term 'social class' is used in a postmodern, or anthropological, sense, wherein the elite are viewed as a 'social clique' whose members had 'intimate access to one another'.⁶⁹

The following chapters explore the micro-practices of power and the complex processes that produce subjectivity through an empirically grounded, interactional analysis of elite cultures, structures, and agencies operating in the five subject towns. The thesis is divided into three major parts. Firstly, in an attempt to transcend the analytical barriers erected by American exceptionalism and pluralism, it considers regional industrial development as a more localised process than is allowed for in the dominant but restrictive Rhode Island/Waltham analytical model. Secondly, it explores the careers and life histories of 311 local elites who experienced and adapted to the

⁶⁸ Michael B. Katz, 'Social Class in North American Urban History', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 9 (1981): 579–605.

⁶⁹ This approach reflects the method employed by Pessen and Ingham, who adapted the earlier analytical methods of Davis et al. Edward Pessen, 'The Social Configuration of the Antebellum City: A Historical and Theoretical Enquiry', *Journal of Urban History* 2 (1976): 267–306; Ingham, *The Iron Barons*; 'Rags to Riches Revisited', *Journal of Urban History* 63 (1976): 615–37; Allison Davis et al., *Deep South: A Social Anthropological Study of Class and Caste* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941), 59.

new challenges and demands posed by modernity in order to uncover the structures and agencies that underpinned regional elite durability. Finally, it negotiates a cultural turn by exploring embedded social power in terms of space, symbols, and landscapes.

Chapter 2 explores the five-town region's growth in the context of distancing as reflected through regional developments in transportation, communication, and industrial expansion. Against this backdrop, chapter 3 discusses the sources used, delineates the sample elite, and demonstrates the demographic changes that underpinned the elites' hold on social and economic power as the region modernized. Chapters 4 and 5 explore the Foucauldian practices and structuration techniques that centre on the self and its political formation through a prosopographical analysis that considers the sample elites' life trajectories, professions, and careers, as well as the structures, organisations, and institutions in which they operated. Chapter 6 shows how the elite symbolically portrayed their power in architecture, mills, and parks in the context of Foucault's theory of governmentality and Lefebvre's concept of dialectical centrality. Chapter 7 explores how the cultural interaction of the urban and rural, as expressed in descriptive urban promotional material, art, and literature, linked successive structures of feeling and underpinned elite hegemony. The concluding chapter ties together these disparate perspectives to demonstrate how a local elite endured in southern New England's Last Green Valley during a period of rapid social, economic and cultural change.

Chapter Two

The Last Green Valley

If you ache for a landscape uncluttered with skyscrapers and concrete, come to Connecticut's Quiet Corner. Here you will find serenity and beauty and tranquillity. A World from another era....¹

On 28 December 1882 six leading citizens from towns across Windham County addressed a crowd in a smoke-filled ballroom in Willimantic's Brainard Hotel. The group, led by State Senator Henry Hammond of Killingly, sought financial support from the borough to build a railroad between Willimantic and Providence, Rhode Island. Hammond announced that funding was in place and that a partial survey had been completed. Moreover, the 'Consolidated Road' (New York, New Haven, and Hartford Railroad) would lease the proposed line and supply it with its own rolling stock. However, Senator Hammond, who had served three terms as Connecticut's railroad commissioner, had built an unenviable reputation as an 'adroit juggler' for the Consolidated Railroad, and sceptics dismissed his group's proposal as a scheme to put the Hartford, Providence, and Fishkill Railroad out of business.² Although the proposed track was never built, Hammond's political and civic activity illustrates how structures (state and local government and railroad companies) and agency (local and regional elites) interact across time and space to perpetuate social power.

This chapter presents a regional history and geography of northeastern Connecticut in the context of transportation developments between 1794 and 1874. Whilst the text provides a regional monograph detailing Windham County's geology, soils, vegetation, settlement, and economic activities, it also lays the foundation for a contextual approach to exploring the links between structure and agency across time and space.

¹ *The Quiet Corner Getaway Guide* (Northeastern Connecticut Visitors District, 1992).

² *Willimantic Chronicle*, 3 January 1883.

For Thrift, contextual approaches register time and space as productive elaborations that fold into the conduct of everyday life.³ Similarly, Hägerstrand's time-geography theory contends that time-space constitutes a dialectic of presence and absence at the centre of social life. As time-space folds into social life, it simultaneously opens out, creating complex, extended networks of coexistence and connection that explain how location and geography guide and motivate social, economic, and political activities.⁴ A contextual approach can reveal how transport networks and borders alter space across time at points where the social, economic, and political interact.

Expanding on Hägerstrand's temporal-geographical framework, Giddens explains how advances in transportation and communication stretch social relations across time and space, culminating in concentrations of power at specific locales. Spatial and geographical differences reveal the connections between political and economic behaviour, or between 'authoritative resources' and 'locative resources'. When mobilized, these resources enable different societies to extend their power across time and space through a process he calls 'distanciation'.⁵

In this same contextual vein, Foucault points to how networks of communication introduced a new aspect into the relationship between space and power in modernising Europe. He notes that when railways superseded traditional road networks, they introduced new social phenomena, provoking resistance, transformations of populations, and changes in individual behaviour. These resulting entanglements of absence and presence disrupted the links between the exercise of political power and urban and territorial spatiality. In order to shrink time and space,

³ Nigel Thrift, 'Steps to an Ecology of Place', in Doreen Massey, John Allen, and Phillip Sarre, eds., *Human Geography Today* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1999), 295–322.

⁴ Torsten Hägerstrand, 'Presences and Absences: A Look at Conceptual Choices and Bodily Necessities', *Regional Studies* 8 (1984), 373–80; Kirsten Simonsen, 'Towards an Understanding of the Contextuality of Social Life', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 9 (1991), 417–32.

⁵ Anthony Giddens, *A Contemporary Critique of Historical Materialism. Vol 2: The Nation State and Violence* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1985), 13; 172–81.

administrative power centralised the varying aspects of communication and transportation by introducing the railway timetable, standard times, the telegraph, postal services, records, files, and reports.⁶

Between 1794 and 1874 a network of turnpikes and railroads shrank time and space in northeastern Connecticut, concentrating social power at their points of intersection at Windham, Killingly, Plainfield, Thompson, and Putnam. Accordingly, this chapter focuses on the roles transport systems played in exploiting the region's indigenous resources, creating a rural-urban symbiosis, and promoting industrial and urban growth in northeastern Connecticut. Such an approach avoids viewing Windham County through the restrictive lens of the simplistic Rhode Island/Waltham dichotomy and provides a context to explore local elite durability.

The first section places northeastern Connecticut's territorial establishment and early economic growth within a geographic-historic context. Section two explores how water transportation and a turnpike network fired Windham County's first stage of economic growth. The third part traces the emergence of the railroads, which ushered in the region's second stage of economic growth at midcentury and led to the creation of new administrative centres in the form of boroughs. The final section demonstrates how a direct railroad link between New York City and Boston brought the region to the height of nineteenth-century modernity.

Settlement and Early Growth

At night, air travellers en route between Boston and New York can observe a single patch of darkness in the brightly lit corridor below. This region is Windham County—Connecticut's 850-square-mile 'Quiet Corner', the 'Last Green Valley' in the Megalopolis.⁷ Although forests have engulfed the fallow fields and only a handful of

⁶ Michael Foucault, 'Space, Knowledge and Power', in Paul Rabinow, ed., *The Foucault Reader* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1984), 241.

⁷ Jean Gottman coined this term in *Megalopolis: The Urbanized Northeastern Seaboard of the United States* (New York: Twentieth Century Fund, 1961). It refers to America's densely populated

farms remain, the region remains surprisingly undisturbed by strip malls, suburbs, and exurbs. Even now, Windham County retains its rural character. A pictorial study of the region has noted that, 'in an urban and suburban state within an urban and suburban nation, northeast Connecticut remains to this day a rural region'.⁸ Traffic jams are virtually unknown, occurring only when 'three cars are waiting at a stop sign'.⁹ This region of Connecticut was not always so pastoral, however. Just as the miles of stone walls once bordering numerous hill farms recall the region's agricultural legacy, so the crumbling ruins of deserted textile mills evoke its industrial past.¹⁰ These relics of an industrial age owe their existence to Windham County's location and geography.

As an aid to historical research, the Connecticut Historical Commission has divided the state into six geographic regions corresponding to its major landscape areas. The towns and cities located within each region share a 'geographic historic context' in that they possess similar cultural histories and patterns of development.¹¹ Windham County constitutes the greater part of the 'Eastern Uplands' region, distinguishable by its lack of good soil and ridged topography. Two distinct rock formations, the Mohegan Ridge and Bolton Range, border the region. In the centre lie the Windham Hills, an area of rolling hills and fertile soil. The Willimantic Basin and Quinebaug Lowlands are located in the river valleys. The former is a circular area five miles in diameter named for the Willimantic River; the latter is a broad trough five

northeastern corridor, a 500-mile long swath of cities between the Massachusetts Bay and the Chesapeake Bay.

⁸ Bruce Stave and Michelle Palmer, *Mills and Meadows: A Pictorial History of Northeastern Connecticut* (Virginia Beach, VA: The Donning Company, 1990), 18.

⁹ Thomas R. Lewis and John E. Harmon, *Connecticut: A Geography* (New York: Perseus Books, 1986), 198.

¹⁰ William H. Berentson, 'Northeastern Connecticut: America's "Megalopolitan Park"', *Berliner Geographische Studien* 44 (1996), 283–94.

¹¹ Linda S. Spencer, *Historic Preservation in Connecticut, Eastern Uplands: Historic and Architectural Overview and Management Guide* (Hartford, CT: Connecticut Historical Commission, 1993), 2: xiv.

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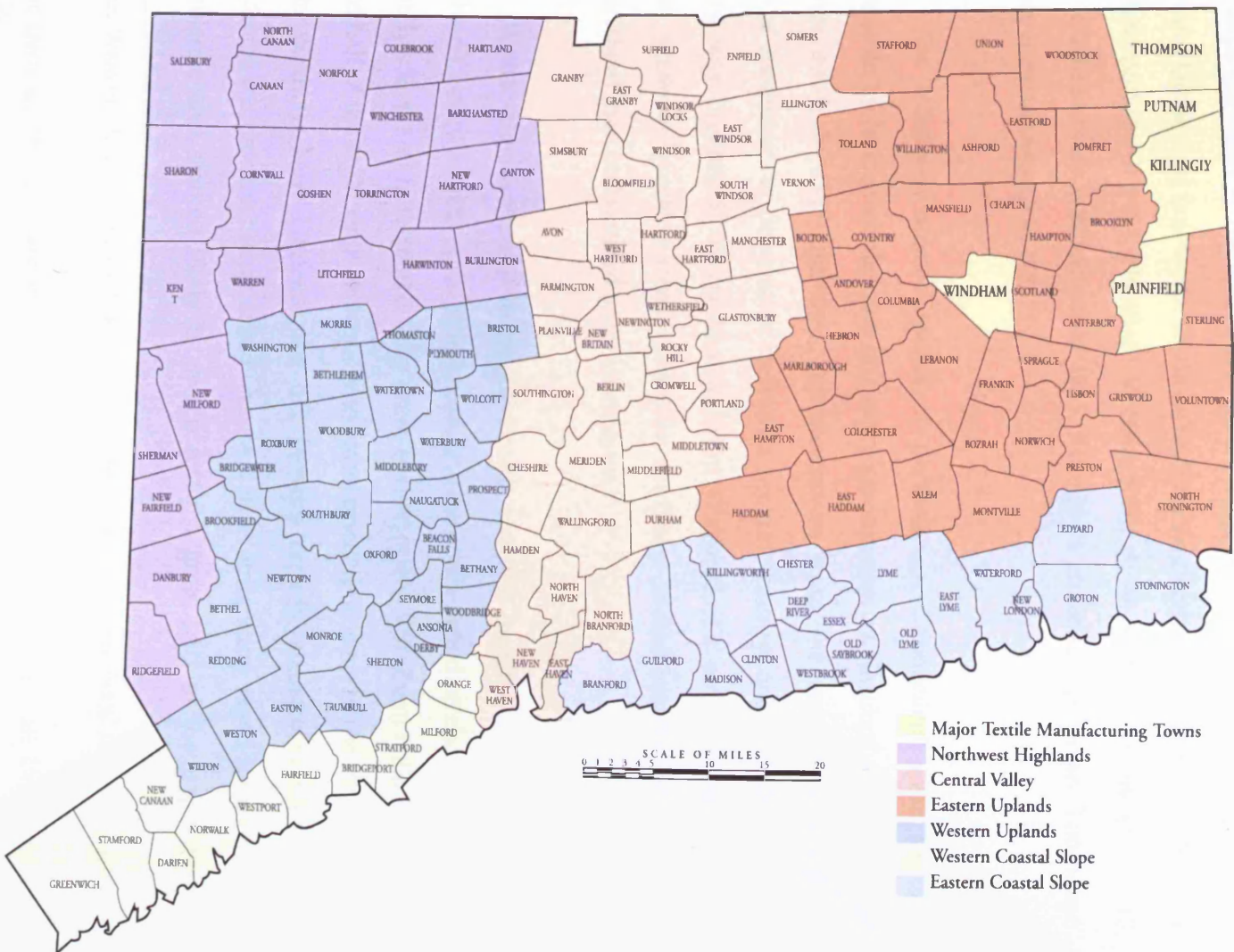
miles across and twenty-five miles long named for the Quinebaug River.¹² The town of Windham lies in the Willimantic Basin, the geographical centre of the Eastern Uplands. The towns of Thompson, Putnam, Killingly, and Plainfield straddle the Quinebaug Lowlands along the Quinebaug River Valley, which borders Rhode Island (Figure 2.1).

Geography determined the pattern of regional development in Connecticut. Settlement in the colony commenced in 1633 in the Central Valley region on fertile plains adjacent to the wide, navigable Connecticut, Farmington, Naugatuck, and Quinnipiac Rivers. The proximity of the settlements on the Western and Eastern Coastal Slope to ports on the Long Island Sound allowed merchants to tap the colony's resources and sustain a rich commerce with New York, Boston, and the West Indies. By the end of the seventeenth century, these trading links had turned small trading posts at Hartford, New Haven, and New London into relatively sophisticated port cities.

A similar process of settlement took place in eastern Connecticut after the establishment of a seaport at New London in 1642 and a deep river port at the confluence of the Thames, Shetucket, and Quinebaug Rivers at Norwich in 1659. Hostile Indian tribes, the lack of navigable rivers in northeast Connecticut, and the region's thick and virtually impenetrable forests delayed settlement north of this point until English military forces subdued Indian opposition during King Philip's War in 1675–1676, thus opening up large sections of southern New England, including northeastern Connecticut, to unimpeded economic expansion.

¹² Michael Bell, *The Face of Connecticut: People, People, Geology and Land* (Hartford, CT: Department of Environmental Protection, 1985), 42–46; Lewis and Harmon, *Connecticut: A Geography*, 20–21.

Figure 2.1: Connecticut Towns and Major Landscape Areas



The region's glacier-formed ridges and fast flowing waterways provided ideal waterpower sources to drive mills, whilst the surrounding forests provided lumber for shipbuilding, and the mills fulled cloth, sawed wood, and ground meal.¹³ The first townships appeared at the end of the seventeenth century in the fertile Willimantic Basin and Quinebaug Lowlands. Of those under consideration in this study, Windham was incorporated in 1692, Plainfield in 1699, Killingly in 1708, and Pomfret in 1713, from which Putnam was carved in 1855. Killingly's ecclesiastical parish, Thompson, became a separate town in 1785.¹⁴

The relatively isolated towns of northeastern Connecticut were virtually inaccessible by land from the seat of county government at Hartford, a considerable distance away. In 1717 therefore, representatives from the towns petitioned the Colonial Assembly for permission to form a separate county, and in 1726 Windham County was organised. Its remoteness from Connecticut's economic and cultural centres, however, made it more reliant on southeast Massachusetts and northwest Rhode Island than on Hartford and New Haven.¹⁵

Within a generation of its establishment, the first families had claimed all of Windham County's fertile agricultural land, and newcomers had no choice but to work the thinly soiled and inhospitable hilly areas bordering the Windham Hills. During the second half of the eighteenth century, when land opened up west of the Hudson River and in northern New England, the hill farmers rapidly abandoned their sparse agricultural settlements. Ellen Larned observed that 'emigration raged for a time like an epidemic and seemed likely to sweep away a great part of the population'.¹⁶

¹³ Glenn Weaver, 'Industry in an Agrarian Economy', *Connecticut Historical Bulletin* 19 (1964), 82-92.

¹⁴ Doris Deming, *The Settlement of Connecticut Towns* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1933), 55.

¹⁵ Bruce Daniels, *The Connecticut Town, Growth and Development, 1635-1790* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1979); David Meyer, *From Farm to Factory to Urban Pastoralism: Urban Change in Central Connecticut* (Cambridge, MA: Ballinger Publishing Company, 1976).

¹⁶ Ellen D. Larned, *History of Windham County, Connecticut* (Worcester, MA: published by the author 1874-80), 1: 51.

Industrial development would reverse the process, but that depended upon the construction of an efficient transport network.

Turnpikes and Towns

Northeastern Connecticut had several advantages at the onset of industrialisation. Rhode Island, the birthplace of America's industrial revolution, was within easy reach, and the region possessed fertile soil, fresh water springs, undeveloped waterpower sites, and prosperous hilltop villages located on rural crossroads. Colonial roads allowed the region's agrarian communities to distribute livestock and produce throughout southern New England and to ports at Norwich and Providence. During the winter and spring, however, local transportation ground to a halt because the British authorities forbade turnpike building.

After Independence, New England merchant elites eager to invest in internal improvements in the region formed corporations, voluntary associations, and joint-stock companies to build turnpikes and form manufacturing companies. They also moved into politics to secure company charters, subsidies, and grants. By 1800 almost 200 of America's 273 banking, industrial, and turnpike companies were located in New England.¹⁷ Rhode Island merchants, seeking to channel the trade of eastern Connecticut and southeast Massachusetts through Providence, invested in regional road construction to stimulate internal commerce. Riding through Rhode Island in 1811, Timothy Dwight noted their success:

Rhode Island . . . is generally so lean as scarcely to supply its inhabitants with food. But the merchants by their activity and prudence have engrossed to a considerable extent the custom and produce of the neighbouring regions of Massachusetts and Connecticut. They have also engaged in several kinds of manufactures with a spirit and success unrivalled in this country.¹⁸

¹⁷ Peter D. Hall, 'Organizational Values and the Origins of the Corporation in Connecticut, 1760-1860', *Connecticut History* 29 (1988), 63-90.

¹⁸ Barbara M. Solomon, ed., *Travels in New England and New York by Timothy Dwight* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1969), 2: 20.

American urban and industrial growth depended upon a combination of factors, including location, natural resources, entrepreneurial activity, sufficient amounts of capital outlay, and the development of transport networks.¹⁹ By 1810, all of these ingredients were in place in Windham County. Stimulated by Rhode Island capital, a network of turnpikes soon traversed northeast Connecticut; in fact, Connecticut as a whole quickly established itself as the nation's most prolific turnpike builder.²⁰

An 1808 government report on internal transportation noted that since 1803, Connecticut had incorporated fifty turnpike companies and built 770 miles of roads.²¹ Between 1794 and 1826, joint-stock companies constructed an intricate web of nine turnpikes across the northeastern region of Connecticut: the New London and Windham County Turnpike (1794), the Boston Turnpike (1797), the Windham Turnpike (1799), the Norwich and Woodstock Turnpike (1801), the Pomfret and Killingly Turnpike (1801), the Connecticut and Rhode Island Turnpike (1802), the Thompson Turnpike (1803), the Woodstock and Thompson Turnpike (1808), and the Windham and Brooklyn Turnpike (1826).²² Laying the foundation for subsequent economic growth, these turnpikes connected Windham County to Providence, Rhode Island, and to the ports of Norwich and New London (Figure 2.2).

Given the undeveloped state of manufactures in the region, the merchants' faith in the power of roads to stimulate economic growth seemed surprising. Looking back from 1919, Frederic Wood, the historian of American turnpikes, observed:

¹⁹ Michael P. Conzen, 'The Maturing Urban System in the United States, 1840–1910', *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 67 (1977): 88–108; 'Transport Interpretation of the Growth of Urban Regions', *Journal of Historical Geography* 1 (1975): 361–82.

²⁰ John S. Gilkeson Jr., *Middle-Class Providence, 1820–1940* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1986).

²¹ Albert Gallatin, *Report of the Secretary of the Treasury, on the Subject of Public Roads and Canals: Senate Resolution of March 2, 1807* (Reprinted by Aug. Kelley, publishers, NY): Edward C. Kirkland, *Men, Cities and Transportation: A Study in New England History, 1820–1900* (Cambridge, MA, Harvard University Press, 1948), 1: 39.

²² Frederic J. Wood, *The Turnpikes of New England and Evolution of the Same Through England, Virginia, and Maryland* (Boston, MA: Marshall Jones, 1919), 336–97.

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It is hard to see, at this day, why so many were anxious to provide direct connections from Providence to the eastern part of Connecticut, and we must remember that, at that time, many of the waterfalls of the Quinebaug and Shetucket valleys had been utilized for small textile mills. Small as was the output of these mills it must have been the prospect of the freight from them that raised such hopes of turnpike prosperity.²³

The faith of the merchants was justified. With the completion of the turnpikes, it took less than four hours to travel from the abundant, untapped waterpower sources of the Quinebaug River Valley to Rhode Island, the source of an equally abundant amount of capital actively investing in the textile industry. It was an ideal arrangement for northeastern Connecticut, whose natural advantages of waterpower offset its lack of raw materials, and the county's first Rhode Island- financed textile mills began operating at Pomfret (Putnam) in 1807, at Killingly and Plainfield in 1809, at Thompson in 1811, and at Windham in 1822. In 1811 a local newspaper noted the growing trend:

In November 1809 there were within thirty miles of Providence 26 cotton mills in operation, containing 20,000 spindles and 13 erected not ready to run. At the present time, there are 74 mills within the same distance containing 51,454 spindles, making an increase of 36 mills and 31,454 spindles in less than two years! Are not the people running cotton mill mad?²⁴

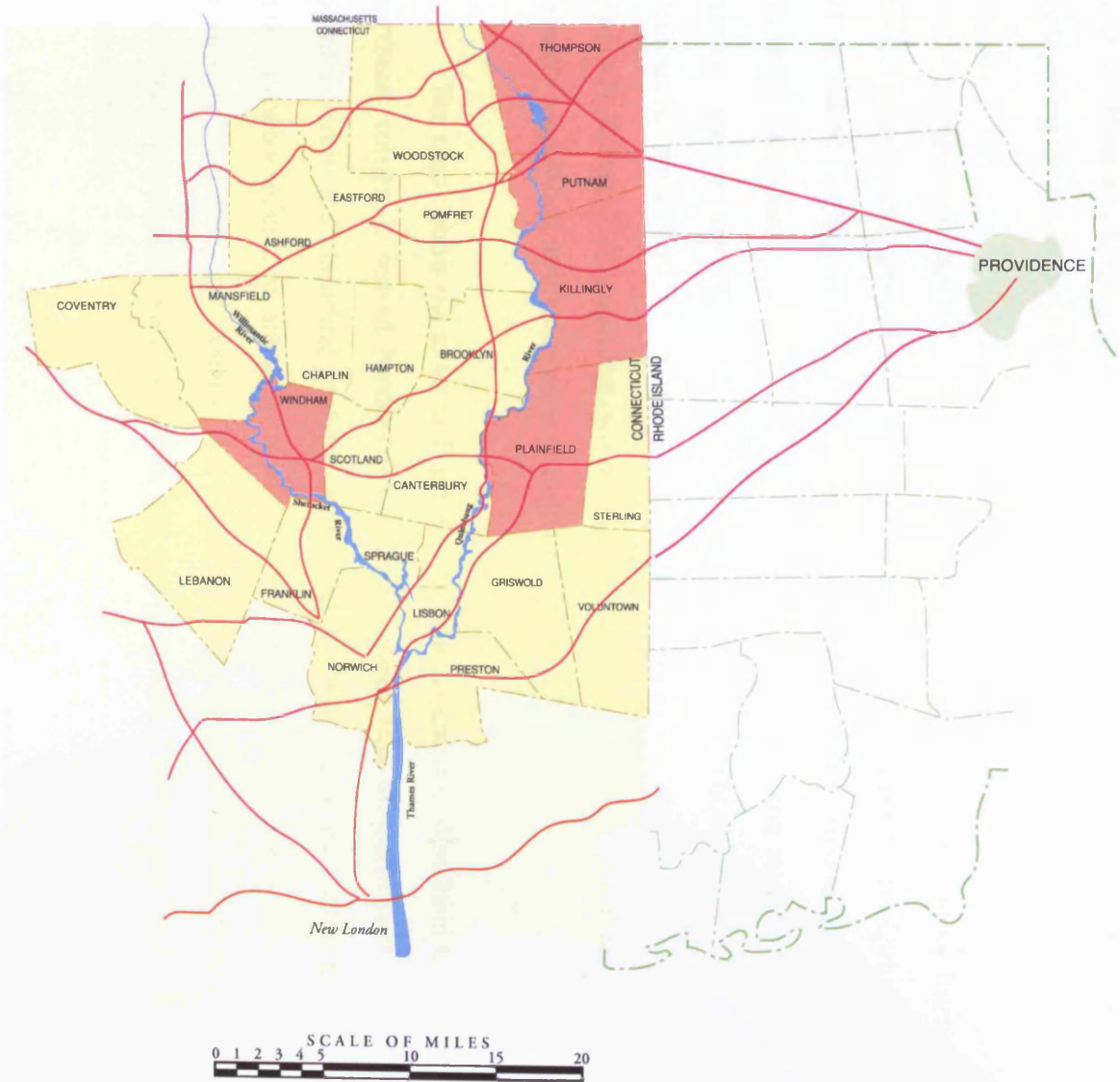
The War of 1812 had a dual impact upon northeastern Connecticut's nascent textile economy. Patriotic fervour sustained manufacturing throughout the conflict, but after the Treaty of Ghent in 1815 British manufacturers flooded the American market with cheap goods, causing a postwar economic downturn. The Connecticut General Assembly reacted in 1817 by giving cotton and woollen factories whose sites did not exceed five acres in size a four-year exemption from taxation.²⁵ Taking advantage of the moratorium on taxes, Rhode Island investors built a series of small mills (2,000 to 5,000 spindles) along the region's waterways.

²³ Wood, *The Turnpikes of New England*, 321.

²⁴ *Windham Herald*, 11 November 1811.

²⁵ Albert Van Dusen, *Connecticut* (New York: Random House, 1961), 187.

Figure 2.2: Northeast Connecticut's Turnpike Network at 1826



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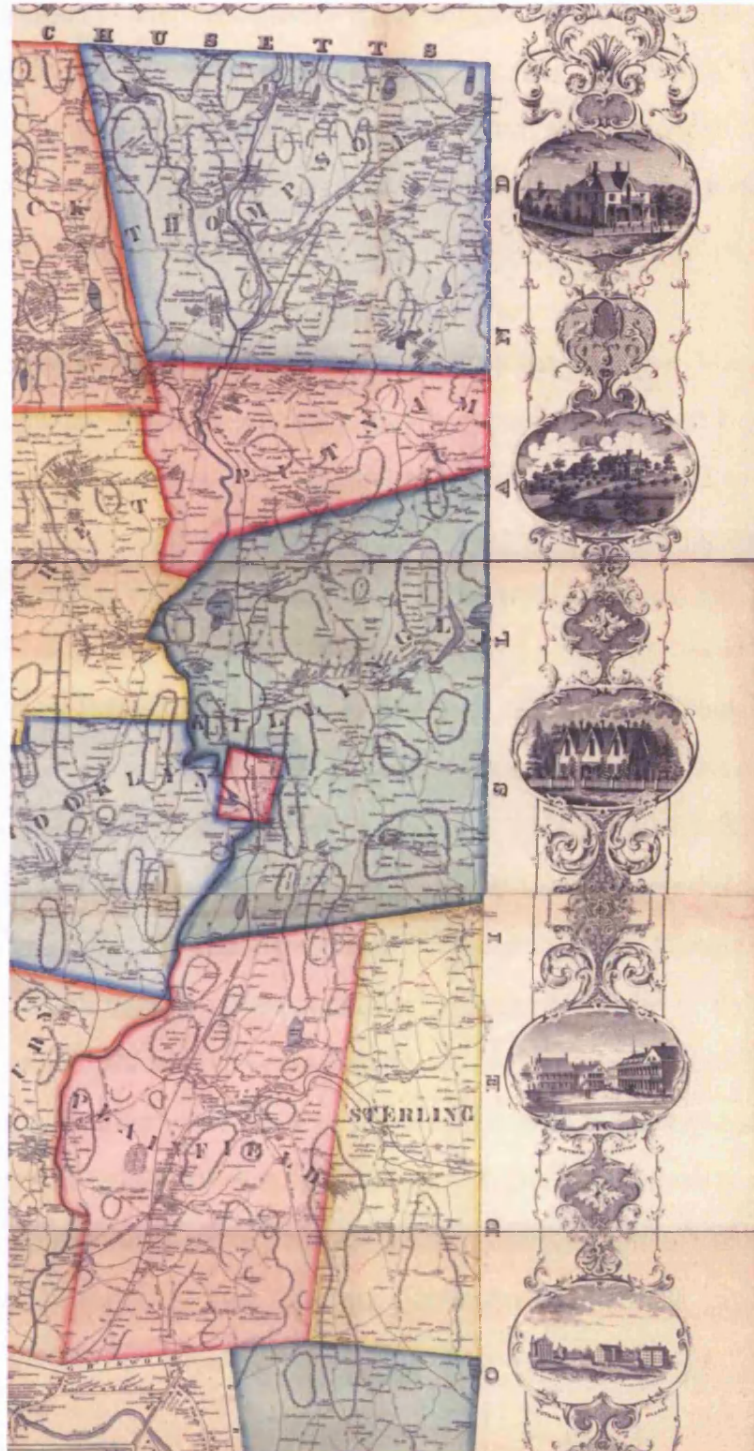
A tour of the Quinebaug River Valley in the early national period reveals distanciation in action, as road building and cotton mills initiated the process of industrialization and urbanization that underpinned and extended the power of the regional agricultural-industrial elites who financed these developments. Detail from a map of Windham County published in 1856 graphically illustrates this process by juxtaposing the region's rurality and modernity.

Surveyed in 1856 when the region was entering into a second, more intense period of industrial growth, the map reveals the parallel courses of the Quinebaug River, the Norwich and Worcester railroad, and a network of turnpikes through the towns of Thompson, Putnam, Killingly, and Plainfield. Beginning at the top, three border vignettes reveal the manorial rural residences of Thompson mill owner William H. Mason, Thompson landowner William H. Chandler, and Putnam merchant Hiram N. Brown. The remaining two detail the region's newest 'power container', the recently established industrial town of Putnam (Figure 2.3)

The map details the town of Thompson in blue. Located in Windham County's northeast corner, it shared borders with Rhode Island and Massachusetts and so benefited from road-building projects originating in those states. By 1810 it boasted more turnpike miles than any other town in Connecticut. Thompson was also home to a thriving protoindustrial system. The Muddy Brook, French River, and Quinebaug River drove potash and pearl ash plants, saw and gristmills, a nail factory, and a cloth-dressing factory.

Thompson's highways, waterways, and nearby ports drew textile manufacturers to town, and by 1815 its rivers drove four cotton and woollen mills under the auspices of the Connecticut, Thompson, Quaddick, and Muddy Brook Manufacturing Companies. In turn, the mills spurred the growth of Thompson's agrarian economy. The arriving mill workers needed meat, much to the advantage of the town's landowning families that had been involved in livestock breeding since the mid-eighteenth century.

Figure 2.3: Detail from E. M. Woodford's *Map of Windham County, Connecticut* (1856)



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On leaving Thompson, the Quinebaug River flows south to Pomfret, which is located on the river's 'High Falls'. Throughout the eighteenth century, these powerful falls drove clothing mills, fulling mills, a gristmill, a butter-churning mill, and a scythe-grinding mill. In 1805, Oziel Wilkinson from Rhode Island acquired the water-powered complex and organised Windham County's first cotton mill, the Pomfret Manufacturing Company. The mill spun its first cotton yarn in April 1807, but it operated in relative remoteness until the railroads arrived and fired the development of Putnam, featured in red on the map.

Continuing southward, the Quinebaug River joins the Five Mile River and Whetstone Brook in the town of Killingly and becomes the western border of the towns of Pomfret and Brooklyn. Killingly's first settlements gathered around these confluences, and regional highways and turnpikes placed them within easy reach of Providence and the port of Norwich, resulting in the growth of several mill villages.

In 1807 James Danielson, a direct descendent of Killingly's first settler, and investors from Rhode Island and Massachusetts organised the Danielson Cotton Company at the confluence of the Quinebaug and Five Mile Rivers.²⁶ In 1827, Providence's Comfort Tiffany, a major shareholder who also organized the Danielson Company's store, formed the Tiffany Cotton Company. Rhode Islanders Leonard Ballou and Caleb Williams built cotton mills and attendant villages at Ballouville on the Five Mile River in 1825 and at Williamsville on the Quinebaug River in 1827. In 1828, the Chestnut Hill Reservoir Company harnessed waters in the eastern section of Killingly. The reservoir fed the Whetstone Brook, which powered fifteen textile-, saw-, and gristmills as it descended more than 200 feet within four miles.²⁷ In 1832 locals John Day, Prosper Alexander, and William Alexander (1787–1875) organised the Dayville Cotton Company on Killingly's Five Mile River.

²⁶ Richard M. Bayles, *History of Windham County, Connecticut* (New York: Preston and Rounds, 1889), 935.

²⁷ Richard C. Adams, *Mills Along the Whetstone Brook* (Killingly, CT: Killingly Historical Society, 1984).

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By 1836 Killingly, with fourteen working cotton mills, was Connecticut's largest cotton-manufacturing town.²⁸ The development of its mills illustrates the symbiosis between rural Windham County and urban Providence. The former supplied the waterpower; the latter, technological expertise and capital.

From Killingly, the Quinebaug River flows on to Plainfield, forming a border between it and Canterbury. A flat plain known as 'Egypt' provided Plainfield with the good soil and fertile farmland that initiated its first European settlement.²⁹ In 1805 the Providence and Norwich Turnpike linked Plainfield with the Windham Turnpike, providing easy access to Providence, and in 1809 investors combined with locals to form the Plainfield Union Manufacturing Company to spin cotton yarn on the Moosup River, a tributary of the Quinebaug.

In 1825 urban and rural interests clashed in Plainfield when local farmers and landowners complained to town government that the textile industry's dams, raceways, and canals were destroying fishing lanes. The farmers were curtly reminded that Plainfield's wealth would be increased by 'availing ourselves of the natural powers afforded us by our water streams for the operation of machinery for the various purposes of manufacturing', as the mills will provide 'substantial aid and support to the farming interest'.³⁰ The local magistrates understood that the symbiosis of rural and industrial pursuits were crucial for the town's prosperity.

By 1835 four more textile mills had joined Plainfield Union Manufacturing on the Moosup, and the mill villages of Unionville, Centreville, Almyville, Gladdingsville, and Kennedy City had sprung up in a highly rural setting.³¹ Along with the Whetstone

²⁸ John Warner Barber, *Connecticut Historical Collections* (New Haven, CT: Durrie and Peck, 1836), 432.

²⁹ Barber, *Connecticut*, 435.

³⁰ Christopher Bickford, *Plainfield Transformed: Three Centuries of Life in a Connecticut Town* (Plainfield, CT: Plainfield Historical Society, 1999), 71.

³¹ Bayles, *Windham County*, 459–65.

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Brook, five major waterways in the Eastern Uplands, the Quinebaug, French, Five Mile, and Moosup Rivers, powered the network of cotton and woollen mills eventually built in the five towns (Figure 2.4).

The tour of the northeastern Connecticut region concludes by moving westwards across land from Plainfield to Windham in the Willimantic River Valley. In the colonial period, Windham's convenient location at the junction of colonial routes had established it as the county seat. A courthouse and jail were constructed, and lawyers, shopkeepers, and traders settled around the town green to serve increasing numbers of travellers, witnesses, and judges.³²

Along with its fertile agricultural land, Windham's county-seat status provided the town with a secure economic base. After Independence, however, the town lost both population and its political power.

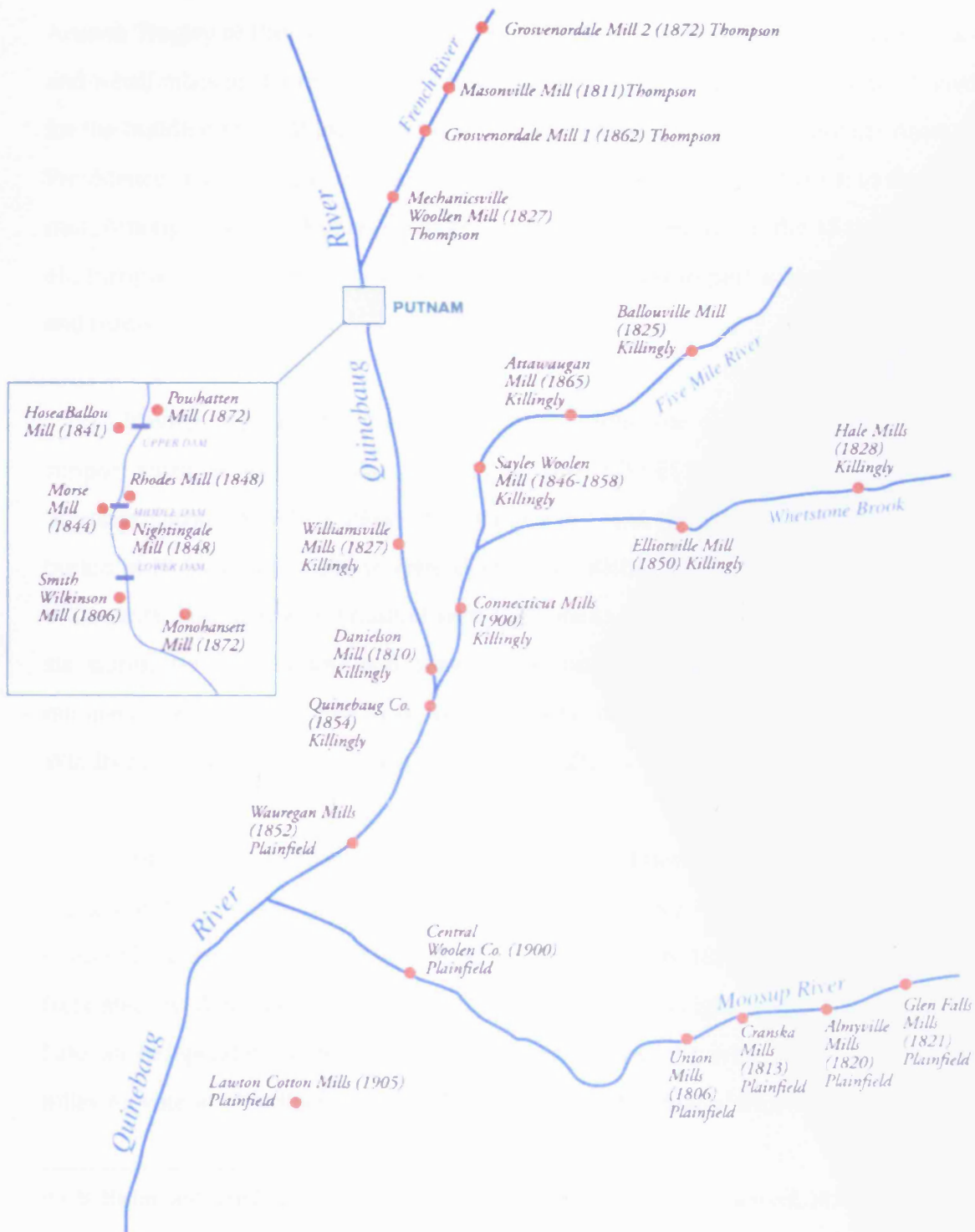
Further illustrating Giddens notion of distancing, authoritative resources usurped locative resources in the county, as the region modernised. Because of difficulties encountered in travelling to Windham to attend courts and plead cases, Windham County's remoter rural towns wanted the county seat relocated to a more central place. The first of several petitions for removal was drafted in 1784 but all failed until 1819 by which time the Windham Turnpike and the Windham and Mansfield Turnpike had reduced travel times across the county and strengthened the claim of remote towns for a centrally located county seat. In addition, eastern Windham County's textile manufacturers had begun to make claims for the seat. In 1819 the General Assembly bowed to increasing pressure and removed the county courthouse from Windham to the town of Brooklyn. Although it was not in a central location, Brooklyn was only a short distance from the mills at Thompson, Killingly, and Plainfield.³³

³² Larned, *Windham County* 1: 267.

³³ Bayles, *Windham County*, 572.

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Figure 2.4: Major Quinebaug River Valley Waterways and Major Textile Manufacturing Companies, 1806–1905



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Road building in the early national period changed the destiny of Windham by drawing Rhode Island capital to the town. In 1822 Dr. Perez O. Richmond, a Rhode Island physician, built a cotton mill on the Willimantic River three miles from the vacant county courthouse on Windham town green.³⁴ In 1823, Mathew Watson and Arunah Tingley of Providence organised the Windham Manufacturing Company one-and-a-half miles upstream from the Richmond mill. Shortly afterwards they petitioned for the building of the Windham and Brooklyn Turnpike to improve haulage times to Providence, and during its construction, they built a second mill adjacent to the 1823 mill. Amongst the supplies and building materials dragged along the 15 miles of the old turnpike from Norwich were 30 gallons of rum, used in part to pay mill builders and teamsters.³⁵

Having supplied the community with spirits, the company commenced to support spiritual needs. In May 1828 it expended \$797.65 to build a Congregational Meeting House. In 1877 workers demolishing the church uncovered a time capsule buried in its foundation. Inside were documents stating that between 1822 and 1827, Willimantic had gained a thousand new inhabitants, along with 'six cotton factories, six stores, three groceries, two shoe shops, one druggist, five blacksmiths, one millinery, two schools, two taverns, and forty houses'.³⁶ The locals had named Windham's expanding mill village Willimantic Falls.

Highways, turnpikes, rivers, and ports fired a linear process of urban growth along Windham's Willimantic River. An infilling process connected the mill villages strung along a one-and-a-half-mile length of river, and by 1832 several mill owners, frustrated by Windham's opposition to 'needful outlay', sought to make Willimantic Falls an independent town by citing the inconvenience of having to travel the four miles to vote at Windham Green. The state denied the manufacturing village town

³⁴ J. B. Richmond, *The Richmond Family, 1594–1896* (Boston, CT., J. B. Richmond, 1897), 1164.

³⁵ Windham Manufacturing Company Papers, Baker Library, Harvard Business School. [henceforth, WMCP], vol. 1, box H1, 10 November 1827, 3.

³⁶ *Willimantic Journal*, 30 March 1877.

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status but granted it a borough charter in May 1833, enabling the industrial community to 'regulate its own highways and institute local improvements'.³⁷

A combination of factors, including an efficient turnpike network, the early growth of towns, and proximity to the ports at Providence, Norwich, and New London were central to the emergence of the region's textile industry. The records of the Windham Manufacturing Company one of the region's largest antebellum cotton manufacturing companies reveal this process. During the 1820s and 1830s, textile companies purchased their raw materials from Southern cotton fields and shipped it to New York City. Then transferred onto smaller vessels, the cargo was shipped to New London, Norwich, and Providence, from where 12 horse teams pulling massive wagons hauled the bales and supplies along the turnpike network to the region's mills.³⁸

Willimantic's Henry Brainard 'made his money' teaming between Willimantic, Providence, and Norwich. Employed by the Windham Manufacturing Company between 1829 and 1841, he had been a 'prominent figure mounted on his elevated seat on his wagon with six horses on the way to Providence or Norwich transporting raw materials and manufactured product'.³⁹ However, as Rhode Island-based capital investment ignited a second stage of industrial and urban growth in the region, the arrival of a new transportation technology in Windham County curtailed Brainard's profession in 1839.

Sleepers and Spindles

The railroad era commenced in America circa 1830, but Connecticut was slow to take to the new technology. For one thing, the need did not seem imperative: The state was serviced along the Long Island Sound by an efficient steamship service and

³⁷ Larned, *Windham County*, 2: 515.

³⁸ WMCP, vol. 1, Box H1, 11 April 1829–28 November 1838, 19–20.

³⁹ *Willimantic Chronicle*, 12 March 1884.

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easily traversable by a sophisticated highway and turnpike network. Furthermore, Connecticut's ridged topography frightened off investors wary of high construction costs, and railroad interests in New York City and Boston were more concerned with the race to tap into the lucrative Erie Canal trade and Western markets.⁴⁰

The financial panic of 1837 was a catalyst for change. Seeing the need to develop hinterlands, merchants and entrepreneurs in Connecticut's ports competed to finance the building of railroads northwards along Connecticut's river valleys. Although aware of the potential freight profits from the mill towns along the line, the builders of the Norwich and Worcester Railroad along the Quinebaug River Valley were mainly concerned with developing the quickest rail route between New York City and Boston.⁴¹ Nevertheless, they needed the textile manufacturers' economic muscle to get the line built, and the promotional pamphlets for the line stressed the region's industrial nature:

Within five miles of the right of way are 75 cotton mills, 27 woollen mills, several tanneries, and other mills manufacturing such diverse items as leather goods, paper, iron castings, scythes, axes, cutlery, cabinet furniture, boots, shoes, combs, ploughs, and tinware'.⁴²

The building of the Norwich and Worcester Railroad commenced at Norwich in 1835, and on 4 September 1839 the first cotton bales arrived at Plainfield from the inland port of Norwich. The completed 59-mile route, which connected eastern Connecticut's mill towns with the Massachusetts railroad network and the Long Island Sound, officially opened on 9 March 1840.⁴³

⁴⁰ Kirkland, *Men, Cities, and Transportation*, 1: 232.

⁴¹ Van Dusen, *Connecticut* (1961), 323; David M. Roth, *Connecticut: A Bicentennial History* (New York: Norton Company, 1979), 31.

⁴² Elmer F. Farnham, *The Quickest Route: The History of the Norwich and Worcester Railroad* (Chester, CT: Pequot Press, 1974), 10.

⁴³ Frances M. Caulkin, *History of Norwich* (Hartford, CT: F. M. Caulkin, 1870), 531–32.

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In the 1840s, Rhode Island's expanding economy was beginning to demand access to wider markets, and in 1847, Providence financier William A. Sprague III, aiming to open lucrative markets for Rhode Island and eastern Connecticut manufactured textiles, chartered the Hartford, Providence, and Fishkill Railroad, which crossed the Norwich and Worcester line at Plainfield. The junction had a significant impact on Killingly by putting it within easier reach of Rhode Island capital (Figure 2.4).

In 1850, Amos Deforest Lockwood and Moses Brown Lockwood of Slatersville, Rhode Island, organised the Quinebaug Cotton Company, which purchased and developed the old Tiffany Mill, located in Killingly and Brooklyn. The early history of this company reveals how the expansion of the cotton industry led to the creation of new administrative centres to further the economic goals of the cotton manufacturers.

Conservative elements in both Killingly and Brooklyn resisted the Lockwoods' attempts to expand, so the brothers sought an alternative to town authority. In 1854 a series of fires destroyed the business centre of Daniels Village, and Amos Lockwood suggested that to improve fire protection, borough government be organised for Daniels Village, Westfield Village, and Tiffany's Village. The state granted the communities with borough status later that year.⁴⁴ By 1859 the confident Danielsonville burgesses were meeting with Windham County authorities to request that the county court be relocated to Danielsonville from neighbouring Brooklyn because of the borough's superior railroad and transport facilities.⁴⁵ In 1853 the Lockwood brothers formed a second cotton company, the Wauregan Company. They built a stone mill adjacent to the Plainfield junction on the banks of the Quinebaug River and appointed James S. Atwood (1832–85) to superintend the operation.

The Plainfield railroad junction was also responsible for attracting a group of Rhode Island woollen manufacturers who created a thriving industrial and

⁴⁴ Henry Vernon Arnold, *The Making of Danielson* (Larimore, ND: H. V. Arnold, 1905), 91.

⁴⁵ *Windham Transcript*, 28 April 1859.

commercial centre at Dayville in Killingly, two miles north of Danielsonville. In 1854, Rhode Island woollen manufacturers Sabin L. Sayles, Harris C. Sayles, and Thomas D. Sayles acquired the Dayville cotton mill adjacent to the village's Norwich and Worcester railroad depot. In 1858 they added a brick mill to the site to increase the manufacture of an already 'endless quantity of satinets', and in 1861 they won a \$16,000 a week contract to supply cloth for Union Army uniforms.⁴⁶ The Dayville railroad depot was within easy reach of the Plainfield junction, and therefore of New York, Providence, and Boston, and it attracted commerce from neighbouring towns and every mill village along Killingly's Five Mile River and Whetstone Brook. By 1867, Dayville was replete with 'more fine residences than any place of its size in this section'.⁴⁷

The importance of the Plainfield junction to Killingly is illustrated by monitoring a decade's growth at the Sayles' woollen mill at Dayville. In 1860 it was capitalised at \$40,000 and employed 55 hands manufacturing \$145,000 worth of woollens annually. Comparatively, in 1870 the company was capitalised at \$150,000, and employed 184 hands producing \$400,000 of woollens per annum.⁴⁸

In February 1863, Sabin and Thomas Sayles purchased the Mechanicsville mill complex in Thompson, located at the junction of the Norwich and Worcester Railroad and the Boston and New York Central Railroad. The purchase of the Thompson mill not only helped the Sayles family handle increasing orders during the Civil War, but also provided them with a second link on the regional railroad network. As it had in all the mill towns lying along the railroad route, the new technology rapidly transformed the Mechanicsville woollen community at Thompson. 'Mechanicsville greatly changed under the prosperity of this firm. Handsome buildings were erected, a fine green laid out, and the surrounding roads and farms were greatly improved'.⁴⁹

⁴⁶ *Windham Transcript*, 30 September 1858; 17 May 1860; 22 October 1861.

⁴⁷ *Windham Transcript*, 7 November 1867.

⁴⁸ Eighth and Ninth Census of Connecticut Industry, 1860 and 1870.

⁴⁹ *Windham Transcript*, 5 February 1863.

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When the railroad arrived at Thompson, it laid the groundwork for the town's future economic growth. Conversely, it led to the decline of the town's commercial centre. The discontinuance of stagecoach lines hit Thompson Hill hard: 'One by one stores and shops were closed. As the valleys increased the hills wasted, and tailoring, shoemaking and carriage making fell off from year to year'.⁵⁰ Nevertheless, the local elite continued to reside in the region's preindustrial villages, and they still wielded a significant influence in cultural and political areas from the 'old hill towns'. Overlooking this fact, historians have instead focused their attention upon a carpetbagger elite from Rhode Island.

In 1856 Providence-based Dr. William Grosvenor purchased the Masonville Company. In 1857 he added a new mill, and during the Civil War he funded an expansion programme consisting of the addition of a 12,000-spindle brick mill and the acquisition of the Fisherville Company's assets, 'including their mill, farming property and cotton goods on hand'.⁵¹ In 1866 the Masonville company and village were renamed Grosvenordale. In the decade after Grosvenor's purchase, the company's manufacturing capacity rose from 189 looms and 7,500 spindles to 540 looms and 27,000 spindles.⁵²

The railroad also drew Rhode Island investment capital to Pomfret and helped forge the town of Putnam. In 1844, Messrs. Moses and Blanchard, 'gentlemen of wealth of Providence', built a brick cotton mill several hundred yards to the north of the Wilkinson mill.⁵³ In November 1846, Hosea Ballou of Woonsocket, Rhode Island, 'reputed to be very wealthy', was 'putting up the largest mill in Windham County' several hundred yards to the north of Moses and Blanchard's mill.⁵⁴ Milton S. Morse

⁵⁰ Bayles, *Windham County*, 708.

⁵¹ *Windham Transcript*, 31 July 1862, 31 March 1864.

⁵² *Windham Transcript*, 5 April 1866.

⁵³ Bayles, *Windham County*, 826.

⁵⁴ R G. Dun and Co. Collection, Baker Library, Harvard Business School: Windham County, Connecticut [henceforth, RGD], 1: 118.

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and a partnership of Rhode Islanders leased the mill in 1846, and in 1848 they built a stone mill on the opposite bank of the Quinebaug River.⁵⁵ These developments transformed the mill village:

The Pomfret factory station on the Norwich and Worcester Railroad opened in 1839, and became the outlet for Pomfret, Woodstock, parts of Killingly and Thompson, and a wide radius inland. A depot village sprang up at once, and business flowed in. Enterprising men saw the great natural advantages of the site, bought up land and built up houses. Young men from the hill towns experimented in store keeping. Lawyers and doctors doubtfully hung out their signs.⁵⁶

In the 1840s this railroad-induced economic activity inspired a group of local leaders to agitate for town status, and in 1849 they petitioned the General Assembly for the creation of a town named 'Putnam,' in honour of General Israel Putnam, Windham County's Revolutionary War hero. Five appeals followed, but the General Assembly dismissed them all.⁵⁷ In the 1850s, however, further developments in transportation and the vagaries of politics turned the tide in their favour.

In 1854 the Boston and New York Central Railroad made a junction with the Norwich and Worcester Railroad two miles north of the Pomfret railroad depot, establishing a direct connection between Boston and the area of the proposed town. Furthermore, by the mid-1850s the patriotic Know Nothings, an anti-Irish, anti-Catholic, America-for-Americans political party, was in control of the Connecticut General Assembly. Highly sympathetic to this quest for independence, the Know Nothings incorporated Putnam as a town following its proponents' seventh petition in 1855.⁵⁸

⁵⁵ Bayles, *Windham County*, 824–27.

⁵⁶ Larned, *Windham County*, 2: 552.

⁵⁷ Larned, *Windham County*, 2: 553.

⁵⁸ Robert Parmet, 'Connecticut's Know Nothings: A Profile', *Connecticut Historical Society Bulletin* 31 (1966): 84–90.

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Putnam's new town status and its nearby railroad links to Boston and Providence convinced Providence-based Milton S. Morse to buy 500 acres of woodland adjacent to his Putnam mill in 1855. The following year he sent his son George Milton Morse to Putnam to superintend expansion, which included the rebuilding of the mill's old dam in stone to increase waterpower.⁵⁹ During the Civil War, Putnam's woollen mills won lucrative orders to provide cloth for Union Army uniforms, and in 1866 a review of the town's industrial output noted that the 'essential business of Putnam is cotton and woollen manufacturing'. The Morse Cotton Company made significant profits throughout the War, and in 1867 George Milton Morse purchased an 'eligible knoll' overlooking Putnam and built an ostentatious mansion, the 'most expensive dwelling house in the county'.⁶⁰

The railroad era commenced relatively late in Windham, partly because of the town's efficient turnpike and highway network. It arrived in 1849 courtesy of the Connecticut whaling industry. By the late 1840s, New London's declining whaling economy looked to the railroads to create a hinterland in western Windham County and Massachusetts, and in 1847 it joined textile mill interests to charter the New London, Willimantic, and Palmer Railroad.⁶¹

Ground was broken in New London in July 1848. The company imported three thousand tons of rolled iron rails from the Coalbrookdale Ironworks in England, but indigenous resources were utilised for all other construction needs. Agrarian and early industrial elites located adjacent to the line developed small spin-off industries. Local farmers provided 20,000 chestnut sleepers, and a Windham iron foundry provided castings to fit sleepers to the rails. The first train ran from New London to Willimantic on 15 November 1849. Larned noted that 'cotton teaming was killed at a blow, the

⁵⁹ RGD, 1: 135; *Windham Transcript*, 18 August 1859.

⁶⁰ *Windham Transcript*, 11 January 1866; 24 January 1867.

⁶¹ Charles G. Woodward, *The New London, Willimantic and Palmer Railroad* (Hartford, CT: Case, Lockwood and Brainard 1941), 32.

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turnpike gates were thrown open, and laden trains from the four quarters of the globe brought goods, trade, money and prosperity to the Willimantic Valley'.⁶²

In 1854 the Hartford, Providence, and Fishkill Railroad, constructed westward from the Plainfield junction, met the New London line in Willimantic, creating the county's third major railroad junction, 14 miles west of Plainfield's. Several weeks later, a New York corporation purchased several Willimantic cotton mills and formed the Willimantic Linen Company. It was alive to the fact that the New London, Willimantic, and Palmer Railroad would shortly connect at the port of Norwich with the Norwich and Worcester Railroad, thus providing rail traffic from Norwich with direct access to the Willimantic River Valley. Similarly, the port at New London now had rail access to the Quinebaug River Valley.⁶³

Willimantic's position as the hub of the Southern New England railroad network played a large part in the rapid growth of the Willimantic Linen Company. In 1856 company stockholders were enjoying healthy dividends, and the sale of surplus stock enabled the construction of Connecticut's largest cotton mill in 1857. The company subsequently tripled its output, and this 'well capitalised and run' organisation operated throughout the financial panic of 1857-58. By September 1863, Civil War orders had put the company in a 'flourishing condition', and by June 1865 it had expended over \$1,000,000 in new mills and buildings. In 1880 the Willimantic Linen Company had a \$4,000,000 surplus, and it easily resisted a vigorous takeover bid from Scotland's Clark Cotton Company.⁶⁴

The expanding railroad hub at Willimantic greatly benefited members of the local elite, as the railroad and the telegraph rapidly shrank time and space across the region. For example, James W. Walden, the son of a wealthy merchant from nearby Canterbury who came to Willimantic in 1828 to sell provisions to mill workers,

⁶² Larned, *Windham County*, 2: 557.

⁶³ Woodward, *The New London, Willimantic and Palmer Railroad*, 49-51.

⁶⁴ RGD, 1: 203, 310.

established a book and stationery store in the borough in 1850, the year after the New London, Willimantic, and Palmer Railroad connected the community to Massachusetts and the Long Island Sound ports.

Property holdings and political positions at the state and local level underpinned Walden's wealth and power. He owned the borough's National Hotel and several business blocks on Main Street and was Willimantic's postmaster, Adams Express agent, Windham's state representative, a borough burgess, a member of the borough Board of Relief, and a justice of the peace. Walden and others like him were instrumental in centralising communication and information gathering in new urban areas. Shortly after the Hartford, Providence, and Fishkill Railroad made a junction with the town's existing railroad, he installed Willimantic's first telegraph in his store. Patrons crowded into his store to hear the latest Civil War news, and in 1862 he built one of the borough's first brick blocks, described at the time as being the region's centre and headquarters of all news and information.⁶⁵ The new block also served as the headquarters of the local Republican Party, of which Walden was chairman.⁶⁶

By 1872 Windham County had a sophisticated rail network that had not only reduced travel times between the five industrial towns, but which also placed northeastern Connecticut within easy reach of Hartford and Providence. In conjunction with the telegraph, it cut down transportation and communication time, stretching power spatially and chronologically. Speeding the distancing process put in place by the turnpike network 50 years earlier it enabled absentee directors and owners of textile companies, to travel to and from the milltowns in a day, and hold face-to-face meetings with local officers. Moreover, it firmly fixed northeastern Connecticut's economy into national and international trading markets.

Despite these rapid strides, no single rail route yet existed between New York City and Boston. A rectangular region consisting of Connecticut, Massachusetts, and

⁶⁵ *Willimantic Journal*, 14 November 1862; *Willimantic Chronicle*, 13 May 1916.

⁶⁶ Bayles, *Windham County*, 318; RGD, 2:573.

Rhode Island, traversed only by north-south and east-west railroads, separated the Northeast's two major cities. In 1873 the completion of the Air Line Railroad added a hypotenuse to that rectangle.⁶⁷ It ran directly through Windham County, and gave a tremendous, if not short-lived, boost to northeastern Connecticut's economy, one that further benefited an entrenched, and powerful local elite.

The Hypotenuse

Proponents of the Air Line Railroad had long envisioned the direct Boston-New York City link as an 'Air Line', drawn as the bird flies. Several antebellum projects had aimed to realize this vision, but they were unsuccessful due to difficult geographical conditions, increasing expenses, and the intransigence of politically powerful steamship owners unwilling to lose their profitable freight lines along the Long Island Sound. Added to this was the competitive nature of railroad companies, which were unable to agree on a common route.

The Air Line originated in Middletown, a Connecticut River port that by the 1840s was losing its steamboat traffic to railroads. In 1846 the port's merchants chartered the New York and Boston Railroad, which was designed to pass directly through Middletown. A survey was undertaken between New Haven and Willimantic, and then on to Dayville in Killingly, but steamboat interests in the General Assembly blocked the building of a swing bridge across the Connecticut River. After the arrival of the Hartford, Providence, and Fishkill line in Willimantic in 1850, the merchants lost interest in the project.⁶⁸

Meanwhile, however, another attempt was underway to complete the hypotenuse. Commencing in 1847 the Boston and New York Central Railroad built southwestward to connect Boston with industrial towns in southeast Massachusetts,

⁶⁷ Gregory Taylor and Melancthon W. Jacobus, *Connecticut Railroads: An Illustrated History* (Hartford, CT: The Connecticut Historical Society, 1986), 161.

⁶⁸ Stanley M. Cooper, *The Airline* (np: 1970), 5.

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northwest Rhode Island, and northeast Connecticut. In 1854 the line entered Mechanicsville, where it made a junction with the Norwich and Worcester Railroad.

By 1863 the Boston and New York Central Railroad's finances were exhausted, and the Boston, Hartford, and Erie Railroad, which planned to open a 'Gateway to the West' for New England-manufactured products, absorbed the line. In 1864, it began a 26-mile stretch from Mechanicsville, through Putnam, and on to Willimantic. A local newspaper explained why the link took eight years to complete: 'The cuts through rock, clay and ground have been deep and of immense expense, perhaps not excelled on any road in the same distance. The fills are equally great'.⁶⁹

The line boosted the building trade in towns along the route. In 1868 Putnam woollen mill agent Michael Moriarty built 40 tenements housing 200 people and made additions to the Wilkinson 'family mansion' in which he lived. Now that Putnam was directly connected with Boston, the local newspaper confidently predicted that 'there will be a larger amount of building in Putnam this year, than during any since the establishment of the town'.⁷⁰

On 16 August 1872 the first train ran between Willimantic and Putnam, and in early 1873 the first load of freight, a 'large import of English cotton winding machines' was shipped along it from Boston to Willimantic.⁷¹ The line's expense caused the demise of Boston, Hartford, and Erie, which the New York and New England Railroad absorbed in 1869. However, this hard-won connection between two of the region's major mill towns resulted in increasing commercial activity across the region.

Chartered in 1867 the New Haven, Middletown, and Willimantic Railway Company began the final phase of the Air Line from Middletown to Willimantic. In 1871 a Danielsonville newspaper noted the benefits this would bring to its rival

⁶⁹ *Windham Transcript*, 22 August 1872.

⁷⁰ *Windham Transcript*, 5 March 1868; 18 February 1869.

⁷¹ *Willimantic Journal*, 9 April 1873.

Windham County borough: 'Willimantic is tending fast toward becoming a city, and with completion of the two lines of railroad now in progress, will become a great railroad centre, and will be eventually what Worcester is to Massachusetts'.⁷²

On 2 June 1873 'the visionary project of 40 years ago' was at last realised. The locomotive engineer driving from Boston announced that he had covered the 24 miles from Putnam to Willimantic in only 40 minutes. The line's impact was immediate. Within days, the borough authorities built a 30-foot wide road to connect Willimantic's Main Street to the Air Line's new depot, where five carloads of the Atwood Machine Company's silk machinery were loaded and shipped to Scranton, Pennsylvania.⁷³

The link between Middletown and Willimantic completed the long-awaited hypotenuse, and once in place, the Air Line not only transformed the borough of Willimantic into a city but also instigated economic growth at the opposite corner of Windham County at Putnam and Thompson. The new line introduced Willimantic's growing silk industry to Putnam, drawing that town into a nascent globalising economy. In 1878, Willimantic's Asahel Hammond and New York City's Charles Knowlton formed a joint venture with Putnam's George Milton Morse (1830–1913), who provided the partners with a disused cotton mill and invested \$10,000 in the manufacture of high-grade silk cloth. The Hammond-Knowlton Silk Company imported raw silk from China and Japan, which was then despatched to its Putnam mill by sea-lanes, ports, and railroads. By the spring of 1881 the company was constantly on overtime. 'The force of help has increased, and a much larger quantity of goods is being produced than ever before'.⁷⁴

The completion of the Air Line once again attracted the cream of Rhode Island capital to Putnam. As the line was being constructed from Putnam towards New York City in 1871, Rhode Island-based manufacturers Estus Lamb and George Holt

⁷² *Windham Transcript*, 12 October 1871.

⁷³ *Windham Transcript*, 6 June 1873; *Willimantic Journal*, 27 June 1873.

⁷⁴ *Windham Transcript*, 29 January 1880.

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organised the Monohansett Cotton Company, installed 300 looms, built 30 tenement houses, and added 250 new residents to Putnam's population. Throughout 1875 the Monohansett mills ran on extra time. In March 1872, Rhode Islanders Milton Morse and George Nightingale commenced construction of a new mill five stories high with a 'French roof', which ran 300 looms. The Powhattan Company built 66 tenement houses in the town during 1872. This railroad-induced activity saw Putnam's population rise from 2,208 in 1860, the town's inaugural year in the census, to 5,827 by 1880, an increase of 164 percent in less than a generation.⁷⁵

The Air Line influenced Thompson's economy and demographics to a similar extent by giving Thompson's mills a direct link with New York City and firing a second stage of economic growth at the Grosvenordale Company. Shortly before the Air Line's completion, the company announced the building of 'one of the most architecturally striking cotton mills in New England', which would run 40,000 spindles and add a thousand to Thompson's population. The Grosvenordale Company laid foundations on the old Fisherville site, and the construction of 100 worker tenements got underway in May 1871. The railroad company built a branch line to connect with the Norwich and Worcester Railroad, and a commercial centre grew around the mill as it neared completion in 1873. The tenements were all filled before the mill was completed, adding an estimated 1,200 inhabitants.⁷⁶ In 1880 a local correspondent reflected on the transformation of Fisherville into North Grosvenordale:

Our little village of North Grosvenor Dale contains two cotton mills, two churches, one carriage shop, five grocery and dry good stores, one hardware store, one harness shop, two meat markets, two barber shops, one jewellery and clothing store and one blacksmith shop. We think that this is a good showing for a place which ten years ago contained only a small mill, church and grocery store.⁷⁷

⁷⁵ *Windham Transcript*, 14 August 1871; 28 March 1872; 16 January 1873.

⁷⁶ *Windham Transcript*, 4 May 1871; 12 July 1872; 1 May 1873.

⁷⁷ *Windham Transcript*, 5 February 1880.

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Expansion continued throughout the subsequent decade. New technology eliminated the mill's reliance on waterpower in 1884 when the company installed a 300-horse power steam engine powerful enough to run the mill's 65,000 spindles and 1,500 looms. It also built a new warehouse adjacent to the railroad branch line to store backlog mill production for up to eight months, 'for the easy and prompt receiving or shipping of cotton or manufactured goods'.⁷⁸ As impressive as Thompson's new Grosvenordale mill was, a Windham cotton mill built in 1880 by the Willimantic Linen Company was allegedly so large that the architects had to take the curvature of the earth into consideration during its construction.⁷⁹

The completion of the Airline brought to an end a process of economic development and urbanization inextricably linked to Rhode Island capital investment, the development of transportation routes, and textile manufacturing. Economic expansion as a whole across Windham County occurred in two distinct stages: The county's turnpike network, built and completed in a generation from 1794, instigated a first stage of economic growth, and the construction of a railroad network between 1839 and 1873 created a second stage centred around three railroad junctions at Windham, Putnam, and Plainfield. The county's turnpikes and railroads acted simultaneously as an economic funnel and pump, allowing goods and capital to flow through the Quinebaug and Willimantic River Valleys into the ports of Norwich and New London, and by sucking commerce from the Long Island Sound into Southern New England (Figure 2.5).

No single turnpike or railroad benefited the towns in this study; instead, they benefited from a network centred upon and emerging from economic rivalries between New York City, Boston, and Providence. The transport networks synthesised the region's agricultural economy and environment with an emerging industrial economy and urban environment. Likewise, no northeastern Connecticut urban centre emerged as a dominant central place. The city of Providence, Rhode Island, fulfilled

⁷⁸ *Boston Journal of Commerce*, 2 August; 16 August 1884.

⁷⁹ *Willimantic Chronicle*, 19 May 1880.

that role in both stages of economic development, in which elites, either in absentee or local roles, took advantage of every political avenue to maximise their economic advantages.

With no major commercial or population centre, northeastern Connecticut was instead characterised by small, paternalistic, textile mill and farming communities. Isolated from Connecticut's centres of population and political power, the county's five major industrialised towns developed a complex spatial patchwork of urban-industrial places in agrarian settings, and within that geographic-historic context, they demonstrated highly similar physical and industrial features.⁸⁰

A study of New England's small industrial communities has described Windham County's early mill villages as isolated points of industrialisation in otherwise agricultural towns, located on the periphery of Providence and Boston's economic hinterland'.⁸¹ Such isolation helped to maintain older social ties, and the agrarian elite easily transferred their power to the five towns' textile manufacturing communities in order to control working and living patterns.

⁸⁰ The only slight deviation from the textile norm was a shoe manufacturing industry conducted in Thompson, Putnam, and Killingly. The Ninth Census of Connecticut Industry indicates that in 1870 the industry employed 350 people in 13 establishments in the three towns and that its manufacturing output for the year accounted for four percent of the county's total. It was a relic of the protoindustrial-agricultural system, in which locally obtained leather was cut and shaped in water-powered mills and then put out in homes across the region for stitching. This secondary industry further illustrates the symbiosis of rural and industrial pursuits in Windham County.

⁸¹ Richard M. Candee, 'New Towns in the Early Nineteenth Century: The Textile Industry and Community Development in New England' (Old Sturbridge Village, MA: Unpublished manuscript, 1976), 4, 77.

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In the 1890s, an interurban trolley car system improved Windham County's transportation system, but this did not prevent the gradual relocation of its cotton manufacturing industry to the South. Connecticut was the only New England state to lose spindles as early as 1886. In 1898 a study by the Connecticut Bureau of Labour Statistics blamed the loss upon the attractions of the South's low wage rates, antiunion laws, excessive use of child labour, and its proximity to raw materials.⁸²

However, in his 1932 landmark study of New England's cotton industry, Burgy ignored the evidence that the decline of Windham County's textile industry was due to complex structural problems and realignments of world markets. Instead, he blamed its decline squarely on the salient characteristics of the Rhode Island System; i.e., small business partnerships, reliance upon ancient technology, absentee ownerships, and the 'dry-rot' of father-son management teams. The Waltham system, he argued, 'discouraged such nepotism'.⁸³ Burgy's approach further demonstrates the analytical limitations of the Rhode Island /Waltham dichotomy.

Mill closures continued throughout the twentieth century, and in 1955 a flood in the Quinebaug River Valley led to the closure of one of the region's larger companies at Wauregan in Plainfield.⁸⁴ Along with the postwar federal highway-building programme, the flood also speeded the collapse of the railroad network. Furthermore, highway construction was sparse in northeast Connecticut, and Hartford and Providence remain the only two adjacent state capital cities not directly connected by an interstate highway. Only small back roads provide access to crumbling ruins of the region's mills.

Throughout this process of industrial growth and decline, one thing has remained constant: Northeastern Connecticut has preserved its rural identity as

⁸² *The Fourteenth Annual Report of Connecticut's Bureau of Labor Statistics* (1898), 18–58.

⁸³ Jacob H. Burgy, *The New England Cotton Textile Industry: A Study in Industrial Geography* (Baltimore, MD: The Waverly Press, 1932), 27, 219.

⁸⁴ W. Stanley Devino, Arnold H. Raphaelson and James A. Storer *A Study of Textile Mill Closings in Selected New England Communities* (Orono, ME: University of Maine Press, 1966), 125–142.

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southern New England's Last Green Valley. The railroads have gone, replaced by rustic, recreational cycling and walking tracks, but the pastoral environment remains a crucial factor in explaining the continuing viability of the region's Yankee elite culture.

Repeatedly stressed in a wide range of mediums, Windham County's pastoral environment allowed the elite to successfully mask distancing as turnpike and railroad networks modernised five ideally located agrarian towns. The elites who administered the railroads at the height of modernity stretched social relations back across time and space and reached into the Last Green Valley's past to compete in the transportation market and perpetuate their power. The subsequent chapters delineate this regional elite and describe how they held onto power.

Chapter Three

Reconstructing a Connecticut Yankee Elite

America is a self-made country and those who have created it are self-made Men. No influence of birth and fortune has favoured the architects of her glory.¹

Two nineteenth-century explorations of American elites, both undertaken by Western European aristocrats, provide opposing views of the cultural structure of small New England towns. In *Democracy In America* (1835), Alexis de Tocqueville celebrated the pluralism of American society, while James Bryce's *American Commonwealth* (1888) maintained that America was an undemocratic country controlled by a powerful elite.²

During the early part of his American tour in 1831, Tocqueville was shocked and repulsed by the young republic's lack of culture and doubted that its leaders could rule without the aid of a monarchy, aristocracy, and political elite. By the end of his tour, however, the French aristocrat was convinced that America was developing into a wholly democratic, one-class society. He particularly admired New England's small, self-governing, Puritan-based communities as living proof of such egalitarianism.

Tocqueville remains the most remembered and celebrated of a wide number of early nineteenth-century European observers who traversed the continent to explore the new, egalitarian experiment. British travellers often commented upon their hosts' uncouth table manners, strange accents, and primitive roads. Nevertheless, they also encountered many familiar scenes, particularly in New England, where small, independent market towns supplied a variety of services for an agrarian economy dominated by long-established landowners. Thanks to their high social status and the

¹ Allen B. Lincoln, ed., *A Modern History of Windham County, Connecticut: A Windham County Treasure Book* (Chicago: S. J. Clarke Publishing Company), 2:1,116.

² Philipps Bradley, ed., *Democracy in America* (New York, Vintage Books, 1954); James Bryce, *The American Commonwealth* (New York: McMillan and Company, 1893).

deferential culture of the time, New England's landowners, clergymen, bankers, doctors, and solicitors held prominent local, regional, and national political posts in a fashion that mirrored the Old World.

In 1818 John Morison Duncan, a member of Edinburgh University's Speculative Society, observed a local squirearchy in northeast Connecticut that closely resembled the landed aristocracy of his homeland. When he visited the town of Windham during his tour of the United States, the Scotsman noted the physical and intellectual similarities between the Old and New Worlds:

Windham is the county town of the county of Windham; and its principal village if it were not built of wood, might be said to bear the general appearance of a small English market town. It contains a court house, gaol, grammar school and congregational church . . . Judge Swift possesses a very handsome residence, a little out of the village. The house stands in the middle of a lawn, and in that and other aspects bears more resemblance to an English gentlemen's country residence than any other I saw in Connecticut.³

The high sheriff of Windham County, Eleazer Fitch, had built Judge Zephaniah Swift's handsome residence in 1763. Fitch was a direct descendant of the Mayflower's William Bradford and eastern Connecticut's first English settlers, and his home was widely renowned as the 'social and cultural centre of eastern Connecticut'. Sheriff Fitch, however, was an ardent Tory, and Judge Swift acquired the Fitch mansion when the town's committee of safety banished Fitch to Nova Scotia in 1783.

Despite the fact that Fitch continually supported British colonial policy throughout the Revolutionary period, the town freemen repeatedly elected him to important town and county offices. All property-owning adult males could vote, but the men from families of high social standing, such as the Fitches and Swifts, were automatic choices for public office.⁴ Two of Judge Zephaniah Swift's descendants were members of the sample elite. His nephew, Justin Swift, was a pioneer cotton

³ John Morison Duncan, *Travels Through Part of the United States and Canada in 1818/1819* (New Haven, CT: Howe and Spalding, 1823), 314–315.

⁴ William Willingham, 'The Strange Case of Eleazer Fitch: Connecticut Tory', *Connecticut Historical Society Bulletin* 40 (1975), 75–79.

manufacturer, and he and his son, William Swift held prominent local posts from 1832 until 1890. This political system, commonly referred to as 'deferential democracy', continued throughout the nineteenth century and became the basis of numerous New England squirearchies.

Fifty years after Tocqueville recorded his observations of America, Bryce noted the changes wrought by urbanization and industrialization. The author of the *Holy Roman Empire* (1864), a Lincoln's Inn lawyer, Oxford Professor of Law, MP for Tower Hamlets and South Aberdeen, and later Viscount Bryce of Dechmont, Bryce was an expert in the structure of political institutions in western-style democracy.

However, *The American Commonwealth* (1888), which helped to launch the academic field of American studies in Britain, is often overlooked in the United States, for his 'patrician' theories of power sit uncomfortably alongside American notions of pluralistic egalitarianism. Bryce was sceptical of America's claim of full democracy and remarked upon the distinct social inequalities in urban communities where *nouveau riche* political bosses had created powerful local oligarchies. His patrician theory of power contended that an unelected but unified economic and social elite controlled urban politicians and businessmen. Even when the older elites left public life, they still controlled society.⁵

Bryce's study called into question the direct link between increasing industrialisation, urbanisation, and the growth of egalitarianism stressed by proponents of the social disorder thesis. Although in the United States *Democracy in America* is still quoted more than any other book except the Bible, this thesis favours Bryce's patrician pattern of power over Tocqueville's interpretation, which at the hands of pluralist historians has by now become cliché.

⁵ David C. Hammack, 'Elite Perception of Power in the Cities of the United States, 1880–1900: The Evidence of James Bryce, Moisei Ostrogorski and Their American Informants', *Journal of Urban History* 4 (1978), 363–91.

Reconstructing a Connecticut Yankee Elite

Utilising a variety of sources, this chapter reconstructs a sample Connecticut Yankee elite and summarises the demographic data that describes the context in which they operated. The first section describes the sources used to trace the life courses of the sample elite. The second section identifies the sample elite by wealth, place of birth, and occupation and describes patterns of distribution across the five towns. The third section reveals the demographic changes that accompanied modernisation in the region.

The Sources

In addition to the census of 1870, which provided the data for identifying the sample elite, a wide range of other sources were utilised to reconstruct the life courses of its individual members. These sources included obituaries, county histories, credit reports, probate records, and city and state directories.

Vital statistics, probate, and gravestone inscription records provided dates of death for the sample, enabling the tracing of obituaries in seven surviving Windham County newspapers. The town of Windham received the most detailed coverage in the period between 1870 and 1890. Its industrial borough, Willimantic, produced two newspapers: the weekly *Willimantic Journal* (published between 1847 and 1911) and the *Willimantic Chronicle* (1877 until the present). The *Putnam Patriot* appeared in 1872, although few issues survive prior to 1883. The *Plainfield (later Moosup) Journal* first appeared in the 1880s, but the majority of issues published before 1900 have been lost or destroyed. The *Windham Transcript* covered the town of Killingly from the 1840s, but there are large gaps in surviving issues, and all issues from 1899 through 1902 are missing. The few issues of local newssheets published at Thompson have been lost, so obituaries were retrieved from the *Webster Times*, published in contiguous Massachusetts, from district news sections of other state and city newspapers such as the *Hartford Courant* and *Norwich Bulletin*, and from New England's leading trade newspaper, the *Boston Journal of Commerce*.

Unlike a simple death notice, an obituary includes a life history and details on the careers of individuals and their involvement in organisations. Obituary coverage during the 1870s was inconsistent, and the newspapers often overlooked members of the elite who owned considerable land and property and held significant town positions. However, coverage of local news events and the inclusion of obituaries improved considerably by the early 1880s, and obituaries were retrievable for 65 percent or 200 of the 310 sample elite. The highest percentage was found for the Windham elite (83 percent) and the lowest for Thompson (39 percent).

Historical volumes often featured life histories not traceable in obituaries. In the nineteenth century there was a virtual production line of state, city, and county histories known as 'urban biographies', 'urban boosters', and 'mug-books'. Journalists, clergyman, and local and travelling historians penned these volumes, and subscription firms published them with a strict eye to sales and profit. Local worthies paid handsomely for the immortality guaranteed through inclusion in such volumes.

Subversive or anticapitalist meanings are difficult to extract from these works, which, true to the pluralist tradition, abound with Social Darwinist commentary espousing the virtues of self-made men and celebrate the all-American characteristics and culture of prominent citizens. Yet despite their lack of analysis and their celebration of Victorian individualism, county histories contain valuable biographies, genealogies, and visual representations of urban cultural and commercial pursuits. Maps, woodcuts, and photographs depict new theatres, libraries, and department stores. Statistics detail the grand dimensions of new buildings, and demographics demonstrate the growth and expansion of individual communities, towns, and cities.

The four county histories utilised for this study typically viewed New England as the centre of a particularly American universe through the prisms of its 'great men'. All promote 'Yankee ingenuity', liberal individualism, and patriotism. Published between 1874 and 1920, they include biographies of northeastern Connecticut's leading

industrialists, farmers, businessmen, and politicians and provide a descriptive, narrative history of the region.

Thompson's Ellen Larned was a keen and knowledgeable amateur historian of northeastern Connecticut, and in 1874 she published the first of her two-volume *History of Windham County* (1874 and 1880). Two prominent Thompson residents who feature in this study, William H. Chandler (1814–88) and Jeremiah Olney (1817–1903), financed Larned's undertaking. Chandler, a close friend of Larned's father, was the latest of seven generations of Chandlers to reside on the family's 'ancestral estate' in Thompson and was the 'wealthiest man in the county'.⁶ Olney, the president of the Thompson National Bank, had inherited 'considerable property' from his father, a former high sheriff of Windham County.⁷

In contrast to the layman Larned and her wealthy associates, Richard Mather Bayles, the author of Windham County's next major history, was a professional historian and a typical and prolific writer of subscription histories. He lived in Long Island, New York, and worked for the W. W. Preston Company, New York City's renowned subscription history publishers. Bayles's 1,200-page *History of Windham, Connecticut* (1889), consisted of a town-by-town history replete with jingoistic biographies. To stress the patriotic nature of his undertaking, Bayles introduced his work with a quote from Scott's 'Lay of the Last Minstrel': 'Land of my sires! What mortal hand can e'er untie the filial bond that knits me to thy rugged strand?'

In a similar appeal to local pride and patriotism, the Chicago-based J. H. Beers Company, publisher of hundreds of biographical volumes across the United States, produced a 1,300-page book of more than 2,000 biographical sketches of individuals living in Windham and neighbouring Tolland County, Connecticut. Local families compiled their own biographies and submitted them to Beers in 'typewritten form for

⁶ Lincoln, *Windham County*, 1:302; *Windham Transcript*, 16 May 1888.

⁷ R G. Dun and Co. Collection, Baker Library, Harvard Business School: Windham County, Connecticut [henceforth, RGD], 1:132; *Putnam Patriot*, 22 May 1903.

correction and revision'. The fact that individuals or families had to write, research, and submit typescripts themselves meant that the genre included only those with a high degree of literacy and sufficient resources to have the scripts researched, edited, and included in the final publication. The inclusion of a portrait of an individual to accompany a biographical sketch was a further expense that limited many to narrative. The Beers company published *Commemorative Biographical Record of Tolland and Windham Counties Connecticut* in 1903, and declared in the preface: 'This medium serves more than a single purpose; while it perpetuates biography and family genealogy, it records history, much of which would be preserved in no other way'.⁸

Allen Bennet Lincoln was a prolific writer of local history and the publisher of Connecticut's leading Prohibitionist newspaper, the *Connecticut Home*.⁹ In 1920 he collaborated with the S. J. Clarke Company of Chicago to publish an extensive two-volume 'modern' history of Windham County, *Modern History of Windham County*. It mirrored themes permeating the Larned, Bayles, and the Beers histories and in particular stressed that American patriotism resided in historic localities and in civic consciousness. In typical fashion, individual subscriptions funded the volumes, and over 400 biographies were included in the 1,800 pages of the second volume.

As the American economy expanded, lenders of capital required reliable financial and personal credit reports on unknown customers and potential investors. Lewis Tappan's New York City-based Mercantile Agency was organised in 1841 to provide such information. By 1849, it had evolved into R. G. Dun & Company and was extensively hiring correspondents in every major community across America to write reports on local people who required credit. The correspondents were usually young business and professional men, such as articled clerks in lawyer's offices or junior bank cashiers. They knew their local communities and were well versed in local gossip.

⁸ *Commemorative Biographical Record of Tolland and Windham Counties Connecticut* (Chicago: J. H. Beers Company, 1903), iii.

⁹ Allen Bennet Lincoln was the son of Allen Lincoln (1817-82), a relative of President Abraham Lincoln. In the early 1860s the senior Lincoln laid out streets and provided large tracts of land for real estate development in Windham's growing industrial borough of Willimantic.

The task was initially a part-time undertaking, but by the early 1870s, R. G. Dun & Company found it necessary to hire full-time correspondents, as it was receiving reports from 10,000 correspondents and reporters across the United States and responding to an average 5,000 applications for credit information per day. The correspondents sent handwritten reports to the company's New York City offices, which clerks entered into large ledger books arranged by counties.¹⁰ These ledgers provide details on the individual's occupation, net worth, value of personal and real property, business prospects, and personal details. In the late 1880s they were replaced by typewritten documents, which later gave way to electronic communications.

In 1962 the Dun and Bradstreet credit-reporting agency deposited 2,580 ledgers dating from 1841 to 1890 at Harvard University's Baker Library. Scholars first employed the R. G. Dun papers in social mobility studies to trace individuals throughout their lifetimes, as the company usually conducted two reports per annum per subject. Katz produced one of the earliest studies to utilise the Dun reports. He followed 161 businessmen listed in a Hamilton, Ontario, city directory and recovered 51 credit reports, representing 32 percent of his sample.¹¹

This study achieved a similar ratio, as the Dun credit ledgers for Windham County provided reports on 103 of the 311 individuals, or 33 percent of the sample. The R. G. Dun correspondents also provided information on businesses. Their reports outlined in detail the conditions of Windham County's cotton, woollen, and silk manufacturing companies as well as supplying information on specific individuals involved in manufacturing. In many instances, the Dun reports provided the only biographical information available, and sometimes they revealed that individuals noted in obituary and biography for amassing riches through 'Yankee ingenuity' and 'enterprise', actually inherited their wealth or gained it through marriage.

¹⁰ James L. Madison, 'The Evolution of Community Credit Reporting Agencies in Nineteenth Century America', *Business History Review*, 48 (1974), 175; 'The Credit Reports of R. G. Dun and Company as Historical Sources', *Historical Methods Newsletter* 8 (1975), 129.

¹¹ Michael B. Katz, 'The Entrepreneurial Class in a Canadian City: The Mid-Nineteenth Century', *Journal of Social History* 8 (1975), 1-29.

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Probate records also proved to be informative sources when no other sources were available. This study utilised them to gather information about an individual's title, occupation, religious affiliation, age, date of death, and place of residence. A complete probate package usually consisted of estate inventories, which provided certain social and cultural details, as well as wills, administrative accounts, and distribution details that helped identify where and to whom the elite bequeathed their wealth and how the value of estates compared with those declared in the 1870 census. One hundred eighty-three probate records were recoverable for the 311-member sample, either from the town halls of the five towns or from the Connecticut State Library Archives.

In the United States, probate is a state function conducted at town level, and laws regulating it vary from state to state. In Connecticut, the principal heir petitioned the local probate court for authority to begin the probate process. In intestate cases, the court appointed an administrator, usually the nearest next of kin. The administrator looked out for the estate's best interests, the needs of the heirs, and the claims of creditors. The probate judges appointed three disinterested people to inventory and appraise the property of the estate, and ordered them to submit the inventory at the next term of court or within ninety days. This inventory protected the executor from excessive claims, fraud, or pilfering. The values were close to market values, although there was a tendency to keep them low. The probate court required public posting at the town hall and publication for three successive weeks in county newspapers to give interested parties notice to voice disagreement or make claims. The probate court also posted the inventories at churches and on trees or public-notice boards.

In Connecticut, town clerks recorded items from probate papers in ledgers, or on forms contained in probate packets. However, during the nineteenth century the small towns often conducted their affairs in a less than a professional manner. Many probate packages have been lost, but in Connecticut, the towns without sufficient storage and archive facilities sent a large number to the Connecticut State Library, which are in original form or on microfilm.

Also available at the Connecticut State Library are the state's official annual informational directories, published continually from the late eighteenth century. They provide detailed information on every political office held in each town in the state and were utilised to identify the local, state, and national political posts held by the sample.

City directories, along with political information, contain sources for commercial, cultural, and social undertakings. Commencing in the 1870s, they were published annually and biannually for every major urban area in Connecticut by the Price & Lee Co. of New Haven. The directories covered the largest urban area in the study, Windham's industrial borough of Willimantic, in an extensive fashion. Putnam and Killingly had minimal coverage, but the directories did not include Thompson and Plainfield, the most rural towns in the study. Nevertheless, they contain a detailed urban map and list names and addresses of fraternal organizations, cemeteries, churches, hospitals, newspapers, railroads, schools, businesses, and manufacturers.

The Sample Elite

This study identifies an elite class in postbellum northeastern Connecticut by the size of its stated real and personal property holdings. Until 1870 the United States federal census obliged citizens to declare real and personal property in the form of land and buildings (real estate) and savings and shares (personal property).¹² Merriam used this criterion to identify an elite in Portland, Oregon, where 38 'economic notables' had declared real and personal property at over \$50,000 in the 1870 census.

However, those providing census property declarations generally undervalued them. Pessen calculated that the actual value of declarations to census takers and tax

¹² Paul Merriam, 'Urban Elites in the Far West: Portland, Oregon, 1870-1890', 41-56, in Neil L. Shumsky, ed., *Social Structure and Social Mobility*, Vol. 7, *American Cities* (New York: Garland, 1996).

collectors at this period was at least six or seven times greater than the amount stated.¹³ To spread the net wider, this study therefore includes all those declaring a minimum of \$10,000 worth of real and personal property to the census takers circulating in the towns of Windham, Thompson, Plainfield, Killingly, and Putnam in the spring of 1870. This produced a sample of 311 individuals that included 292 men and 19 women. Constituting 1.5 percent of the five towns' total population of 20,141, together they declared a total of nine million dollars of real and personal property.¹⁴

The members of this elite group were part of the generation born at the advent of America's industrial revolution, and the sum total of their life spans covered 169 years. The youngest was sixteen-year-old Session Lester Adams of Plainfield, who died at age 102 in 1956. The oldest, Killingly's Colonel Luther Alexander, was born in 1787.

The sample elite was overwhelmingly white, Anglo-Saxon, protestant male in its make-up. The six percent identified as female played only a marginal, if supportive role, in the maintenance of local hegemony, and the five foreign-born elites were far from being penniless immigrants when they arrived on the shores. Two out of three of the 292 men filled local, state, or national political offices. Discounting the 10 percent who left the towns, almost three-quarters of those that remained held political posts in a period that spanned nearly a century. The women in the group held no political offices.

Census takers required individuals to state their place of birth by state or country. Almost 93 percent of the elite group was born in the three states collectively known as southern New England; 74 percent of the entire sample was born in

¹³ Edward Pessen, 'The Egalitarian Myth and the American Social Reality: Wealth, Mobility and Equality in the 'Era of the Common Man', *American Historical Review* 76 (1971), 989–1034; 'The Occupations of the Ante-Bellum Rich: A Misleading Clue to the Sources and Extent of Their Wealth', *Historical Methods Newsletter* 5 (1972), 49–52.

¹⁴ See appendix. The research uncovered biographical material from varying sources for 90 percent of the 292 men and 19 women in the sample but made no attempt to trace the 10 percent of the sample that did not die in the towns where they lived at the time of the 1870 census. These individuals were mainly engineers, dentists, and physicians and invariably filled no local political posts.

Connecticut, 13 percent in Rhode Island, and five percent in Massachusetts (Figure 3.1). Putnam was the most cosmopolitan community of the five, with the lowest percentage of its elite born in Connecticut and the highest percentage in neighbouring Rhode Island. Of the sample's five foreign-born individuals, Windham's John Hickey, a druggist, and Putnam's Michael Moriarty, a woollen mill owner, were born in comfortable circumstances in Ireland. Thomas Turner, a Windham merchant, emigrated from Manchester, England. Florimond DeBruycker, Windham's Roman Catholic priest, was from Ghent, Belgium, and Mathias Wagner, a Putnam tailor and real estate dealer, was born in Wehr, Prussia, in 1827.

The elite sample was disproportionately distributed across the five towns (Figure 3.2). The elite at Windham, population 5,312 in 1870, numbered 115. Killingly (5,712) had 78 qualifying individuals; Plainfield (4,521) had 44; Putnam (4,192) had 33; and Thompson (3,804) had 42. Windham had the highest proportion of elites, consisting of slightly over two percent of its total population; Putnam's elites made up less than 0.8 percent of its 1870 population.

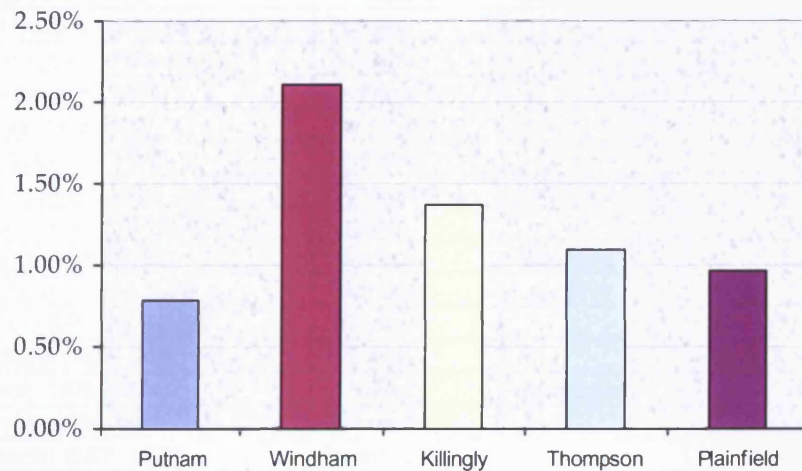
Based on the references to individual occupations in the census, the sample elite's careers are categorised into five broad groups: agriculture (A), merchant (M), manufacturing/craft (M/C), professional (Prof), and political/financial (P/F). Of 292 male elites, 24 either stated no occupation or gave one that was vague, difficult to classify, or misleading. For example, Ephraim Kingsbury described himself as a 'Labourer'. However, he came from one of Thompson's leading families, and his inventoried estate was valued at over \$17,000.¹⁵ It is therefore highly unlikely that Kingsbury was a common labourer. In any event, biographical detail was either sparse or nonexistent, so career designation was impossible. This was also the case with Lucius Bacon, Thomas Tyler, and Alfred Williams. These three men and Kingsbury held no political office, nor were they the subject of credit inquiries, so the following analysis excludes them.

¹⁵*Commemorative Biographical Record of Tolland and Windham Counties Connecticut* [Henceforth CBR] (J. H. Beers and Co., Chicago, 1903), 528–29; Thompson Probate Records, 7: 50–51.

Figure 3.1: Birthplaces of Sample Elite by Town



Figure 3.2: % of Elites per Town Population in 1870



Source: United States Historical Census Data, Interuniversity Consortium for Political and Social Research. <http://fisher.lib.virginia.edu/census/>

Reconstructing a Connecticut Yankee Elite

References to occupation in obituary and biography made it possible to assign a career to the remaining 20 men. Giles Taintor, for example, told the census taker that he was a ‘Gentleman of Leisure’, but his obituary stated that before retiring from business at age 33, he had been junior partner in a New York City-based merchant trading company.¹⁶ Similarly, George W. Melony, described in the 1870 census as a merchant, practised law in Willimantic for 36 years. Based on this data, this analysis designates Taintor’s career as ‘merchant’ and Melony’s career as ‘professional’ (Table 3.1).

Table 3.1: Careers Unspecified and Designated

Name	Town	Census Occupation	Designated Career Group
Session Adams (1854–1956)	Plainfield	At school	P/F
Edward Aldrich (1808–1874)	Thompson		P/F
Lucius Bacon (1787–1875)	Plainfield		Excluded
Charles Baker (1820–1881)	Windham	Gentleman	P/F
William Baker (1828–?)	Windham	Artist	Prof
Charles Blackmar (1830–1914)	Killingly		Prof
Sanford Boyden (1808–1882)	Putnam		P/F
George Buck (1810–1902)	Putnam		M/C
Edwin Bugbee (1825–1913)	Windham	At home	M
Richmond Bullock (1810–1883)	Putnam		P/F
Walter Burlingham (1805–1890)	Putnam		P/F
Reil Converse (1782–1874)	Thompson		M/C
Joel Douglas (1813–1893)	Thompson		M/C
Asbel Herrick (1816–1909)	Plainfield		M
Ephraim Kingsbury (1808–1886)	Thompson	Labourer	Excluded
Andrew Leavens (1819–1904)	Putnam		M
George Melony (1850–1911)	Windham	Merchant	Prof
Schuyler Nichols (1802–1879)	Thompson	Labourer	A
Thomas Ramsdell (1807–1898)	Windham		P/F
Lucius Rickard (1824–1898)	Killingly		Prof
Giles Taintor (1802–1882)	Windham	Gentleman	M
Thomas Tyler (1804–1883)	Thompson		Excluded
Daniel Wheeler (1805–1871)	Plainfield		P/F
Alfred Williams (1812–1887)	Windham		Excluded

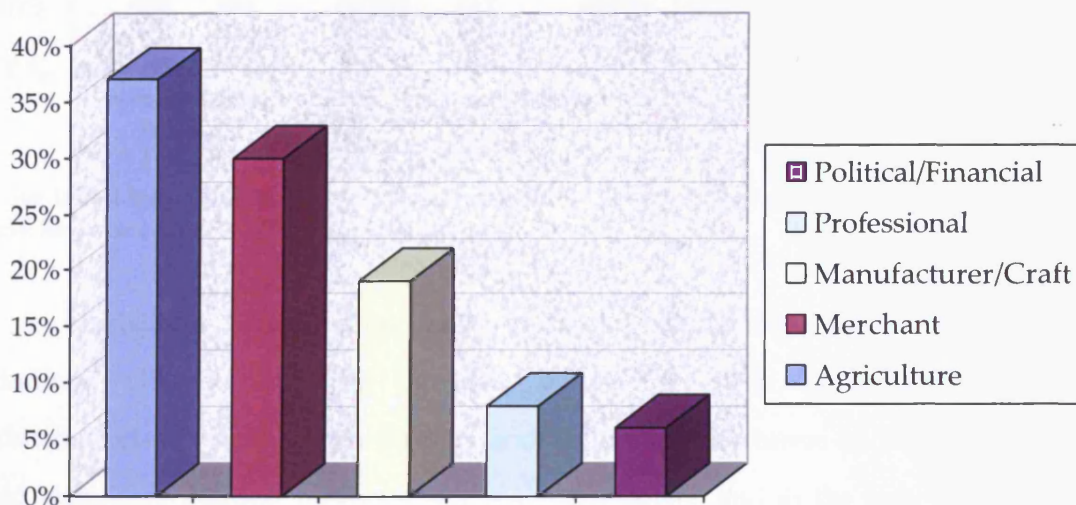
¹⁶ *New York Times*, 8 March 1882.

Reconstructing a Connecticut Yankee Elite

Indicating the distribution of occupational categories, Figure 3.3 reveals that the highest proportion of the sample elite were farmers, despite the five towns' industrial nature. However, when comparing career distribution by municipality, a clear urban/rural divide appears between the industrial towns of Putnam, Windham, Killingly on the one hand, and the more agrarian towns of Plainfield and Thompson on the other (Table 3.2).

Indeed, a consideration of the region's complex rural and urban makeup is the starting point for exploring the sample elite. In 1870, Windham County consisted of 17 towns with a combined population of 32,858. Sixty percent of that total lived in the five towns examined here, pointing to their urban and industrial nature. Paradoxically, almost one-third of the five-town elite described themselves as farmers or retired farmers. Textile manufacturers were the second largest occupational group, consisting of 37 individuals identified as cotton, wool, or silk mill superintendents or manufacturers, mill agents, drive-belt manufacturers, or spool manufacturers. Almost 50 percent of the entire elite group was therefore involved in agricultural or textile-based pursuits.

Figure 3.3: % Distribution of Career Categories

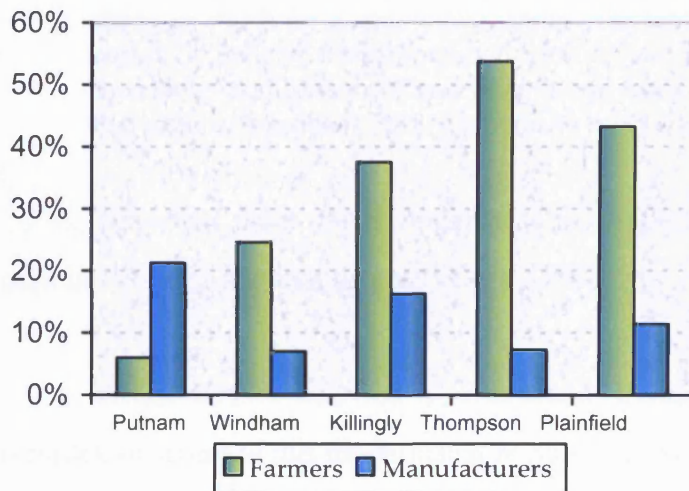


Note: Figure 3.3 includes designations and exclusions.

Table 3.2: Distribution of Career Categories by Town, 1832–90 (%)

Career	Putnam	Windham	Killingly	Plainfield	Thompson
Agricultural	13	31	41	45	59
Merchant	34	39	29	17	14
Manufacturing/Craft	31	16	22	14	13
Professional	6	8	5	17	11
Politics/Financial	16	6	3	7	3

Broken down by town, 25 percent of Windham's 114-strong elite group were farmers. Thompson's elites were also predominantly farmers, outnumbering textile manufacturers by 22 to 3. The 'toilers of the soil' outstripped textile manufacturers in Plainfield and Killingly as well, but Putnam's textile manufacturers outnumbered farmers by a ratio of over 3:1 (Figure 3.4).

Figure 3.4: % of Farming and Manufacturing Elite by Town

Source: *United States Historical Census Data*, Interuniversity Consortium for Political and Social Research. <http://fisher.lib.virginia.edu/census/>

Postbellum urbanisation and industrialisation may have transformed Windham County, but the agrarian palimpsest often broke through the industrial/urban overlay. Both farmers and textile manufacturers in the elite group held significant political positions across the five towns and in the state legislature. Shortly after the Civil War, Windham's farmers on the local town council, known as the board of selectmen, chastised local textile manufacturers for robbing them of a

labour force. The textile manufacturers responded by claiming that their workers were paying too much for agricultural produce and that the farmers who sat on the local town council were unfairly raising the cotton industry's property taxes.

In 1877, the proprietors of Windham's major cotton corporation built a large company store and undercut local farmers by shipping in out-of-state produce. Furthermore, the corporation threatened to close down its mills if the town fathers did not reduce or cap property taxes. Yet just as it had been in the antebellum period, the symbiosis of rural and industrial pursuits was crucial for the town's prosperity, and in 1879, a local newspaper asked the farmers to cooperate with the manufacturers:

What a good market 1000 operatives create for a farmer's produce! The Willimantic Linen Company not only helps the farmer but the blacksmith and carpenter as well. There are 11 horses and 2 oxen to be kept shod, and wagons to be kept in repair which gives employment to our mechanics, and they are able to buy provisions and wood off the farmers . . . When a Corporation is doing so much for a community, cannot the farmer give his implements to sustain it. Remove this Corporation from us, and our farms would depreciate in value. Add another mill and what farmer would not rejoice? We might ask the voters of Windham, have you unjustly taxed this Company?¹⁷

The other four towns under scrutiny experienced similar tensions as their populations expanded in the postbellum period.

Whilst careers followed a rural/urban divide, wealth did not, revealing the complex structure of this modernising region. For example, rural Plainfield was home to the two most affluent career groups, whilst the wealthiest members of two less affluent groups, farmers and professionals were located in urban Windham (Table 3.3).

However, on closer inspection, the Plainfield averages are deceptively high thanks to three individuals. Cotton manufacturers Sampson Almy and Arnold Fenner declared \$189,800 and \$100,000 respectively. Moreover, financier David Gallup, who declared \$510,000, was the wealthiest individual of the entire sample. A more accurate

¹⁷ *Willimantic Enterprise*, 11 February 1879.

Reconstructing a Connecticut Yankee Elite

picture of wealth distribution by town and career is available at Putnam. Highlighting the growing opportunities available for investment in a town specifically organised for textile manufacturing, Putnam was home to the highest proportions of the manufacturing/craft and political/financial groups, and the second-highest total of merchants. Although its sample elite were not as prosperous as those in the older-established towns, there was a more even distribution of wealth among its members.

Table 3.3: Average Wealth by Town and Career, 1870 (\$)

Town	A	M	M/C	Prof	P/F	Town Average
Killingly	22,000	22,710	47,563	17,000	37,500	29,354
Windham	28,456	23,276	34,781	38,075	72,700	39,475
Thompson	16,055	15,700	39,500	23,075	24,000	23,666
Plainfield	23,026	16,914	68,833	15,186	179,333	60,658
Putnam	14,500	13,532	25,890	31,250	15,300	20,038

Comparing assets by career category reveals significant differences between the groups. Dividing the entire wealth range into percentiles of \$2,000, reveals that more than 65 percent of the sample declared under \$20,000 each. Those following professional, agricultural, and mercantile careers dominate this proportion, whilst individuals operating in the manufacturing/craft and political/financial categories dominate the \$30,000 to \$190,000 range (Table 3.4). On average, all career holders were worth \$28,481 each, but the bankers, politicians, and manufacturers were far more affluent than professionals, farmers, and merchants (Table 3.5).

Table 3.4: Wealth Distribution by Career (\$)

Percentile	Range	%	No.	M/C	M	A	P/F	Prof	W	Ex
0-6	10,000-12,000	26.7	84	8	28	29	2	6	9	2
6-8	12,001-16,000	23.6	73	9	18	29	4	7	4	2
8-10	16,001-20,000	14.8	46	8	14	19	1	3	1	
10-15	20,001-30,000	16.1	50	9	16	17	3	4	1	
15-50	30,001-100,000	14.2	43	14	7	11	6	3	2	
50-95	100,001-190,000	3.9	13	6	2	1	1	1	2	
95-100	190,001-510,000	0.6	2			1	1			

Note: Column 3 represents % of total in that range; column 4 is the number of the sample in the range; columns 5 through 9 are the career categories; column 10 indicates the women in the sample; and the final column indicates the four individuals excluded from the analysis.

Table 3.5: Average Wealth Distribution per Career (\$)

Career	No.	Totals	Average
Politics/Financial	18	1,164,200	64,677
Manufacturing/Craft	54	2,186,400	40,488
Professional	25	623,700	25,987
Agricultural	108	2,433,730	22,745
Merchant	83	1,776,900	20,904

Simon and Nardinelli's study of 26 English cities from 1861 to 1961, Simon and Nardinelli demonstrated that local urban elites depended upon an adequate circulation of information to sustain their positions in local society. This process can be seen in the five towns being studied: The efficient transmission of information and knowledge not only created business opportunities, but also enabled the application of technological advances in cotton spinning and carding whilst creating new socio-spatial relationships in isolated river valleys.¹⁸

study shows that economic development was attracted to and sustained in English towns with a large base of business professionals, and it detected a similar pattern in industrialising American cities. Brokers, accountants, and solicitors relied upon the 'talk of the bourgeoisie, not the smoke of the factory'. Pred also contends that

¹⁸ Curtis J. Simon and Clark Nardinelli, 'The Talk of the Town: Human Capital, Information, and the Growth of English Cities, 1861 to 1961', *Explorations in Economic History* 33 (1996), 384-413.

the production and dissemination of information was central to urban growth and expansion. In his study of commercial activity in industrial nineteenth-century towns in Britain and the United States, he concluded that economic development increased in those communities with larger bases of information-oriented businessmen and professionals.¹⁹

The distribution of the 42 members of the combined political/financial and professional groups across northeastern Connecticut's five towns and the rate of the towns' growth between 1860 and 1870 tests this theory. On average, the members of the two groups were 56 years old in 1870, which means that they would have been particularly active during the 1860s and that their activity should have stimulated postbellum urban growth.

The argument that town discourse correlates directly with urban growth appears to be correct regarding Putnam. Home to the highest proportion of this elite subgroup (21 percent), Putnam's population grew by 90 percent in the 1860s and was the region's fastest growing town in 1870. However, the towns of Windham and Killingly, home to the lowest proportions grew at a similar rate as Plainfield, home to a similarly high percentage as Putnam. Moreover, at Thompson, where the talkative classes constituted 15 percent of the town elite, the population fell (Table 3.6).

Table 3.6: Correlation of Informational Careers and Urban Growth by Town

Town	% P & P/F	1860 Pop	1870 Pop	% Change
Putnam	21	2,208	4,192	+90
Plainfield	20	3,665	4,521	+23
Thompson	15	3,995	3,804	- 5
Windham	12	4,261	5,412	+27
Killingly	8	4,960	5,712	+23

¹⁹ Allan R. Pred, *Urban Growth and the Circulation of Information: The United States System of Cities 1790-1825* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1973).

Associating urban growth with information exchange is perhaps more accurate in predicting urban growth in more complex conurbations, for such an approach overlooks the intermediate, diverse, and sometimes temporary nature of growth as experienced in small, dispersed industrial towns and communities like those in Windham County.

The high proportion of the merchant, manufacturer/craft, and political/financial groups at Putnam, Windham, and Killingly reflects the close links between commercial activity and economic growth. Like the majority of farmers, the majority of professionals resided at Plainfield and Thompson, suggesting that these towns were rustic havens for the landowning agricultural elite and those pursuing traditional, preindustrial careers in medicine, law, and the ministry.²⁰

A brief examination of the county's nineteenth-century demographics further reveals the complex relationships between agriculture and industry, information exchange and urban growth, and commercial activity and economic growth.

The Context

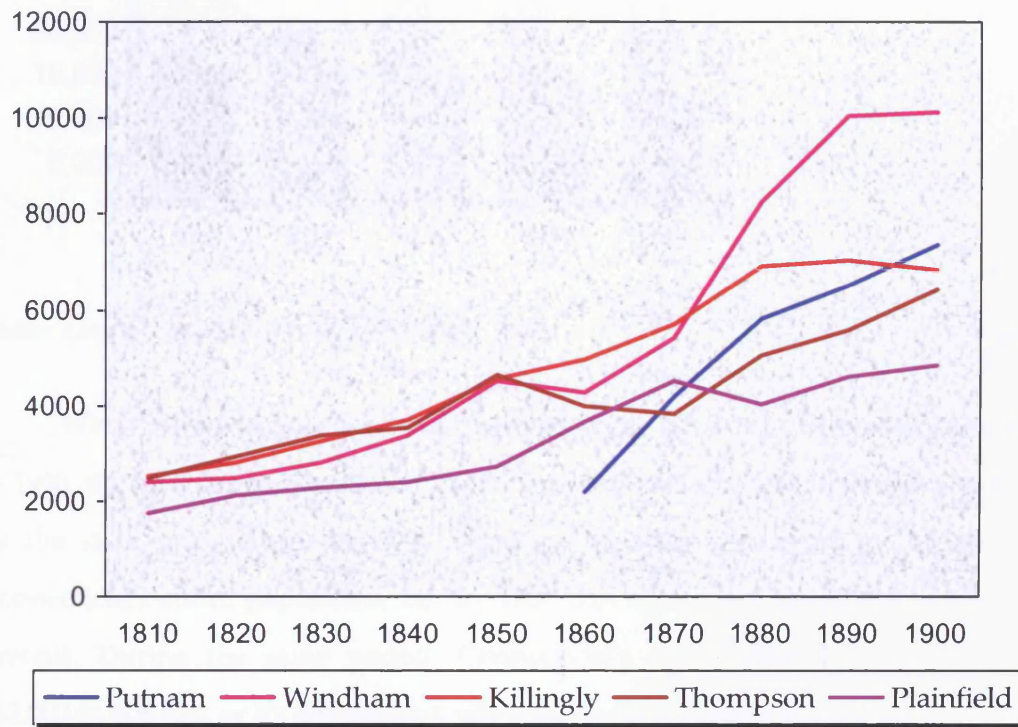
After Rhode Island-based entrepreneurs built the first cotton mills along Windham County's Quinebaug River Valley during the initial decade of the nineteenth century, population growth in the county was relatively slow. After mid-century, the five towns grew at greater rates as more centralised textile mills were established and the manufacturing elite began to undertake extra-political roles by providing housing, entertainment, and churches for the wider populace. Killingly, the fastest growing of the five industrial towns, doubled its population between 1810 and 1860.

After the Civil War, however, significant growth occurred. With the exception of Plainfield, the population of each town increased between 1870 and 1890. Windham experienced the largest population growth, 85 percent. Putnam's population grew by

²⁰ Simon and Nardinelli, 'The Talk of the Town', 384-413.

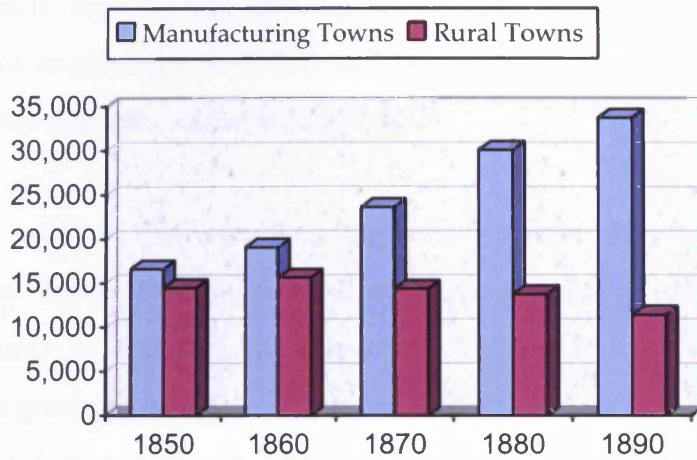
55 percent and Thompson and Killingly experienced growth rates of 47 percent and 44 percent respectively. After a 40 percent increase between 1850 and 1870, Plainfield's growth levelled out between 1870 and 1890 (Figure 3.5).

Figure 3.5: Population per Town, 1810–1900



Source: *United States Historical Census Data*, Interuniversity Consortium for Political and Social Research. <http://fisher.lib.virginia.edu/census/>

The Grosvenordale mill played a large part in increasing Thompson's population by 70 percent from 3,804 in 1870 to 6,442 in 1900. Between 1850 and 1890 Windham's population increased by 122 percent, from 4,503 to 10,032. In the same period, the railroads helped to increase the combined populations of Killingly, Plainfield, and Thompson by 80 per cent, from 9,603 to 17,189. When created in 1855, Putnam had a population of 2,319. By 1890 the existing rail network and the completion of the Air Line had boosted it by 180 percent, to 6,512. Comparatively, in the same period the combined populace of the county's remaining 10 towns fell by 40 percent, from 15,772 to 11,425 (Figure 3.6).

Figure 3.6: Population Growth/Decline in Windham County, 1850–90

Source: *Connecticut State Register and Manual*, 1983.

When placed in the context of population growth across Connecticut from 1810 to 1900, the increase in Windham County's population was less than that experienced by the state as a whole. In 1810, Windham County accounted for 11 percent of Connecticut's entire population, but by 1900 that figure had dwindled to just over 5 percent. During the same period, Connecticut's total population increased from 262,000 to 908,420, or by 405 percent, whereas its northeastern county grew by only 64 percent (28,611 to 46,861).

Despite its agricultural base and relative population decline, Windham County kept pace with the state's economic growth. Between 1839 and 1854, the county's railroad network connected Plainfield, Killingly, Putnam, Thompson, and Windham not only to one another, but also to national and international trading routes. Thanks to this network, urban and industrial growth took place across Windham County, and the region kept pace with rapid industrial expansion occurring across the state.

In 1850, Windham County's annual manufacturing output was \$2.7 million, six percent of the Connecticut total. In 1860 the five town's 40 textile mills were employing 3,638 men, women, and children, who manufactured \$3,892,300 worth of textile products, consisting of cotton goods in the form of ship's sails, warps, sheetings, print

cloths, yarn, twine, thread, and woollen goods such as fancy cassimeres, satinets, and shoddy; and one mill spinning silk thread.²¹ By 1870, 36 mills in the same five towns were employing a workforce of 7,142 and manufacturing the same range of products, minus sailcloth, valued at \$7,699,377.²²

After 1850 manufacturing statistics were included in the federal census, and these figures reveal the extent and concentration of economic growth in Windham County. In 1850 manufacturers invested \$2.6 million in the county. By 1870, that figure had grown to over \$11 million per annum, representing 6.8 percent of the state's total manufacturing output. The county's production figures are particularly impressive given the fact that in the same period its population rose by only 24 percent compared to a 45 percent population increase statewide ²³ (Figures 3.7 and 3.8). By 1880 manufacturing output had risen by 438 percent to \$14 million. Comparable data for the entire state shows a net increase of 402 percent in the same period. Windham County also exceeded the rest of the state in the percentage of its population engaged in manufacturing (Table 3.7).

²¹ Eighth Census of Connecticut Industry, 1860

²² Ninth Census of Connecticut Industry, 1870.

²³ *United States Historical Census Data Browser*, <http://fisher.lib.virginia.edu/census/>

Figure 3.7: Population Growth, Windham County and Connecticut, 1790–1900

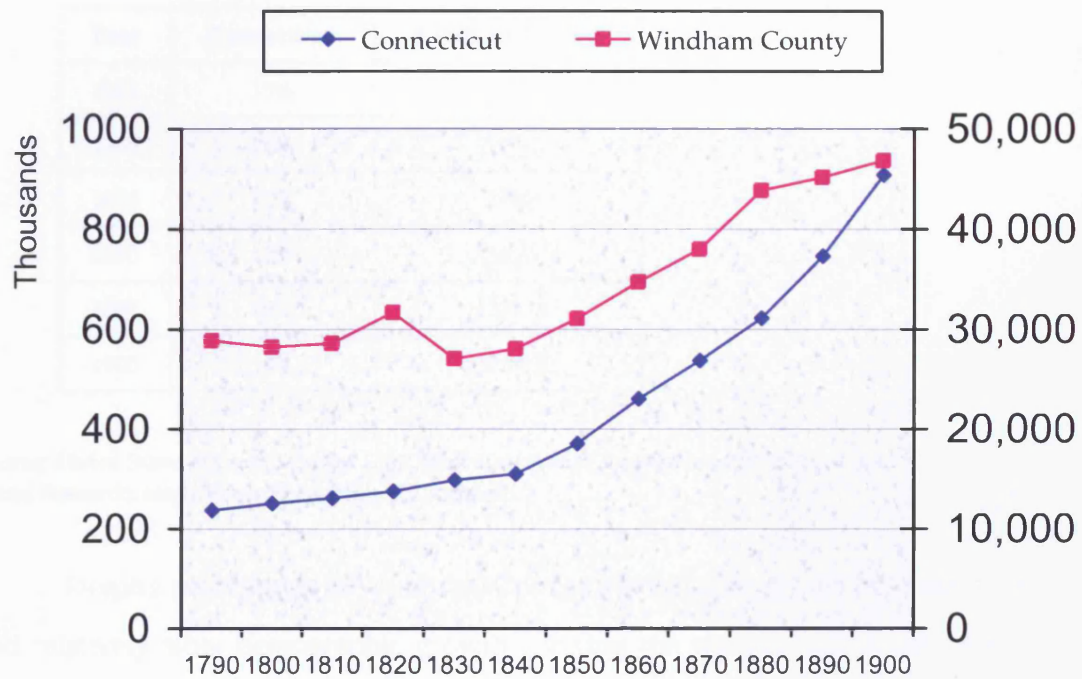


Figure 3.8: Manufacturing Output, Windham County and Connecticut, 1850-1900.

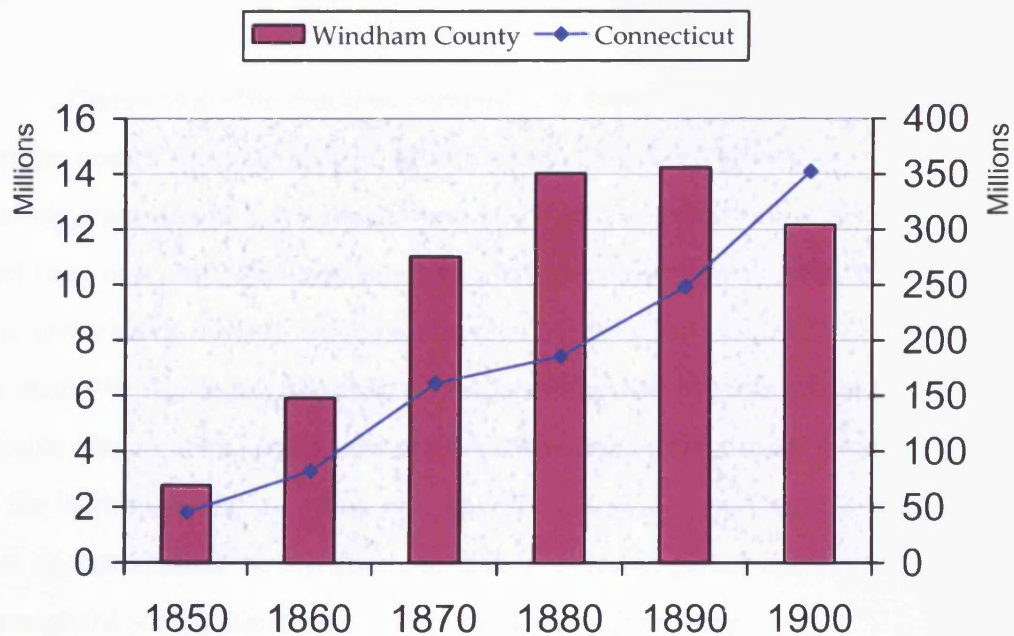


Table 3.7: % of Populations Engaged in Manufacturing, 1850–1900

Year	Connecticut	Windham County
1850	13%	14%
1860	14%	16%
1870	17%	24%
1880	18%	22%
1890	20%	24%
1900	19%	21%

Source: *United States Historical Census Data*, Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research: <http://fisher.lib.virginia.edu/census/>

Despite perceptions of Windham County's provinciality—its pervasive rurality and relatively slow demographic growth—during the second half of the nineteenth century, it had a greater proportion of its population working in manufacturing than any other region of Connecticut. The economic and political structure of its small towns, therefore, provided a firm foundation for the development of industrial capitalism.

Democratic elite theorists contend that competition and tensions within elite groups ensure that one specific group cannot indefinitely hang on to power. Yet in making transatlantic comparisons in a study of European urban history, Hohenberg and Lees note that 'Provincial society might be closed, petty and hidebound; it was also remarkably durable and adaptable, taking economic and political convulsions in its stride'.²⁴ The following chapter explores the life trajectories and careers of the sample elite to demonstrate how competition affected the durability and cohesiveness of the Windham County group and how Connecticut's semi-rural, semi-urban places and spaces created an environment that enabled regional leaders to retain power through the social dislocations of the late nineteenth century.

²⁴ Paul M. Hohenberg and Lynn Hollen Lees, *The Making of Urban Europe, 1000–1950* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1985), 171.

Chapter Four

Careers, Credit, and Character

William James' record in this community is of a worthy and unostentatious man, who lived a life that the rising generation might copy with profit.¹

Some groups or categories of people are more exposed to experiences that deny past identities and affirm the possibility of new ones than others. Some are relatively free to explore the possible meanings of their experience and attempt to construct new social worlds on that basis...some will experience historical events more acutely...and where such minorities have opportunities for mutual communication, association and organisation, they can become the makers of history.²

Biography plays an important role in the selective tradition, a version of the past that connects with and ratifies contemporary power relationships.³ Within this subtle hegemonic process, life history prescribes standards of individual respectability and perpetuates social values seemingly generated by the entire culture. In an examination of the code of behaviour demanded by the career sphere of nineteenth-century professional bourgeois society, Elias contends that evolving rites of conduct and etiquette reflected changing power ratios between groups. Careers thus supported the 'figurations', or networks of interdependencies, that bound individuals together. Moreover, these figurations were continually in flux, causing integrations of individual action, social relationships, and traditions in the temporal movement between each figuration.⁴

A study of British obituaries has shown that the anticipation of a steady progression within a career and institutional structure typical of a bourgeois elite

¹ *Danielsonville Democratic Sentinel*, 7 August 1878.

² Philip Abrams, *Historical Sociology* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1982), 261.

³ Raymond Williams, *Marxism and Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), 115.

⁴ Norbert Elias, *The Civilizing Process*, vol. 2, *Power and Civility* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1982), 305–10; *What is Sociology?* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1978): 13–32.

shapes upper-class life history.⁵ Similarly, an analysis of 'organizationally related content' in 630 American obituaries published between 1856 and 1972 concludes that individual identity is entrenched in the social structures of institutions.⁶ Moreover, analyses of obituary and short biography demonstrate that life history offers opportunities to explore relationships between individual life courses and collective strategies because it represents histories of social groups, cultural developments, institutions, and long-held traditions.⁷

Thus, an analysis of the career paths found in biographical sources combines a microsociological perspective of individual identity with a macrosociological view of the histories of generations and institutions. This approach provides not only the sociological and structural base that Bourdieu believes biography lacks, but also an opportunity to transcend the boundaries that have long separated micro- and macrosociology.

Fischer-Rosenthal's model of 'biographical structuring', for example, synthesises a number of sociological hypotheses. It absorbs Abrams' theory of biographical contingency, in which an individual's 'social process of becoming', reconstructed through life biography, becomes a process of signification 'historically located, and realised'. It also incorporates Erikson's psychosocial theory, with its emphasis on the importance of culture, society, and history in personality development; draws on Hughes' work on status, careers, and the role of institutions during life; and embraces Goffman's concept of selves having moral careers.⁸

⁵ Bridget Fowler, 'Mapping the Obituary: Notes Towards a Bourdieusian Analysis', <<http://les1.man.ac.uk/sociology/conference/bridget.pdf>> University of Manchester, Dept. of Sociology (Bourdieu Conference Paper, 11 October, 2002).

⁶ Gary L. Long, 'Organizations and Identity: Obituaries 1856-1972', *Social Forces* 65 (1987), 964-1001.

⁷ Janice Hume, *Obituaries in American Culture* (Jackson, MS: University Press of Mississippi, 2000); Robert Lanning, *The National Album: Collective Biography and the Formation of the Canadian Middle Class* (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1996).

⁸ Wolfram Fischer-Rosenthal, 'Biographical Work and Biographical Structuring in Present-Day Societies', in Prue Chamberlayne, Joanna Bornat, and Tom Wengraf (eds.), *The Turn to Biographical Methods in Social Science: Comparative Issues and Examples* (London: Routledge, 2000),

By merging life history and socioeconomic history, biography reveals the points at which careers intersect with institutions, thus affording a social psychology sensitive to both time and social structure. If analysed over time within literary-cultural and sociopsychological frameworks, individual careers point to the web of institutions and interdependencies that constitute society at any given moment and mask the process by which power replicates itself.

Applying theories of biographical structuring and contingency makes it possible to transcend binaries of subject/object and structure/agency and unveil the process of the reproduction of power in northeastern Connecticut. It can also lower the barriers imposed by the Rhode Island/Waltham theory of industrial development by revealing where social power resided, the settlements and accommodations competing elites made over time, and the tactics they employed to transfer power between generations.

The career paths of individual members of the nineteenth-century elite, which biographical forms slavishly list, provide insights into elite figurations. Indeed, obituary and biography, by revealing the positions individuals successively occupied in constantly changing social spaces, are indispensable tools in tracing the traditions and networks that underpinned elite durability as northeastern Connecticut society modernised.

This chapter employs credit reports, biographies, obituaries, census reports, and probate records, to examine elite figurations among the sample elite and lay the groundwork for a study of the organisations that sustained them. The first part demonstrates how credit reports reveal behaviours that, although excluded by the selective tradition, helped sustain elite power. Parts two through four examine the careers of representative members of each career category. Part two looks at the

109–25; Philip Abrams, *Historical Sociology*, 280–83; Erik H. Erikson, *Identity, Youth, and Crisis* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1968); *Life History and the Historical Moment* (New York: Norton, 1975); Everett C. Hughes, *Men and Their Work* (Glencoe, IL: Free Press, 1958); Erving Goffman, 'The Moral Career of the Mental Patient', in *Asylums: Essays on the Social Situation of Mental Patients and Other Inmates* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday, 1961).

merchants and manufacturers, the elites most exposed to the vagaries of the capital market; part three examines the interlocking elite political, financial, and professional network that persisted as the region industrialised and urbanised; and part four divides the largest career group, the farmers, into two sections to compare the career outcomes of those who took advantage of specific social formations with those who had lifelong agricultural careers.

Credit Reports, Character, and Credibility

Elite displacement theory and the Rhode Island-Waltham dichotomy contend that the elite who profited from small-scale industrialism perished or dispersed because succeeding generations failed to reinvest.⁹ However, this approach disregards the complex and dynamic ways in which local elites maintained stability in the face of change. Whilst wealth distribution charts render these successful strategies and innovative tactics invisible, credit reports can reveal them.

Putnam's Walter Burlingham is representative of premodern elites who sustained their positions by investing their resources in rapidly urbanising areas. He was directly descended from a settling family of Providence, Rhode Island, and in 1782 his grandfather purchased farmlands in Windham County. In 1824 the United States government commissioned 19-year-old Burlingham to purchase land on its behalf in western New York and Michigan. He settled at Michigan, but in 1839 he returned to Connecticut, arriving in Pomfret's Factory Village at the same time as the Norwich and Worcester Railroad. Burlingham loaned money, dabbled in insurance, operated a gristmill, and leased farmland. After the mill village gained town status as Putnam in 1855, Burlingham became a central figure in all its civic affairs and a permanent fixture on the new town's board of selectman. Looking out of the window

⁹ J. Herbert Burgy, *The New England Cotton Textile Industry: A Study in Industrial Geography* (Baltimore, MD: Waverly Press, 1932), 20–28.

from his deathbed in 1890 he said, 'Where all these houses, buildings, blocks, churches and mills now stand, I have helped cultivate all of it'.¹⁰

Elites like Burlingham cultivated urban growth through loans and investments, and whenever they required personal information about a borrower, they obtained it from a credit-reporting agency. During the 1830s, northeastern Connecticut's expanding economy and increasing career opportunities resulted in a dramatic increase in credit applications. Wholesalers selling on credit had traditionally relied on letters and word-of-mouth recommendation from other creditors. However, the sheer volume of trade instigated by growing economies of scale in emerging small manufacturing towns across the nation necessitated the introduction of a more reliable system of credit reporting.

That system became available in 1841 when Arthur and Lewis Tappan established America's first nationwide credit-reporting company. Based in New York City, The Tappans' Mercantile Agency, which later evolved into the R. G. Dun & Company, became an unprecedented system of informational hubs and networks in which local agents across the country rapidly responded to every enquiry regarding the solvency, prospects, and character of individuals in their communities.¹¹

Rapid postbellum urban growth reduced the face-to-face interactions and social intimacy necessary for this kind of information network to succeed, so Tappan's system had its limitations in heavily populated urban locations. In northeastern Connecticut, however, the phase of urban and industrial growth was relatively brief. Consequently, urban development in Windham County's milltowns was somewhat patchy, and it hardly affected the older spatial arrangements laid down by agricultural production. Urban space spread out no further than three or four blocks away from Main Street, allowing the towns to retain their small-town character throughout the

¹⁰ *Putnam Patriot*, 24 October 1890.

¹¹ James D. Norris, *R.G. Dun and Co., 1841-1900: The Development of Credit-Reporting in the Nineteenth Century* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1971), 10-20; Norris A. Brisco and Rudolph M. Severa, *Retail Credit* (New York: Prentice Hall, 1942), 159.

nineteenth century. Ideally viewed as representing a metaphoric 'Main Street America', Windham County's factory villages preserved the propinquity between local elites, businessmen, and entrepreneurs, continuing to bring together the 'honest merchant', 'hardworking townsfolk' and 'community government'.¹²

Thanks to the relatively intimate nature of northeastern Connecticut's industrial communities, the Dun credit reporting system was of value to creditors in both phases of the region's industrial growth. Credit reporters had personal knowledge of the active business networks and of the personalities involved in them. Accordingly, they researched their subjects in a specific local context and in much more depth than either traditional biographers or obituarists.

Arthur and Lewis Tappan's company documented its first credit reports for Windham County on 10 October 1841; the volumes ended with R. G. Dun entries dated 4 August 1890. During this 50-year period, 103 of the 288 Windham County male elites became the subject of 409 separate credit reports, each covering an average period of eight years. Taken together, the reports spanned the two periods of regional economic growth delineated by the ante- and postbellum phases of railroad construction. More than one-third of the reports followed the fortunes of just 14 individuals, each of whom accumulated seven or more reports over an average period of 19 years. Seven were merchants, six were manufacturers, and one was a lawyer who primarily followed mercantile and manufacturing careers (Table 4.1).

¹² Arthur J. Viditch and Joseph Bensman, *Small Town in Mass Society: Class, Power and Religion in a Rural Community* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1959), 19; Richard V. Francaviglia, *Main Street Revisited: Time, Space and Image Building in Small Town America* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1996), xxiii.

Table 4.1: Career and Personal Details of Sample with Most Reports Filed

Name	Town	Career	Reports	Range	P	N	B
Samson Almy (1795–1876)	Plainfield	M/C	18	1842–74	X	X	X
Amos Bill (1827–1892)	Windham	M	9	1879–88		X	X
Charles Bliven (1827–1904)	Putnam	M/C	8	1858–70	X	X	
George Butts (1828–1910)	Killingly	M	9	1865–85		X	
Lucian Clark (1812–1891)	Windham	M	11	1841–61	X		
William Dyer (1802–1875)	Plainfield	Prof	10	1841–70	X		
Edwin Ely (1813–1883)	Killingly	M	7	1872–81	X		X
Oliver Jacobs (1822–1883)	Killingly	M	7	1870–81	X		
George Loring (1830–1904)	Plainfield	M	9	1865–72	X		
Rockwell Lyon (1845–1901)	Killingly	M	7	1879–89	X	X	X
M. Moriarty (1833–1907)	Putnam	M/C	20	1865–90	X	X	X
George Morse (1830–1913)	Putnam	M/C	7	1850–79	X		
Alfred Potter (1823–1915)	Killingly	M/C	7	1878–86	X		X
Sabin Sayles (1827–1891)	Killingly	M/C	12	1852–90	X	X	X

Note: ‘Range’ indicates the number of years between the first and last reports filed, while ‘P’, ‘N’, and ‘B’ stand respectively for positive and negative character assessments and bankruptcies.

Not for public consumption, credit reports produced a unique form of biography, one that more often than not revealed the dark side of capital accumulation. The mini-biographies available in the Dun credit reports provide a window into elite life most often shuttered by traditional biography, which selectively omitted the slightest hint of deviance and dogmatically stressed that honesty and hard work alone laid the foundation for personal success. Three brief examples from northeastern Connecticut suffice to make this point.

In 1872, Arnold Fenner Jr. inherited the ownership of Plainfield’s Central Manufacturing Company from his father. From then on Fenner Jr. lived ‘expensively’ and ‘extravagantly’. In 1881, a financial audit revealed that he had defrauded his late father’s company, and he fled to New York City. Willimantic’s Andrew Kimball also left town in haste. Despite his rapid progress in business and politics after his arrival in the borough in 1878, his creditors became anxious, and a Dun reporter advised them to deal cautiously with him: ‘He has been running after another man’s wife and got hit in the head which damaged his mental equilibrium’. In 1878, Captain William Polleys abandoned his career as a merchant sailor to become the senior manager in his

father-in-law's cotton mill at Putnam. In response to Polleys' sudden disappearance the following year, a Dun report revealed that when the millowner increased Polleys' responsibilities, Polley became 'suddenly insane', and physicians committed him to a mental institution.¹³

The value-laden language and judgmental tone of these credit reports are attributable to the fact that in the years immediately preceding the formation of Tappan's agency, American biography had begun to stress the importance of character in the lives of successful merchants and mechanics. Freeman Hunt's 'mercantile biographies', first published in 1839 in the New York monthly *The Merchant's Magazine and Commercial Review*, inspired young men to emulate the character traits of successful businessmen.¹⁴ This obsession with character formation doubtlessly influenced Lewis Tappan, as did the trauma of the national financial collapse of 1837. The widely held perception at the time was that entrepreneurs borrowing beyond their means had caused the crash and that only those possessing high character and strong moral fibre could resist the temptation to overextend their credit. Tappan did not hesitate to tie credit to character, and he hired pious, well-connected investigators supposedly qualified to pass moral judgment on local businessmen.

Clark concludes that Tappan's attempt to synthesise morality and business success ultimately failed. His study of Dun credit reports on 270 entrepreneurs active in six small western Massachusetts towns between 1842 and 1861 reveals that the rate of business collapses in the region did not subside even though creditors possessed negative information about potential borrowers. Moral criteria were not always

¹³ R G. Dun and Co. Collection, Baker Library, Harvard Business School: Windham County, Connecticut [henceforth RGD], 1: 304; 1: 504; RGD, 2: 463; *Willimantic Enterprise*, 10 December 1878; RGD, 2: 312.

¹⁴ Scott E. Caspar, *Constructing American Lives: Biography and Culture in Nineteenth Century America* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1999), 88–89.

accurate predictors of individual success or failure, as those who reportedly lacked character often went on to enjoy business success and wealth.¹⁵

Such was the case with George Butts, a Killingly hotelier. Credit reports described him as a 'close and common man', of poor character and business habits, and overly fond of horseracing. Flaunting the local liquor laws, Butts drank in his own bar, was involved in repeated lawsuits, and kept company with women of ill repute. Nevertheless, the report concluded that he could always be trusted to pay his way, as he owned a 175-acre farm, livery stables, a hotel, a general store, and copious railroad stocks.¹⁶

As Clark points out, one's financial means, not one's moral behaviour, ultimately determined individual character in the Dun reporters' eyes. Nevertheless, when unexpected events occurred, as they did in the lives of Fenner, Kimball, and Polleys, credit reporters focused on deviant behaviour. In so doing, they played a subtle, but effective role in changing perceptions of social status at the community level by creating what Goffman and Abrams call 'moral careers', identifiable sequences of a labelling process in which social and moral status and identity are gradually changed. Moral careers not only highlight the regular sequence of changes that careers entail, but also reinterpret a person's biography through a series of character evaluations.¹⁷

Recognizing that business conflicts and bankruptcies were unpleasant features of everyday life in highly competitive small-town environments, Katz has suggested that business instability was a central cause of elite displacement during the industrialising nineteenth century. In his study of Hamilton, Ontario, in the 1850s, he argues that the high rates of debt and bankruptcy referred to in the credit reports were

¹⁵ Christopher Clark, *The Roots of Rural Capitalism: Western Massachusetts, 1780–1860* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1990), 214–20.

¹⁶ RGD, 1: 43; 2: 365.

¹⁷ Goffman, 'Moral Career of the Mental Patient', 168; Abrams, *Historical Sociology*, 287.

evidence of an unstable business environment that resulted in downward social mobility, forcing elites to seek opportunities elsewhere.¹⁸

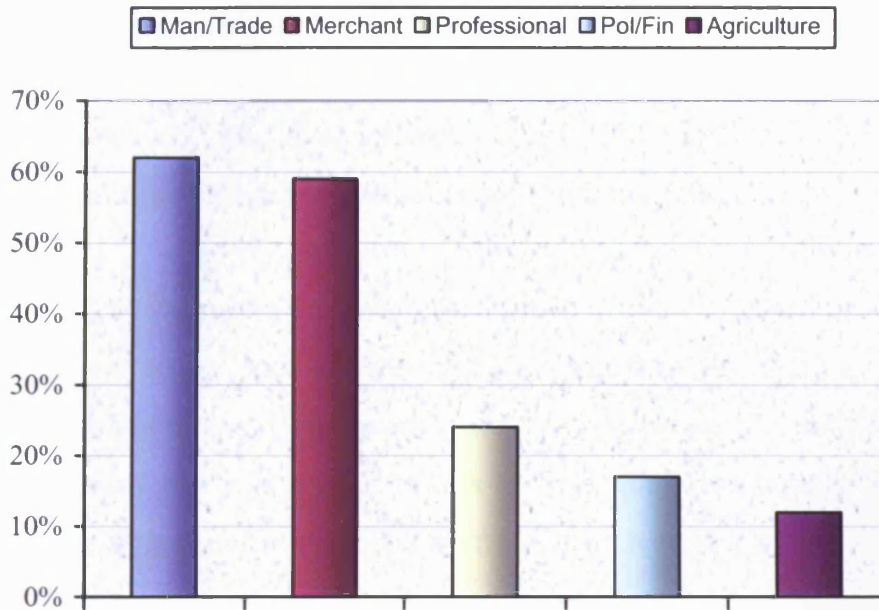
Credit reports, however, did more than just predict business instability. They also identified those who deviated from established career paths as the region modernised, and in so doing, indicated how social opportunities and relationships, constraints, and personal action ran parallel to broader paths of economic and social development. In order to test Katz's hypothesis, then, it is necessary to explore both variances in moral careers, as revealed in credit reports and biography, and changes in material resources over time, as recorded in census and probate records, in order to point to those individuals or career groupings prone to reductions in social status.

Morals, Merchants, and Manufacturers

A correlation of credit reports and careers shows that members of the manufacturing and merchant career groups were far more active in the credit market than their farming, financial, and professional colleagues (Figure 4.1). The three most documented individuals in the credit records were all cotton and woollen manufacturers. It is safe to assume that those individuals most regularly documented in the credit ledgers were also the most active in the capital market and therefore more exposed to the cyclical and capricious workings of the economy. This also suggests that merchants and manufacturers were more susceptible to business failure and subsequent financial loss and, if Katz is correct, a consequent decline in social status.

¹⁸ Michael B. Katz, 'The Entrepreneurial Class in a Canadian City in the Mid-Nineteenth Century', *Journal of Social History* 8 (1975): 1–29.

Figure 4.1: % R. G. Dun Credit Records Filed per Career Category



Social status is a nebulous concept, with both deferential and cultural aspects. Yet, most often, it is perceived in terms of a subject's wealth. Accordingly, if status and wealth are closely related, diminished social rank or power follows closely on the heels of material loss. Comparing fluctuating levels of an individual's wealth across time with perceptions of that person's status in biographical sources can test this assumption. Property and tax assessment records for the five towns are incomplete, and the United States federal manuscript census excluded individual personal real estate and property holdings after 1870. Nevertheless, probate records exist for 172, or 61 percent of the 288 sample elite. These probate packages include inventoried estates, making it possible to calculate material gain or loss in and between the career groups.

Of the 172 individuals with probates, only 44 percent showed an increase over their declarations in the 1870 census. However, individual gains and losses differed significantly by location and occupation. Considered by town, the majority of elites who increased their estates were concentrated at Thompson and Plainfield (Figure 4.2), towns with low proportions of manufacturers and merchants but with high

proportions of affluent professionals, bankers, and politicians. For example, two members of the political/financial group, Plainfield's David Gallup and Thompson's Jeremiah Olney increased their estates respectively from \$510,000 to \$1,210,000, and from \$14,500 to \$151,246.¹⁹ Figure 4.3 shows that members of the political/financial group enjoyed the most success after 1870 and that the merchant and manufacturing/craft groups fared relatively well in relation to other career categories.

That the estates of a majority declined in value is explainable in part through asset depreciation, poor investments, and the partial distribution of estates shortly before death to avoid duties and taxes. A better way to indicate how well each occupational group fared after 1870 is to assess the percentage rates of increase and decline in aggregated estates of all members in each category.

Figure 4.4 compares aggregate gains and losses for the manufacturing/craft and merchant groups. Compared to the rate of loss, rewards were high for both groups. The manufacturers' substantial increases are notable, particularly when considering that the textile industry demanded higher overheads, such as investments in wages, plant maintenance, raw materials, motive power, machinery, and real estate. The speculation was risky, but rewards were ultimately high. That the majority of manufacturers appear in the higher wealth percentile bands between \$30,000 and \$190,000 reflects this (Table 3.5). Comparably, merchants did not have as many fiscal obligations, beyond stock and store maintenance, and accordingly are grouped mainly in the bands below \$20,000.

¹⁹ Plainfield Probate Records, 26: 52; Thompson Probate Records, 1903, No 2006, Connecticut State Library.

Figure 4.2: % of Town Elite Increasing Estates, 1870 to Probate

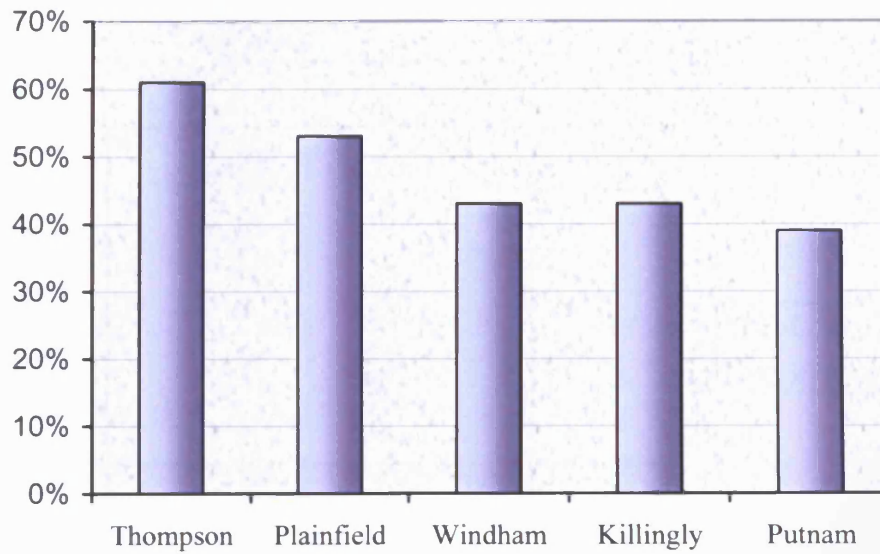


Figure 4.3: % of Career Group Members Increasing Estates, 1870 to Probate

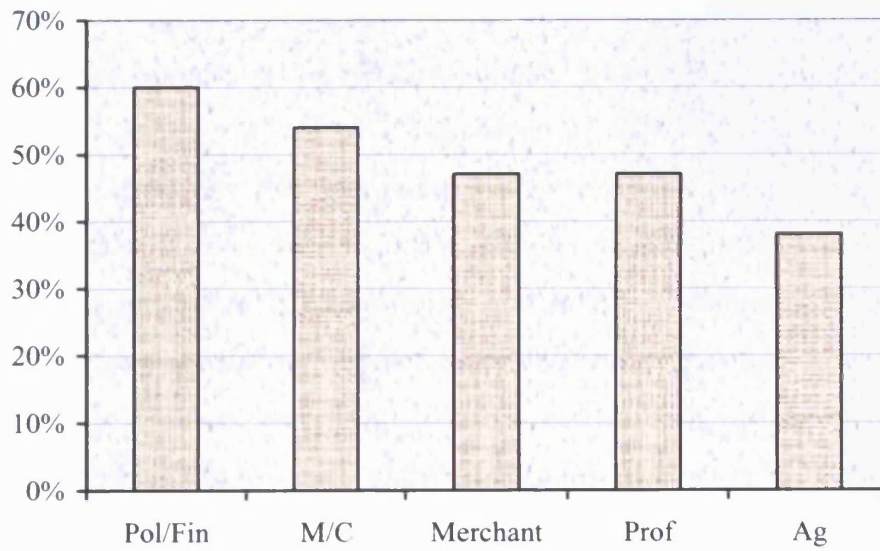
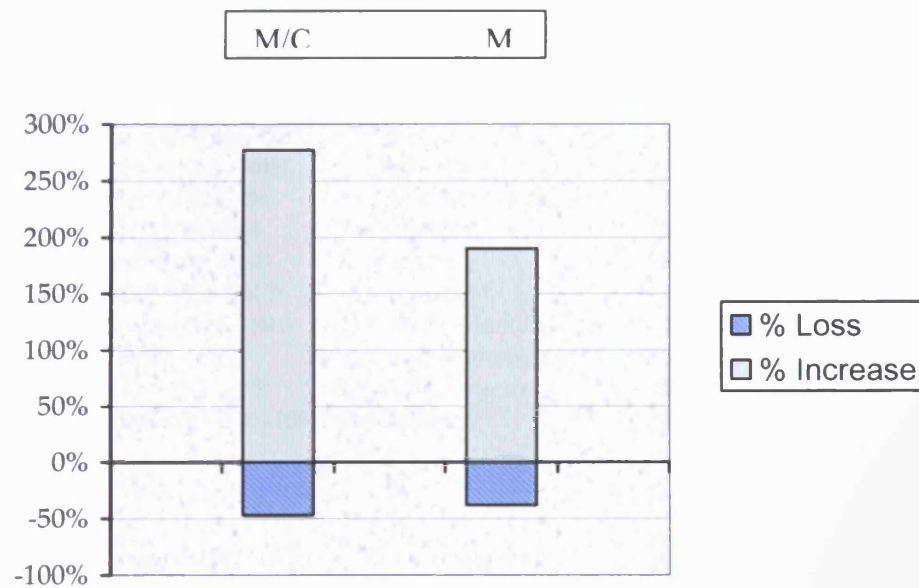


Figure 4.4: % Aggregate Increase/Decrease in Estates and Property for Manufacturing/Craft and Merchant Career Groups



When considering aggregate loss or gain by town, the members of Windham's manufacturing/craft group fared much better than those located elsewhere. The individuals who profited at Windham did so by a rate of 448 percent, from \$305,900 to \$1,674,781, whilst the five who lost did so by only nine percent, from \$148,000 to \$134,000. However, this inordinate rise was due to the success of a company unconnected to the textile industry. Windham's Smith and Winchester Company, organised in 1840 by Charles Smith and Harvey Winchester, became the largest producer of papermaking machinery by the end of the nineteenth century.²⁰ The prospering partners, along with Smith's son Guilford appear in the 1870 census. Guilford Smith was in control of the organisation just before his death in 1923, and the increase in his estate from \$11,500 to \$862,068, accounts for Windham's ascendancy over the other towns. Table 4.2 indicates that gains and losses were more equally distributed for manufacturing/craft group members located elsewhere and that 18 of the 33 (54 percent) enjoyed increases in estates between 1870 and probate inventory.

²⁰ Lincoln, *Windham County*, 2: 1282–84.

Table 4.2: Gains and Losses from Census to Probate for Manufacturing/Craft Career Groups in the Five Towns

Windham M/C	Occupation	1870	Probate	+/-
James Boss (1816–1893)	Cotton Mill Overseer	\$12,000	\$7,800	-
William Cranston (1814–1889)	Weaver	\$15,300	\$27,899	+
Jonathan Hatch (1817–1905)	Machinist	\$17,000	\$22,784	+
James Hayden (1830–1898)	Cotton Manufacturer	\$23,000	\$150,284	+
Don Johnson (1819–1888)	Carpenter	\$12,900	\$16,314	+
Charles Smith (1802–1892)	Machinery	\$58,800	\$241,541	+
Guilford Smith (1839–1923)	Machinery	\$11,500	\$862,068	+
Olmstead Smith (1838–1881)	Woollen Manufacturer	\$12,500	\$8,529	-
John Tracy (1812–1874)	Cotton Manufacturer	\$27,800	\$111,733	+
William Swift (1832–1905)	Silk Manufacturer	\$20,000	\$10,150	-
Harvey Winchester (1801–1884)	Machinery	\$95,100	\$215,679	+
Killingly M/C				
Luther Alexander (1821–1879)	Brick Manufacturer	\$120,000	\$146,577	+
Welcome Bartlett (1815–1875)	Cotton Manufacturer	\$11,000	\$12,000	+
Loren Bates (1824–1901)	Roller Coverer	\$38,500	\$39,182	+
Alex Blanchard (1808–1883)	Carpenter	\$11,000	\$8,549	-
George Danielson (1798–1883)	Cotton Manufacturer	\$18,000	\$5,794	-
James Darling (1828–1888)	Cotton Mill Machinist	\$13,000	\$108,840	+
Alfred Potter (1823–1915)	Woollen Manufacturer	\$20,000	\$9,906	-
Sabin Sayles (1827–1891)	Woollen Manufacturer	\$105,000	\$97,423	-
Daniel Sherman (1806–1874)	Cotton Manufacturer	\$20,000	\$44,173	+
Abner Young (1818–1907)	Shoe Manufacturer	\$42,000	\$25,899	-
Putnam M/C				
Charles Bliven (1827–1904)	Mill Superintendent	\$19,000	\$15,232	-
George Buck (1810–1902)	Builder	\$12,500	\$16,637	+
George Hawkins (1825–1875)	Warp Manufacturer	\$30,000	\$1,789	-
A. Houghton (1822–1899)	Warp Manufacturer	\$30,000	\$75,802	+
M. Moriarty (1833–1907)	Woollen Manufacturer	\$55,000	\$137	-
George Morse (1830–1913)	Mill Superintendent	\$50,000	\$66,613	+
Thompson M/C				
Reil Converse (1782–1874)	Carpenter	\$18,000	\$32,904	+
Joel Douglas (1813–1893)	Cotton Manufacturer	\$14,000	\$26,382	+
Lucius Harris (1839–1870)	Woollen Manufacturer	\$53,500	\$41,458	-
Plainfield M/C				
Samson Almy (1795–1876)	Cotton Manufacturer	\$189,900	\$79,935	-
Arnold Fenner (1794–1871)	Woollen Manufacturer	\$100,000	\$48,102	-
Charles Tillinghast (1808–1897)	Cotton Mill Machinist	\$10,000	\$8,282	-

Of the ten members at Killingly, five showed an aggregate increase of 14 percent from \$307,500 to \$350,722, and five a 24 percent loss, from \$196,000 to \$147,571. Of the six Putnam manufacturers, three gained and three lost, with losses outstripping gains by a margin of nine percent. Two of three textile manufacturers at Thompson showed an average increase of 85 percent, and the estate and property of the other, woollen mill operator Lucius Harris, fell from \$53,500 to \$41,458.²¹

At Plainfield, all three manufacturers lost on average 55 percent each but still left substantial estates that belied any perceived loss in social rank. For example, in 1866 the single credit report filed on Plainfield cotton manufacturer and Killingly National Bank president Arnold Fenner stated that he 'stood well socially'. His status hardly diminished, even in the context of a dramatic 52 percent decline from \$100,000 to \$48,102 between 1870 and his death in 1872. Fenner, a pillar of the Congregational Church, had overseen Plainfield's growth and prosperity. Moreover, his purse was 'often opened to calls of charity'.²²

In comparison to those in the manufacturing/craft category, the 47 probated merchants fared less well in aggregate terms but still increased their combined estates by a rate of 190 percent. The bustling boroughs at Windham, Killingly, and Putnam attracted 73 of the sample's 84 merchants. Broken down by town, those with probates included 27 merchants at Windham, 14 at Killingly, six at Putnam, but only a total of three at Thompson and Plainfield. Excluding the last two towns due to insufficient data, Figure 4.5 illustrates that aggregate gains far outstripped losses, despite the fact that individually 50 percent of merchants at Windham and 67 percent at both Killingly and Putnam had experienced a decline in material resources.

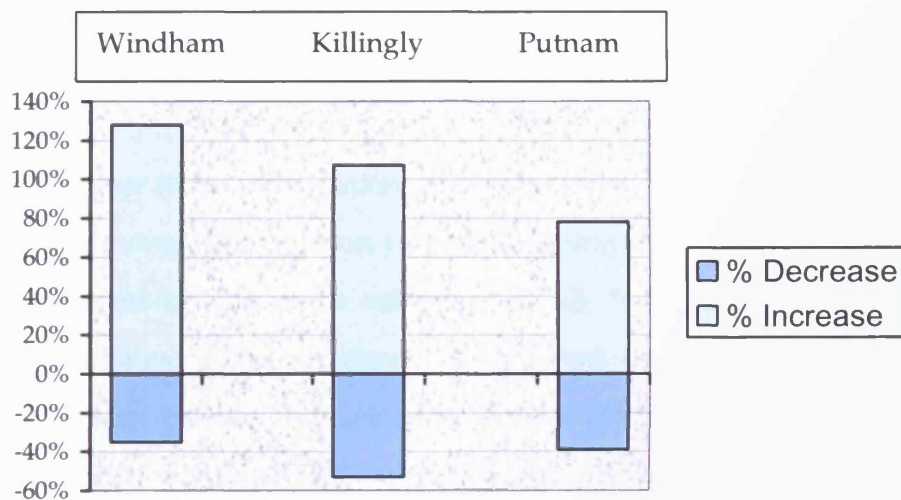
Only two probate packages exist for Plainfield's merchants and one for Thompson. All three profited, but George Loring's dramatic increase from \$10,000 to \$73,142 had more to do with family networks than location or entrepreneurial

²¹ Thompson Probate Records, 4: 455–56.

²² RGD, 1: 163; Plainfield Probate Records, 25: 416–17; *Windham Transcript*, 13 April 1872.

expertise. Loring, a tin and stove dealer at Plainfield retired in 1872 at age 42 after receiving an \$80,000 legacy from his brother. He subsequently built a 'fine new residence', 'aided worthy causes' and took up a full time political career at the town and state level.²³ Clearly, Loring's windfall enhanced his status. On the other hand, evidence from biography shows that loss of material resources rarely resulted in loss of social status.

Figure 4.5: % Increase/Decrease in Estates for Merchant Elite



James Manning's inventoried estate stood at \$19,457, but his creditors made claims against it amounting to \$18,923. However, his role in the milltown's growth ensured that his elite status survived even the pecuniary embarrassment of leaving only \$534. Manning's obituarist noted that all of Putnam's public institutions, 'her schools and her churches, her stores and her factories, her banks and her hotels all arose to their present proficiency under his eye'. He had been Putnam's inaugural town clerk and treasurer, a president and director of Putnam's gas and water companies, and a director and founder of Putnam's two banks. He also worked assiduously for the Baptist Home and Foreign Missionary to help French Canadian immigrants settle in eastern Connecticut's textile towns. On the day of his funeral, 'all

²³ RGD, 1: 86, *Moosup Journal*, 25 August 1904.

the stores closed, even the saloons', and 'there was more sorrow and respect than for any national ruler'.²⁴

Terms of respect set the tone of the brief life histories in the Dun reports. The reporters' evaluation of individual identity in terms of high moral standards and conduct was an important aspect of the selective tradition, and such descriptions permeate the credit reports for the subgroup of manufacturers and merchants with the most credit reports filed, with only two exceptions. George Butts' penchant for prostitutes was too unpalatable for the reporters, who also judged that Amos Bill's obsession with Spiritualism had ruined his mercantile career and personal reputation.²⁵

On the other hand, combinations of both positive and negative evaluations of personal conduct over time indicate changes in perception, highlighting the moral careers of members of this active subgroup. In all, five individuals elicited both positive and negative moral judgments at different times, but none more than Putnam's Irish-born woollen manufacturer Michael Moriarty. The 20 credit reports filed on him between 1865 and 1890 repeatedly relabelled and reinterpreted his moral status. Since he was far from what Elias has termed a predictable individual in a stable social dance, he is an ideal candidate to explore not only how credit reports prescribe character traits, but also how elites maintained their social and economic positions despite their deviant behaviour.

Moriarty was born in comfortable circumstances at Caherciveen, County Kerry, in 1833. He was a nephew of David Moriarty, a Lord Bishop of Kerry, and a cousin of prominent writer, historian, and politician Justin McCarthy. After the death of Moriarty's father in 1848, his mother sent him to New York City, where an uncle paid for his private education. Moriarty's first job was clerking in a shipping house at Newport, Rhode Island. There he met Earl Potter Mason, who hired him to manage his woollen mill at Burrillville, Rhode Island. In 1858, Moriarty married Emma Seaton, the

²⁴ Putnam Probate Records, 8: 34; *Putnam Patriot*, 21 March 1902.

²⁵ RGD, 2: 365.

daughter of a prominent British woollen manufacturer, and in 1863 Mason sent the 30-year-old Moriarty to Putnam to establish a woollen manufacturing company.²⁶

In 1865, Moriarty was the sole proprietor of the Saxon Woollen Company, and in the postbellum period, he and his wife lived in style in a hilltop mansion built by Putnam's founder Smith Wilkinson.²⁷ In the process of accumulating property and real estate, Moriarty had to apply for credit, and through the replies to enquiries about his character, it is possible to trace the labelling of his identity between 1865 and 1871 and again between 1873 and 1889.

The first report on Moriarty said nothing about his elite Irish roots or his wealthy patron. It noted that he was a 'poor man' who by 'steady persistence and economy had established a reputation second to few self-made men'. Subsequent reports noted that although he drank too much, he was 'respectable', 'thrifty and prudent' and a 'skilled manufacturer who had accumulated quite a fortune'. Eventually, however, Moriarty's credit records revealed that E. P Mason was the Saxon Woollen Company's real owner. Mason disposed of the Saxon mill in 1873, but in 1875 he backed Moriarty in a woollen manufacturing partnership. However, following Mason's death in 1876, this new enterprise collapsed.²⁸

In 1881 Moriarty reappeared in the credit reports, but by then he had changed careers entirely and was operating a drugstore, saloon, and billiard hall. The county newspaper, a staunch Prohibitionist sheet, lamented the fact, stating that a few years previously Moriarty had had one of the biggest incomes in Windham County. Despite

²⁶ *Windham County Observer*, 15 January 1907; *Putnam Patriot*, 18 January 1907.

²⁷ *Windham Transcript*, 11 January 1866; 5 March 1868; 13 May 1869.

²⁸ RGD, 1: 87; *Windham Transcript*, 15 April 1875. Earl Potter Mason (1804–76) was a leading Rhode Island industrialist who invested heavily in the development of northeastern Connecticut's textile industry and transportation system. Beyond his woollen mill investments at Putnam, he was a major shareholder in Plainfield's Wauregan Manufacturing Company and active in the construction of the Hartford to Providence railroad. See L. E. Rogers, ed., *Biographical Cyclopedia of Representative Men of Rhode Island* (Providence: National Biographical Publishing Co., 1881), 252–56; *Providence Daily Journal*, 21 September 1876.

the change in career, Moriarty's decline continued, and he filed for bankruptcy in January 1887, declaring assets of \$136 against liabilities of \$8,000. The probate court ordered him to sell his real estate holdings, and from then on Moriarty used false names to obtain credit. Even though he had lost his license to sell alcohol, he continued to sell liquor 'on the sly'.²⁹

Despite his fall from grace after his patron's death, Moriarty remained an important figure in Putnam's public memory, which perceived him as the Irish immigrant who had once lived in a mansion overlooking the milltown. In the 1890s, Moriarty took advantage of the increasing Irish-American involvement in the municipal political machines of the Democratic Party to assume the role of elder statesman amongst the town's Irish community. Between 1896 and 1900, he was justice of the peace and served four terms as Putnam's tax assessor.

Although Moriarty was a manufacturing pioneer of woollens and had once been one of the wealthiest men in northeastern Connecticut, local biography excluded him. However, when he died in 1907, obituaries in two separate Putnam newspapers resurrected his reputation. Moriarty's bankruptcy in 1887 was simply a marker in the changing perception of him as a mill-owning elite living in a mansion on the hill, to a devious saloonkeeper, to a respected citizen in Putnam's civic life. The businesses he operated and the local government offices he held placed him amidst the shifting figurations that demonstrate the 'fluctuating, tensile equilibrium' at the core of power and the continuity with which one change emerges from another through unbroken sequences.³⁰

Moriarty was one of eight in the subgroup of merchants and manufacturers who were involved in bankruptcies and lawsuits. The individual involved in the most bankruptcies was Plainfield woollen manufacturer Sampson Almy. Although contemporary biography portrayed Almy as a benevolent, landed squire, his 18 credit

²⁹ *Windham Transcript*, 1 November 1882; Putnam Probate Records, 3: 477–79; RGD, 2: 330.

³⁰ Elias, *What Is Sociology*, 131.

report listings between 1842 and 1876 describe a highly unpopular figure whose lack of integrity and business ability led to a string of failures. Fortunately for him, Almy was a member of Providence's 'wealthiest family', and they always 'baled him out of trouble'.³¹ When those less fortunate than Almy fell on hard times, bankruptcy was little more than a tactic that enabled them to reorganise by writing off their debts and liabilities.

The Sayles family employed this tactic to great effect. Killingly woollen manufacturer Sabin Sayles and his brothers Harris C. and Thomas D. arrived from Rhode Island in 1852, and by 1876 they were the largest single manufacturers of woollen goods in the United States. However, in early 1879 the brothers filed for bankruptcy, a move that sent shock waves throughout the entire American woollen industry. A Dun report filed on 4 February 1879 revealed that the Sayles mills owed \$400,000 to Boston-based wool merchants, and on 15 February the brothers assigned all their property to pay off their creditors.³²

Harris Sayles retired to Providence and Thomas Sayles relocated to Norwich, Connecticut. Sabin Sayles remained in northeastern Connecticut and within one month formed a new woollen company with his son-in-law Charles Addison Russell, a member of an affluent family from Worcester, Massachusetts. Less than a year later, Sayles raised his workers' wages by 10 percent and treated them to a 'bean supper'. In February 1881 he purchased significant shares in the Quinebaug Brick Company and subsequently built a brick woollen mill at Dayville, which opened for business with much fanfare in 1883. Sayles's new company grew dramatically throughout the 1880s,

³¹ Ellen Larned, *History of Windham County, Connecticut* (Worcester, MA: Charles Hamilton, 1880), 2: 572; RGD, 1: 80; 2: 400. Almy was the paternal nephew of William Almy, the senior member of Almy, Brown, and Slater, the Pawtucket, Rhode Island-based joint-stock corporation that launched the nation's industrial revolution.

³² *Willimantic Journal*, 7 February 1879; RGD, 2: 323; Killingly Probate Records, 6: 558–59.

and by March 1884 it was conducting \$350,000 worth of business annually with New York City-based woollen houses.³³

In February 1889, when a credit report suggested that Sayles's manufacturing company was on the verge of collapse, he wrote directly to the Dun Company's New York City offices to complain that its local reporter had instigated the rumour of imminent failure. Manufacturing in the woollen business, he said, was always 'close and hard', but he would continue 'meeting all obligations as they matured'.³⁴ Sayles' protestations were in vain. The local banks were reluctant to extend his credit, and in 1890 he again declared bankruptcy. A short while later he died.

Whilst a comparison of the wealth declared in the 1870 census with estates inventoried in probate records indicates those susceptible to loss of status, the critical biographical evidence provided in the credit records for the northeastern Connecticut elite does not support Katz's suggestion that downward social mobility followed in the wake of reduced circumstances, or even bankruptcy.

Seven of the subgroup of 14 merchants and manufacturers with the most credit reports experienced bankruptcy, and all but Killingly drugstore owner Rockwell Lyon showed a loss in their probates (Table 4.3). However, the average size of the four inventoried estates of fellow bankruptees Almy, Sayles, Butts, and Potter amounted to \$41,456, which in material terms does not indicate that they suffered a loss of status. The two others who declared bankruptcy, Michael Moriarty and Amos Bill, appear to have been reduced to penury, which along with their perceived deviant behaviour should have resulted in loss of status.

³³ *Windham Transcript*, 4 March 1880; 27 December 1893; 1 August 1894; RGD, 2: 259; *Windham Transcript*, 14 March 1883, RGD, 2: 571. A Republican member of the Connecticut House of Representatives in 1883, Russell went on to become secretary of state in 1885 and 1886. Elected as Republican to the Fiftieth Congress in 1887, he served in Washington DC until his death in 1902 (CBR, 181).

³⁴ RGD, 1: 705. Pasted into the Dun Windham County volume, Sayles typewritten letter to the Dun Company's New York City offices was one of the last entries in the volume.

Table 4.3: Comparable Estates 1870 to Probate Inventory, and Bankruptcies

Name	1870 Census	Probate	Bankruptcy
Samson Almy	\$189,000	\$79,935	X
Amos Bill	\$16,300	\$521	X
Charles Bliven	\$19,000	\$15,232	
George Butts	\$10,000	\$7,795	X
Lucian Clark	\$10,000		
William Dyer	\$14,000		
Edwin Ely	\$40,000	\$12,646	
Oliver Jacobs	\$10,000	\$27,890	
George Loring	\$10,000	\$73,142	
Rockwell Lyon	\$10,000	\$23,207	X
Michael Moriarty	\$55,000	\$187	
George Morse	\$50,000	\$66,613	
Alfred Potter	\$20,000	\$9,906	X
Sabin Sayles	\$105,000	\$97,423	X

However, local public perception of these small-town elites remained positive. Moriarty's obituarist overlooked the Irishman's illegal liquor sales, noting instead how he had been a keen student of the law and fond of the writings of Edmund Burke, Robert Burns, and Lord Byron. Likewise, Amos Bill's obituary made no mention of his obsession with Spirituality, focusing instead on his varied business undertakings and memberships in several secret societies.³⁵

Katz also argued that fluctuating economies, business failures, and conflicts caused elites to leave towns in search of new opportunities.³⁶ Again, the evidence available for the northeastern Connecticut manufacturing and merchant elite does not support this contention. Whether their wealth increased or decreased, the vast majority of the sample elite not only held on to their status, but also stayed put.

³⁵ *Putnam Patriot*, 18 January 1907; *Willimantic Chronicle*, 18 November 1892.

³⁶ Katz was projecting onto elites the conclusions about working classes in small industrial towns that emerged from social mobility studies in the late 1960s. See Stephan Thernstrom, *Poverty and Progress: Social Mobility in a Nineteenth Century City* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1964).

All were born within a 40-mile radius of the Quinebaug River Valley, and with the exception of two Irishman and a German, all came from long-established southeastern New England families. Reflecting contiguous Rhode Island's industrial impact upon the region, 25 members (or almost 50 percent) of the manufacturing/craft category were born there. Whatever social or physical mobility occurred, it took place within a specific social and geographic network based on Providence and the old hill towns located along the Quinebaug River valley. Ninety-two percent of the entire Windham County elite sample remained until death in the town where they conducted business. The 103 individuals documented in the credit reports were even more persistent. Only six left the five towns in which they had been conducting business in 1870. Of the 139 merchants and manufacturers, only ten moved on.

In arguing that the economic fluctuations of an industrialising economy led to status declension and elite displacement, Katz failed to consider that a sense of place and unchanged continuity were important factors in elite persistence. The repeated emphasis on place, permanence, and continuity in biography and obituary established a structure of feeling for a particular period that linked traces of past social formations with contemporary life and underpinned a specific local identity that persisted despite impinging modernity. This sense of place and unchanged continuity is an important aspect of the selective tradition.³⁷

A long-held sense of a distinctive shared space, place, and community also highlighted the umbilical cord of trade and manufacture that linked eastern Connecticut and Rhode Island during premodern and industrial times. This explains why the region east of the Connecticut River continued to identify more closely with Rhode Island than it did with the twin state capitals at New Haven and Hartford. For example, when the direct rail route between New York and Boston arrived at Willimantic in 1873, a local newspaper editor forecast unprecedented economic growth

³⁷ Raymond Williams, *The Long Revolution* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1961), 41–53.

and suggested that the borough would soon become the capital city of a new state named Narragansett, forged out of eastern Connecticut and Rhode Island.³⁸

The biography of Killingly merchant Edwin Ely demonstrates the importance of location and historical continuity in maintaining elite status. Ely was in business for 46 years, a period that encompassed both phases of regional growth, and his career evoked a premodern period still fresh in the public memory. After abandoning a teaching career, Ely traversed northeastern Connecticut's prerailroad landscape, selling dry goods to isolated farmers until 1837, when he established eastern Connecticut's largest dry good store at Danielsonville. This 'suave', 'tip top' and 'well presented' merchant organised two banks in Danielsonville, and his 'private bounty blessed many of the poor of his own and adjoining towns'.³⁹ Ely was a link to the past, a munificent merchant representing a rural, premodern structure of feeling in a modern, bustling, crowded milltown representative of the institutional and ideological organization of a developing capitalist economy.

If merchants and manufacturers shaped the 'complex spaces of image, association and imagination' linking succeeding structures of feeling, so too did the elites who followed the political, financial, and professional career paths first put in place in northeastern Connecticut's Last Green Valley by British settlers during the 1690s.⁴⁰ Urban growth depended on those who could supply professional, financial, and spiritual services, and the elites in these occupations employed them to fill a void created by the modernizing process and create a sense of belonging. The local populace looked to ministers, priests, lawyers, and bankers to provide a sense of continuity and security based upon long-established institutions and Yankee values. Career analyses of such individuals not only link traces of the past to the present, but

³⁸ *Willimantic Journal*, 19 September 1873.

³⁹ RGD, 2: 358; *Windham Transcript*, 17 January 1883.

⁴⁰ Dan Hill and Justin O'Connor, 'Cottonopolis and Culture: Contemporary Culture and Structural Change in Manchester', *City*, 5-6 (1996): 109-19.

also expose the socioeconomic ties and associational networks that helped sustained local elites.

Professionals, Politicians, and Promoters

The 42 members of the professional and political/financial career groups came from long-established elite families and advanced along career paths in the linear fashion described by Abrams: 'through standardised, institutionally prescribed stages in a formally ordered sequence'.⁴¹ Pursuing high-status careers in the professions, politics, and banking, they seem to have been less in need of credit than merchants and manufacturers. In comparison to the 62 percent of those in the manufacturing/craft category and the 59 percent of the merchants subjected to credit reports, only 24 percent of the professional and 17 percent of the political/financial career group (a total of 12) were the subject of Dun inquiries.

In total, these 12 individuals amassed only 32 reports, 10 of which followed the cotton manufacturing and mercantile careers of Plainfield lawyer William Dyer. In contrast, six individuals were the subjects of just one brief, perfunctory report each. Two individuals appeared in two reports each. One, Isaac Sherman, was a concern to creditors only whilst conducting a company store and manufacturing shoes. With his appointment as a Methodist minister in 1869, inquiries ceased.⁴²

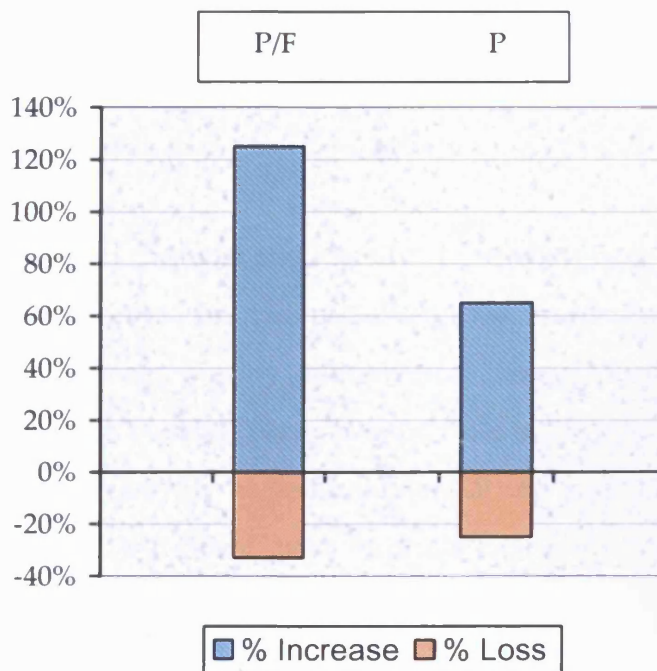
The 18 members of the political/financial category were by far the wealthiest individuals in this group, averaging \$64,677 each in 1870 compared to \$28,481 per person for the entire sample. Probates for 15 of the 18 were recoverable, and they reveal that nine increased their assets between 1870 and death. In comparison, those in professional occupations averaged only \$25,987 each. This group consisted of eight physicians, six clergyman, five lawyers, a civil engineer, a dentist, an artist, a newspaper publisher, and a federal organiser of rural postal routes in northeastern

⁴¹ Abrams, *Historical Sociology*, 277.

⁴² RGD, 1: 18

Connecticut. In this category, 16 of 24 probates packages were recoverable, and of these, seven showed a net increase. Figure 4.6 indicates that like those in the manufacturing/craft and merchant categories, the probated members of these two career groups enjoyed high aggregate increases and relatively low deficits between 1870 and death.

Figure 4.6: % Increase/Decrease in Aggregate Estates for Professional/Financial and Professional Elite Categories



Credit report documentation was sparse for this group. Only seven professionals and five members of the political/financial category came under Dun scrutiny, and these individuals generated no controversy whatsoever. The public expected high moral conduct from churchmen, physicians, and lawyers, if not from politicians and financiers. William Dyer was the only lawyer who appeared in the Dun ledgers, and credit reports described him as 'wealthy and respectable'.⁴³ Five of the seven lost resources between 1870 and death, but the substantial estates they distributed to heirs suggest no dramatic decline in financial or social status (Table 4.4).

⁴³ RGD, 1: 78-79.

Table 4.4: Credit Reports and Financial Data for Professional and Political/Financial Career Holders

Name	Town	Career	No.	P	N	Census	Probate
Charles T. Baker (1820–1881)	Windham	Pol/Fin	1			\$162,700	\$300,275
Samuel Bingham (1818–1887)	Windham	Pol/Fin	3	X		\$35,000	
F. DeBruycker (1832–1903)	Windham	Prof	1	X		\$40,100	\$38,200
David Card (1822–1899)	Windham	Prof	1			\$20,000	
William Dyer (1802–1875)	Plainfield	Prof	10	X		\$14,000	
Allen Lincoln (1817–1882)	Windham	Pol/Fin	1			\$55,000	\$51,191
Norman Melony (1817–1896)	Windham	Pol/Fin	4		X	\$46,000	\$17,723
George Melony (1840–1911)	Windham	Prof	1		X	\$15,000	
Jeremiah Olney (1818–1903)	Thompson	Pol/Fin	5	X		\$14,500	\$151,256
Fred Rogers (1835–1917)	Windham	Prof.	1	X		\$10,500	
Isaac Sherman (1817–1893)	Thompson	Prof.	2	X		\$11,500	\$2,974
John Stone (1828–1898)	Killingly	Prof	2	X		\$14,000	\$6,300

Note: 'P' and 'N' represent either positive or negative tone in the credit reports

In terms of character and identity, the credit reports assessed seven positively, three in neutral terms, and two negatively. The two individuals assessed in deviant terms were Norman Melony and his son George. Despite the credit reporters' disapproval, these two men played central roles in Windham's civic life for more than 40 years. Their activity in the political/financial and professional career categories and their links to the regional past illustrate not only how agency and structure interlocked, but also how local elite systems interacted with larger elite networks to exercise power over space and time.⁴⁴

Norman Melony was born at Hampton, a town located between the Willimantic and Quinebaug river valleys. His father was a friend of a local lawyer Chauncey F. Cleveland, who served as Connecticut's Governor between 1842 and 1844. At the onset of his tenure, neighbouring Rhode Island experienced an armed insurrection aimed at extending that state's franchise, and Governor Cleveland appointed Norman Melony to take dispatches to Rhode Island's embattled governor.⁴⁵

⁴⁴ Anthony Giddens, *A Contemporary Critique of Historical Materialism*, vol. 1, *Power, Property and the State* (London: McMillan, 1981), 91–100.

⁴⁵ *Willimantic Chronicle*, 11 June 1896.

Fired by the spirit of Jacksonian democracy, lawyer Thomas Wilson Dorr and his supporters lobbied unsuccessfully during the 1830s to replace Rhode Island's colonial charter with a more democratic state constitution. However, the state's ancien regime fought to retain the old charter. Known as 'Charterites', they staunchly resisted the reform efforts of the 'Dorrites'. The conflict came to a head on 19 May 1842 when Dorrite forces attacked the state arsenal at Providence. The Charterites repelled the Dorr forces, and the rebellion collapsed. However, the lives and careers of several Charterites, including Norman Melony, became part of the manufacturing and professional networks that linked Rhode Island with industrialising Windham County.⁴⁶

Among the wealthy Whig Charterites who had opposed Thomas Wilson Dorr were his father, Sullivan Dorr, a brother, Sullivan Dorr Junior, and an uncle, Crawford Allen. All were major investors in the regional textile industry, and in the years following the rebellion, Dorr Junior and Allen expanded their industrial empire from Woonsocket, Rhode Island, to Windham County. In 1844, in an act that stretched their power and influence across time and space to modernising, postbellum Windham County, Dorr Junior and Allen entered into a cotton sheet manufacturing partnership with fellow Rhode Islander Milton Morse at Putnam, thus laying the foundations of the Morse cotton dynasty in that town.

In 1845 the Dorrs' business rivals, brothers Amos D. and James Y. Smith of Providence, Rhode Island, built extensive cotton mills at Willimantic and established the Smithville Manufacturing Company.⁴⁷ Smith's substantial investments in Willimantic attracted the railroad to the borough in 1849. This instigated further urban and industrial growth and laid down what Giddens has referred to as the 'allocative

⁴⁶ Marvin E. Gettleman, *The Dorr Rebellion: A Study in American Radicalism, 1823-1849* (New York: Random House, 1973). Ironically, the Charterite victory over the Dorrites led to a victory for deferential democracy. The conservative Charterites had drawn much support from the Rhode Island working class, and realising that franchise extension was a secure and safe tactic, the state elite introduced it in May 1843.

⁴⁷ Bayles, *Windham County*, 824-27; Spalding, *Popular Biography of Connecticut*, 354; Bayles, *Windham County*, 340-41.

and authoritative' resources that would later benefit Charterite supporter Norman Melony and his eldest son, George.⁴⁸

Before and after the rebellion, Norman Melony manufactured carriages and wagons at Danielsonville and Plainfield. However, when two railroads, the New London Northern and the Hartford and Providence, intersected at Willimantic in 1849/50, Melony moved his carriage manufactory there. He rapidly acquired tracts of land at Willimantic, which he sold for significant profit as the borough grew.⁴⁹ In May 1858, voters elected Melony to the posts of Windham County deputy sheriff and borough burgess. However, the following September a *Dun* account noted that Sheriff Melony lacked integrity and that he had gained most of his real estate by 'fraudulent' means. His poor reputation persisted, and an 1869 report warned that he was 'a slow payer, tricky and unreliable', and that 'he will need the closest of watching'.⁵⁰

Despite his perceived moral failings, Melony continued to amass property. As the New York to Boston 'Airline' railroad bisected the county during the early 1870s, he won many lucrative building contracts from the construction companies, and in 1879 he purchased eastern Connecticut's largest paper mill. Melony's will stipulated that his extensive property and real estate holdings be equally divided between his three children.⁵¹

Born in Windham in 1850, Melony's eldest child, George Wales Melony, was educated at private academies. After graduating, he went into business selling liquor and groceries. When the 20-year-old applied for credit, a report warned that he came 'from a family noted for petty tricks'. The following year, at his father's urging, Melony studied with prominent Windham lawyer Eliot Sumner, a member of the

⁴⁸ Anthony Giddens, *Constitution of Society. Outline of the Theory of Structuration* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), 258.

⁴⁹ *Willimantic Journal*, 12 June 1896.

⁵⁰ RGD, 1: 18.

⁵¹ *Willimantic Chronicle*, 22 April 1879; 11 June 1896; Windham Probate Records, 28: 179.

sample elite and 'a master of refinements in the law of estates'. Melony began practising law at Windham in 1874 and later served as town attorney for 16 consecutive years. His expertise in estate law was fully utilised in 1886, when following several serious cholera and dysentery outbreaks in the borough, the burgesses appointed him and his mentor as legal advisors to the newly formed Willimantic Water Works. Melony subsequently pushed through the legislation that enabled the borough authorities to lay sewage and water pipes across Willimantic.⁵²

The law-based careers of Norman and George Melony illustrate how power operating at local and regional levels circulates through formal and informal networks and alliances of actors and resources.⁵³ The actors included Whig aristocrats in Rhode Island, cotton manufacturers at Putnam, and a Willimantic-based sheriff and lawyer who had access not only to material resources, but also to those of organisation, administration, symbolism, and physical coercion.⁵⁴

While members of the political/financial and professional groups provided the services and disseminated the knowledge needed by a modernizing urban economy, they also transmitted elite ideology and culture from their law offices, banks, politics, churches and elite schools. Such institutions laid the foundations for elite careers by conveying information in a way that sanctified the groups' accumulation of material resources, their social and cultural superiority, and their hold on power.

In considering the complex relationship between material and symbolic power, Bourdieu noted that as modernity progressed, a process of social alchemy subtly transformed the power previously vested in the church and dissimulated it into a scale of human excellence. Hence, schools, although often still affiliated with churches, began to sanctify social divisions so that henceforth cultural as well as economic

⁵² RGD, 2: 231; Lincoln. *Windham County*, 1: 779; *Willimantic Chronicle*, 1 June 1911.

⁵³ Gerry Stoker, 'Regime Theory and Urban Politics', in David Judge, Gerry Stoker and Harold Wolman, eds., *Theories of Urban Politics* (London: SAGE Publications, 1995), 54–71.

⁵⁴ Michael Woods, 'Rethinking Elites: Networks, Space and Local Politics', *Environment and Planning A* (1998), 30: 2,101–19.

capital gave access to positions of power, defined the structure of social space, and governed the life chances and trajectories of groups and individuals. Educational institutions, in other words, legitimized the continued inheritance of social privileges in democratic societies by combining 'the prestige of innate property with the merits of acquisition'.⁵⁵

For long-established landowners and farmers, the establishment of private educational academies reflected the changes taking place in the upper Quinebaug River Valley with the onset of industrialisation. One of the most important institutions of this type was the Nichols Academy, established just over the border from Windham County at Dudley, Massachusetts, in 1815 by Amasa Nichols, a member of a prominent farming family of Thompson.⁵⁶ The regional landed elite established similar academies at West Killingly and Windham shortly after the arrival of the railroads there. The farmers saw not only the necessity of inculcating 'capital' in their offspring to offset the imminent challenges ahead in the social field, but also the need to maintain their economic capital by engaging in the alternative or subsidiary careers made available by impinging modernity.

Cultivators, Contingencies, and Career Changes

Glazer has argued that the multiple or overlapping areas of activities entered into by local elites in antebellum Cincinnati are the best indication of relative power at the community level.⁵⁷ Whilst Glazer focused specifically on an urban setting, his findings help demonstrate how northeast Connecticut's agricultural elite adapted to change.

⁵⁵ Pierre Bourdieu, 'Forms of Capital,' in John G. Richardson, ed., *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1986), 245.

⁵⁶ *Webster Times*, 19 June 1875.

⁵⁷ Walter Glazer, 'Participation and Power: Voluntary Associations and the Functional Organization of Cincinnati in 1840', *Historical Methods Newsletter* 4 (1972), 165.

In the 1870 census, 38 percent of the male sample elite identified themselves as farmers. More than 90 percent were born in Connecticut, and they were by and large well-established landowners who traced their roots back to the region's initial settlement. Born between 1792 and 1834, many of these 108 individuals came from crop and subsistence farming families who had turned to the more lucrative trade of livestock breeding. They also witnessed the establishment and growth of the regional textile industry.

Fully settled by the second half of the eighteenth century, Connecticut developed a market economy. Animal products had more value in the export market, and many farmers began raising cattle for export to the West Indies and the West.⁵⁸ Plainfield's John Dean, whose family had farmed the same land for two centuries, was among the farmers who turned to stockbreeding. As urban growth created further opportunities for farmers, Dean also began dealing in real estate in the surrounding factory villages. Other farmers found extra sources of income by selling insurance or by becoming shopkeepers. These multi-career farmers took on a range of subsidiary or supporting occupations in trade, manufacturing, politics and banking, and eventually 74 of the 108 farmers in the elite sample were involved in what Glazer referred to as overlapping activities.

In the 1840s, when Windham County's railroad network reversed the postcolonial decline in farming and the growing industrial economy created a local market for beef as well as for local agricultural produce, northeastern Connecticut's farmers began supplying meat, dairy produce, grain, fruit, and vegetables to New England's expanding population.⁵⁹ In 1881 the secretary of the Connecticut State Board of Agriculture reported on this trend. He noted that the Plainfield railroad junction made Windham County a desirable location for 'nurserymen, market

⁵⁸ Bruce Daniels, 'Economic Development in Colonial and Revolutionary Connecticut: An Overview', *William and Mary Quarterly* 3 (1980), 446.

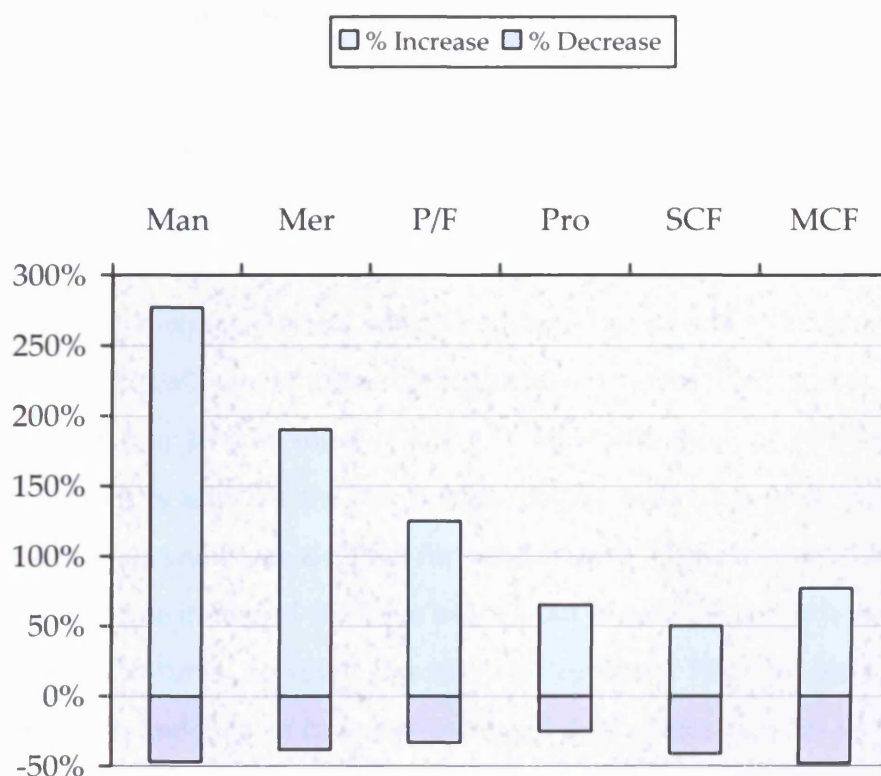
⁵⁹ Percy Bidwell, 'The Agricultural Revolution in New England', *American Historical Review* 26 (1921), 638–72; Fred A. Shannon, *Farmer's Last Frontier: Agriculture, 1860–1897* (New York, Holt, Rhinehart and Winston, 1945), 250.

gardeners, fruit growers, and milk producers', enabling fresh produce to be sent direct to Norwich, Willimantic, Hartford, Providence, Worcester, and Boston, 'without any change of cars or breaking bulk'. Moreover, he observed, the factory villages at Killingly, Putnam and Thompson 'consume all the neighboring farms can raise.'⁶⁰ This agricultural revival and the elite's involvement in overlapping activities explain the persistence of the agricultural group.

Compared to the other career categories, farming was not a lucrative occupation by 1870. The 108 farmers declared on average \$22,745 of property and real estate, compared to \$28,481 for the entire sample. However, those with overlapping activities averaged \$24,386, compared to \$19,215 for single-career farmers. Probate records, recoverable for 47 multi-career farmers and 13 single-career farmers, reveal that 36 percent of the former and only 15 percent of the latter increased their estates. Nevertheless, as Figure 4.7 illustrates, aggregate gains exceeded losses for both farming subgroups, just as they did for all the career categories.

⁶⁰ *Willimantic Chronicle*, 8 June 1881.

Figure 4.7: % Aggregate Increase/Decrease in Material Resources Between 1870 and Probate for all Career Groups



Considering 1870 wealth by town reveals the symbiotic relationship between agriculture and industry. The most affluent multi-career farmers lived at Windham, home to the manufacturing borough of Willimantic. They also constituted the largest proportion at Plainfield, due in no little part to its convenient railroad junction and the opportunities for the rapid distribution of perishable farm produce (Table 4.5). Thompson's multi-career farmers also found the mix between agriculture, industry, transportation, and commerce beneficial, as five of seven with probates increased their estates.

Table 4.5: Wealth and Location Distribution of Multi-Career Farmers

Town	No.	% of Town Elite	Av. Wealth	Probates
Windham	22	19	34,515	18
Plainfield	15	34	24,607	7
Killingly	23	29	19,917	13
Thompson	11	27	14,973	7
Putnam	2	6	12,000	2

Single-career farmers constituted nine per cent of Windham's elite, but they were the least affluent of this subgroup in all five towns. Four died at Windham before 1881, and four left the town (Table 4.6). Similarly, three of Plainfield's four single-career farmers also left the town, signalling a decline for those with no alternative careers. Thompson was a refuge for single-career farmers, where they accounted for more than one in four of the town's elites, but four of the six with probates suffered a decline in fortune. However, the seven at industrial Killingly were by far the most prosperous, and three of five there increased their estates between 1870 and death.

Table 4.6: Wealth and Location Distribution of Single-Career Farmers

Town	No.	% Town Elite	Av. Wealth	Probates
Killingly	7	9	28,843	5
Plainfield	4	11	19,500	0
Thompson	11	27	17,182	6
Putnam	2	6	17,000	0
Windham	10	9	15,040	2

The town of Killingly was also fertile ground for multi-career farmers, and consequently their activities there demanded credit. Only 14 of the entire sample of 106 farmers were subjects of credit inquiries, and all were members of the multi-career group (Table 4.7). The overlapping activities of these credit-seeking farmers provide a window into entire subgroup, whose the multi-career members conducted extra-agricultural occupations in politics (64 of 74) and banking (19), followed by teaching (8), mercantile (8), real estate (8), cotton manufacturing (5), militia (3), railroad (3) and stocks (2). All 14 farmers who sought credit required it for extra-agricultural activities.

Table 4.7: Career and Personal Details of Farmers with Credit Reports Filed

Name	T	R	1870	Probate	Other Career	P	B
Thomas O. Alton (1830–1885)	T	4	\$19,300	\$33,503	Meat Market		
Mowry Amesbury (1802–1881)	K	6	\$12,600	\$10,633	Cotton mill	X	
Richard Bartlett (1807–1886)	K	5	\$15,500	\$16,833	Cotton mill		
Edwin Burnham (1816–1898)	W	1	\$15,900	\$8,304	General store	X	
John Chapman (1825–1903)	P	2	\$14,300			X	X
Daniel Daniels (1808–1880)	K	3	\$25,000	\$15,171	Cotton mill	X	
Hezekiah Danielson (1802–1881)	K	1	\$43,600		Furniture dealer	X	X
Edwin Perry Hall (1812–1891)	P	6	\$26,400	\$35,320	Dry goods store		X
Isaac Hutchins (1796–1884)	K	4	\$16,500	\$11,209	General Store	X	
Charles James (1845–1929)	K	1	\$17,000	\$16,766	Banker		
Samuel Reynolds (1792–1882)	K	1	\$18,600	\$8,098	General store		X
John Spalding (1823–1887)	K	4	\$18,400		Real estate	X	
Perry Tripp (1823–1905)	P	2	\$15,000	\$11,860	Butcher		
Anthony Warren (1820–1899)	K	1	\$17,500	\$36,750		X	

Note: From left to right the columns indicate name, town of domicile, number of reports, census declaration, appraised estate, the career referred to in the credit reports, holders of political posts, and bank directors.

Killingly's Isaac Hutchins ran a provisions store and dealt in real estate. An inquiry in 1850 regarding his credit worthiness drew the response that if he failed, the nation would have to abolish its credit system.⁶¹ All the credit-seeking farmers received similar character assessments, bar Killingly's John Spalding. Describing him as a 'man of considerable means', the owner of extensive real estate and a 300-acre, well-stocked, heavily wooded farm, the reports left no room for doubt about Spalding's wherewithal. However, once more proving that high moral character and business acumen were unconnected, one report in 1864 depicted him as 'somewhat too sharp, a slippery fellow who speculates, and is always mixed up with rascally failures'.⁶²

The nine credit reports that Killingly's Mowry Amesbury and Dan Daniels accumulated between them illustrate the close relationship between agriculture and

⁶¹ RGD, 1: 53.

⁶² RGD, 1: 151.

industry and how family resources and multi-careers assisted in sustaining social status and political power. Although they described themselves as farmers in 1870, Amesbury and Daniels had been heavily involved in the postbellum textile industry. When Amesbury died in 1881, a commercial paper described him as the last of Killingly's 12 pioneer cotton manufacturers. He had arrived from Rhode Island in 1825 and converted a saw and gristmill into a cotton mill, which he and his family operated until it burnt down in 1852. Instead of rebuilding, Amesbury established a provisions store. In 1855 creditors were assured that, in addition to his own prosperous means, he acquires 'any amount of money he needs from his mother, who has investments in a Providence bank'.

Dan Daniels came from Massachusetts in 1850 and built a cotton mill upstream from Amesbury's mill. In 1861, Daniels' cotton mill also burnt down, and he erected a saw and gristmill on the site and used his water privileges for agricultural purposes. The end of the textile manufacturing careers of both Amesbury and Daniels marked the commencement of political careers. Amesbury represented Killingly in the General Assembly from 1852 to 1854, as did Daniels in 1866.⁶³

The Dun records also reveal that farmers from wealthy, long established families took on temporary careers during difficult economic times. In 1873, Plainfield's Edward Perry Hall, 'entangled in some local feud', opened a dry goods store to put a local storeowner out of business. Five years later, he came to the rescue of a bankrupt grocer. Purchasing his store and its stock to keep the business open, Hall rented it back to him.⁶⁴ At the end of 1876, cattle dealer Thomas O. Alton took over a failed butcher's store at Plainfield's factory village of Wauregan and employed the bankrupt butcher to sell his beef in the mill village.⁶⁵ These dealings, which took place during the five-year long recession that followed the Panic of 1873, were successful in

⁶³ *Boston Journal of Commerce*, 30 April 1881; RGD, 1: 10; 2: 466; 2: 155; *Windham Transcript*, 4 July 1861, 20 May 1880.

⁶⁴ RGD, 1: 245; RGD, 2: 467.

⁶⁵ RGD, 2: 375.

the long term, as between 1870 and probate evaluation Hall's estate grew from \$26,400 to \$35,320 and Alton's from \$19,300 to \$33,503.⁶⁶

The standard biographical record of men such as Hall and Alton stressed this subgroup's economic and cultural capital. The sons of these wealthy, postcolonial landowners attended private academies such as the Nichols Academy at Dudley, Massachusetts and local academies at Plainfield and Woodstock, Connecticut. Some went on to Yale or Harvard, but the majority took on teaching positions in schools located near their homes. This 'precareer' provided them with an apprenticeship in which they learned the people and management skills they would need when they graduated into the family business and were appointed to state and town political posts.⁶⁷

A commission in the state or town militia also generated cultural capital for the holder. In the spirit of deferential democracy, local voters and freemen nominated and elected leading citizens to hold military commissions at town level, and on political advice, the state governor awarded them to leading local elites in specific Connecticut regiments. Despite the changes wrought by modernity, landowning farmers continued to be popular candidates for political posts and thus retained a great deal of the political and social power they had wielded in the pre-industrial era.

Filling important political posts at Plainfield and Killingly, respectively, John Chapman and Anthony Durfee employed political means to sustain their economic and cultural capital. Both obtained their cultural capital from the prestigious Plainfield Academy, and before inheriting their economic capital, both worked as teachers. The material resources inherited from the previous generation, allied with successful business activity within the local political and financial network, enabled these men to ride out economic depressions and downturns in the agricultural market. Their brief

⁶⁶Plainfield Probate Records, 27: 175–77; Connecticut State Library Archives, Thompson Probate Papers, 1885 No. 6.

⁶⁷ Larned, *Windham County*, 2: 555; Lincoln, *Windham County*, 1: 155.

appearances in the credit ledgers points to their secure position. In 1874, Chapman, a 'shrewd and independent' farmer was worth \$30,000. In 1885, Warren was living in 'fine style', and at his death, he left an estate of \$36,750.⁶⁸

For Foucault, social power does not automatically equate with wealth, but exists solely in action.⁶⁹ The fact that holding political office was virtually a lifelong career for the majority of the farming elite supports this assertion. Putnam's John Greene is a case in point. Greene was educated at both the Nichols and Woodstock Academies, taught, and then managed the family farm. In 1825, Governor Oliver Wolcott awarded him the commission of captain in the Connecticut Eleventh Regiment's Second Rifle Company. During the 1830s, Greene served four terms as Thompson's Representative in the General Assembly, where he fought for the establishment of the Thompson Bank.⁷⁰ Overall, Greene held posts in Thompson and Putnam for a period of 56 years. He was among the third of this farming subgroup who in total held office for an average of more than a quarter of a century.

The title 'farmer' still had political influence in the industrialising nineteenth century, as it projected the authority and influence of the old colonial and early American elite into the modernising period. Plainfield's Joseph Hutchins's political career commenced in 1837, when he became justice of the peace, and when it ended almost 40 years later, he was the town's representative to the General Assembly. He was also active in the state Republican Party, managed a range of personal estates in Plainfield, and was a director of two banks at Norwich, Connecticut.⁷¹ Although

⁶⁸ Lincoln, *Windham County*, 2: 1,777; *Moosup Journal*, 31 December 1903; Killingly Probate Records, 15: 237; 255–57; 265–66; Established in 1770, the Plainfield Academy provided an alternative seat of learning to Nichols Academy for the children of the regional elite. Christopher Bickford, *Plainfield Transformed* (1999), 53–54.

⁶⁹ Michel Foucault, in Colin Gordon (ed.), *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings 1972–1977* (Brighton: Harvester Press, 1980), 89.

⁷⁰ *Putnam Patriot*, 22 July 1887.

⁷¹ Bayles, *Windham County*, 474; Spalding, *Popular Biography of Connecticut*, 296.

Hutchins described himself as a farmer, a biographer noted that he had retired from the family farm in 1853.

Identifying the farmers who never farmed, or who ostensibly abandoned farming as a career is problematic. When the *Connecticut Register* listed the occupation of each member of the House of Representatives for the current session in 1864, it noted that 'some are farmers by courtesy'.⁷² At Windham, probate assessments for farmers reveal that agricultural implements were included in less than half of 16 inventories and that many invested much of their material resources elsewhere before passing them onto the next generation. Henry Walcott, for example, declared \$25,000 worth of real estate and property in 1870, and when he died 18 months later, appraisers inventoried his estate at \$26,950.88. The largest proportion of this consisted of two houses worth \$6,750, more than \$10,000 invested in three railroad companies, and \$1,200 worth of shares in land improvement companies at New Jersey and Brunswick, Ohio. Agricultural implements, however, accounted for less than four percent of his total inventory. His 'miscellaneous farm equipment' was worth only \$800.⁷³

Compared to their multi-career colleagues, the 35 farmers without alternative careers appear to be an anachronistic, conservative group that insulated itself from change. Six were born in the eighteenth century, 17 before the War of 1812 ended, and all but two before 1829. Fully one-quarter of this subgroup left their towns before death, a proportion unmatched by any other career or career subgroup. Although this seems to support elite displacement theories, all 35 were absent from the R. G. Dun credit ledgers, suggesting a modicum of economic stability. In the probate records that survive for 13 of the group, there is no trace of assigned estates or bankruptcy. Five

⁷² *The Connecticut Register and State Calendar of Public Officers and Institutions for 1866* (Hartford, CT: Brown and Gross, 1866), 22, 26. The *Register* subsequently labelled the 56-year-old representative for Plainfield, David Gallup (1808–84), as such, even though he was a professional politician, identifying himself in 1870 as a probate judge.

⁷³ Windham Land Records, 24: 494.

showed an increase and nine a loss between 1870 and death, with their combined property and real estate declarations of \$675,500 falling to \$323,433.

The probates reveal the thinly spread nature of the single-career farmers' estates. Cyrus Tourtelotte divided his estate, consisting of three small farms inventoried at \$10,300, amongst four heirs; Denison Avery left a will that split his \$7,500 estate equally between 21 relatives; and Adam Begg Danielson divided his farm and its implements between his three sons, each of whom received \$4,777. Valentine Ballard left 20 percent of his \$3,600 estate to Baptist missionary programmes, as well as symbolically passing on church authority to the next generation by deeding his gold-headed cane, presented to him when he became senior deacon, to his successor at the Thompson Baptist church.⁷⁴ Some members of this subgroup, however, were relatively affluent and made solid provisions for the succeeding generation. Charles Hawkins and Shubael Hutchins, for example, invested more than \$35,000 in trust funds for their wives, sons, daughters, nieces, and nephews.⁷⁵

Beyond the evidence available in wills and probates, collective biography and obituary point to a range of family and friendship networks that sustained this career subgroup. For example, Herbert Day's grandfather had owned extensive acreage in colonial Killingly, where he had also been a highly esteemed captain of the local militia. Herbert's father was a major investor in the Norwich and Worcester Railroad and ensured that it passed by his new cotton mill at Dayville. Moreover, in 1841, Herbert's father-in-law, Joseph Dexter, had built the first cotton mill at neighbouring Elmville, adjacent to those operated by Rhode Islanders Henry Westcott and Thomas Pray, who began weaving cotton cloth at East Killingly in 1822.⁷⁶

⁷⁴ Thompson Probate Records (1898) No. 76, Connecticut State Archives.

⁷⁵ Thompson Probate Records, 5: 70–71; Windham Probate Records, 25: 503; Bayles, *Windham County*, 1,165; Killingly Probate Records, 5: 499–500; *Putnam Patriot*, 7 July 1899.

⁷⁶ *Willimantic Journal*, 7 January 1863; *Windham Transcript*, 9 January 1895; Bayles, *Windham County*, 1164; CBR, 554.

During the postbellum period, Westcott and Pray were considered 'the most prosperous and extensive owners of mill property in Windham County'. Before retiring in 1866, Henry Westcott had held numerous town offices, represented Killingly in the state legislature, and established the East Killingly Baptist Church.⁷⁷ In stark contrast, his son Henry Tillinghast Westcott became a gentleman farmer who scrupulously avoided 'the restless spirit of society', and 'the show and glitter of life'.⁷⁸ Westcott's avoidance of his father's profitable career seems to support the contention of the Rhode Island/Waltham dichotomy that the elite who profited from small-scale industrialism perished because succeeding generations failed to re-invest.⁷⁹ However, an examination of his career shows not only that his elite status persisted, but also that associational networks worked to maintain elite stability in the face of change.

One of the younger Westcott's boyhood friends was Nelson W. Aldrich. The Westcott and Aldrich families were devout Rhode Island Baptists, and as Rhode Island's entrepreneurial elites crossed into northeastern Connecticut, Baptist churches emerged in concert with cotton mills and factory villages.⁸⁰ As modernity impinged, the Baptist Church became increasingly formal and ritualised. Enveloped by 'a creeping respectability', it committed the wealthiest of its adherents to a specific 'civilising process'.⁸¹

Henry T. Westcott and Nelson W. Aldrich met in Sunday school at Killingly's Baptist church. As young men, they undertook chores in the cotton mills, clerked in the company store, and were roommates at Rhode Island's prestigious East Greenwich Academy. After graduation, Westcott returned to Killingly and retired to a farm his

⁷⁷ *Windham Transcript*, 13 June 1878; RGD, 1: 36; Bayles, *Windham County*, 989.

⁷⁸ *Windham Transcript*, 29 October 1903.

⁷⁹ J. Herbert Burgoyne, *The New England Cotton Textile Industry: A Study in Industrial Geography* (Baltimore, MD: Waverly Press, 1932).

⁸⁰ The Westcotts were directly descended from Stukely Westcott, a friend and associate of Roger Williams, the founder of Rhode Island and its Baptist Church in 1638/9; the Aldriches were directly descended from Williams himself.

⁸¹ J. Stanley Lemons, *The First Baptist Church in America* (Providence, RI: Charitable Baptist Society, 2001), 19.

father had purchased, whilst Aldrich launched a political career. Aldrich eventually represented Rhode Island in the U. S. Senate, where he ruthlessly defended big business and sustained the high protective tariffs that benefited southern New England's textile industries.⁸²

Despite the divergence in their careers, Senator Aldrich remained 'an intimate friend' of Henry and his family. Aldrich returned to Killingly in July 1904, and in a speech recalling the milltown's influence upon his youth, he noted how the Sunday school at East Killingly Baptist Church had shaped his moral and personal values. For his part, Westcott continued to give 'liberally and cheerfully of his means' to support the Danielsonville Baptist Church until his death in 1903.⁸³

Westcott may not have reinvested in the industry that had made his father wealthy, but at his death he left an estate of \$132,000 to his sister, Almira E. Westcott, a woman of 'great culture and refinement' who represented 'the most exclusive social elements in Killingly'. When she died in 1908, Almira distributed the Westcotts' industrial fortune to family and friends located at Philadelphia, New York, Providence, Washington DC, and Hartford, Connecticut, as well as to the Baptists. The Danielson Baptist Church, the Connecticut Baptist State Convention, and Baptist theological schools received 10 percent of the total.⁸⁴

The interlocking life histories of Westcott and Aldrich show how, as Elias contends, the rites of conduct and etiquette—the character—demanded by elite careers were instilled by families and private schools and sustained through political offices, kinship networks, and church groups. Credit records, probate records, and biography

⁸² Aldrich later became the head of a political dynasty that included son-in-law John D. Rockefeller II and grandson, Vice President Nelson Aldrich Rockefeller. Jerome L. Sternstein, 'Corruption in the Gilded Age Senate: Nelson W. Aldrich and the Sugar Trust', *Capitol Studies* 6 (1978): 13–37.

⁸³ Natalie L. Coolidge, 'Nelson A. Rockefeller', *Killingly Journal Online*, October 1999, <<http://www.killinglyhistory.org/jol3/rockef.html>>; CBR, 585; Lincoln, *Windham County*, 1: 222; Lincoln, *Windham County*, 1: 600; *Windham Transcript*, 9 April, 13 June 1878; 29 October 1903.

⁸⁴ CBR, 585; Killingly Probate Records, 16: 234; 20: 241–42.

articulate this and more. Perhaps most importantly, they reveal the role of the selective tradition in the retention and the distribution of power across time and space.

The regional elite's material resources played an important part in retention of power contemporaneously and between generations, but business failure or material loss did little to diminish the reality or perception of power. Although a majority lost value in estates, rates of profit far exceeded rates of loss. Moreover, even though some career group members were more durable than others, their probates reveal a geographical dispersion rather than actual displacement of power.

In the context of changing careers, biographical contingency illustrates how structure and agency interlocked and how elite figurations remained constantly in flux. Manufacturers became farmers, farmers developed mercantile careers, and country lawyers became urban developers. Some, like Plainfield lawyer William Dyer, did it all.

Born in the contiguous rural town of Canterbury in 1802, Dyer graduated from Plainfield Academy and took up a teaching career. Subsequently, he studied law with one of eastern Connecticut's leading lawyers, Calvin Goddard. Upon gaining admittance to the Windham County bar in 1831, Dyer established the first law office at the Plainfield mill community of Centerville.⁸⁵ Then in 1842 an entry in Arthur Tappan's credit ledgers noted that Dyer was operating Plainfield's Moosup Cotton Company with his brother-in-law and conducting a general provisions store. By 1845, Dyer was dealing in lumber, dry goods and groceries. He returned to cotton manufacturing in 1851, and by 1865 he had become a successful grain distributor.⁸⁶

Despite Dyer's immersion in mercantile, agrarian, and industrial careers, he also entered the political/financial field, whilst still practising law. The versatile attorney also served two terms representing Plainfield in the state legislature, and in

⁸⁵ Bayles, *Windham County*, 144-5.

⁸⁶ RGD, 1: 78-9.

1855 the legislature appointed Dyer to organize the division of town funds between Thompson and that part of Thompson engulfed by the new town of Putnam. Moreover, Dyer was a justice of the peace, Plainfield's town agent during the Civil War, and a director of the First National Bank of Killingly upon its formation in 1864.⁸⁷

William Dyer's multiple occupations further illustrates that not only careers, but also organisations supported the networks of interdependencies that bound the regional elite together. Indeed, an exploration of career paths leads inexorably to the organisations that provided the elite with the 'opportunities for mutual communication, association and organization' that made them 'the makers of history'. The following chapter employs biographical data to demonstrate the sample elite's interaction within the political and associational organisations that helped sustain their power over time.⁸⁸

⁸⁷ *Windham Transcript*, 11 February 1875; Bayles, *Windham County*, 656; 972.

⁸⁸ Elias, *The Civilizing Process*, II: 305–10; Abrams, *Historical Sociology*, 261.

Chapter Five

Paths to Power

There is at least one New England state yet remaining in Yankee control and that state is Connecticut. There is a great deal of talk nowadays about the decay of the old Yankee stock, and the preponderance of foreigners in New England states, and yet here is a legislature five-sixths of whose members are natives of the state, and half of who represent their birthplace.¹

In tradition minded Connecticut nothing could have been politically safer than to have had seventeenth century Congregationalist ancestors who resided in Connecticut or Massachusetts. Also eminently acceptable were forebears of revolutionary times, provided of course they had not been Tories.²

A central problem for group biography is to demonstrate how a group identified by a certain level of wealth interacted within the overlapping organisations and institutions constituting public and private social structures. Power was constantly in flux within dense political and familial networks, and competing elites crafted consensus and negotiated settlements by adopting the 'tacitly accommodative and overtly restrained practises' that ensured power remained fixed within certain prescribed limits.³ This negotiation often occurred in urban spaces and places beyond the purview of the legitimate power structure.

Goffman's psychosocial concept of front and back spaces, wherein individuals present controlled performances up front, but in the back often contradict the stances and opinions offered by the public persona, is applicable to elite spaces. Legislatures and town halls were front spaces, where the formal aspects and the accessibility of

¹ *Windham Transcript*, 13 January 1886.

² Richard Parmet, 'Connecticut's Know Nothings: A Profile', *Connecticut Historical Society Bulletin*, 31 (1966), 85.

³ Margot Peters, 'Group Biography: Challenges and Methods', in Anthony Friedson, ed., *New Directions in Biography* (Hawaii: University of Honolulu Press, 1981), 41–51; Norbert Elias, *What is Sociology?* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1978), 127–33; Michael Burton and John Higley, 'Political Crises and Elite Settlements', in Mattei Dogan and John Higley, eds., *Elites, Crises, and the Origins of Regimes* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 1998), 47–68.

power were displayed, yet members of the sample elite also distributed power and reached settlements in the back spaces.⁴

Connecticut's front spaces evolved out of the colony's first settlement, where a blend of Puritanism and community established the sociopolitical supremacy of a town-based form of government centred on the Congregational Church and ruled by high-status local elites. During the eighteenth century, men from a handful of families filled posts at the local level and in the state legislature.⁵ Despite changes in the political and cultural landscape, this town-based, oligarchical system of election to political office remained virtually intact throughout the modernising nineteenth century.

Political and cultural turmoil ensuing from the War of 1812, the disestablishment of the Congregational Church in 1818, and increasing urbanisation and industrialisation did little to change Connecticut's conservatism. In 1823 former president John Adams suggested the reason why, noting that like Great Britain, Connecticut was still governed by an aristocracy. 'Half a dozen, or, at most, a dozen families have controlled that country when a colony, as well as since it has been a state'.⁶

Windham County's traditional political structures, coalescing around the town, church, and state persisted, and its enduring conservative culture not only withstood the challenges of a changing economic and cultural landscape, but also provided fertile ground for the industrial growth that enabled the elite to flourish. Provincial society might have been 'closed, petty and hidebound', but it was also 'remarkably durable

⁴ Erving Goffman, *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1959); Michael Woods, 'Rethinking Elites: Networks, Spaces and Local Politics', *Environment and Planning A* 30 (1998): 2,107.

⁵ Bruce M. Daniels, 'Large Town Officeholding in Eighteenth-Century Connecticut: The Growth of Oligarchy', *Journal of American Studies* 9 (1975): 1-12; 'Democracy and Oligarchy in Connecticut Towns: General Assembly Office Holding, 1701-1790', *Social Science Quarterly* 56 (1975): 460-75.

⁶ Albert Van Dusen, *Connecticut* (New York: Random House, 1961), 171.

and adaptable, taking economic and political convulsions in its stride'.⁷ By the early 1830s, members of the sample elite were stepping into the front spaces, taking the posts at town and state level previously held by their fathers and grandfathers and buttressing their power base by negotiation and settlements in the back spaces provided by political caucuses and nominating conventions, bank board rooms, lodge rooms, and private family homes.

This chapter links biographical contingencies, careers, and wealth with political, associational, and family networks to demonstrate how a diverse group of northeastern Connecticut elites constructed the settlements that ensured the group's durability. The first part discusses the reasons for Connecticut's social, cultural, and political continuity. Parts two and three discuss the correlation between deference, wealth, careers, and status that underpinned election to the front spaces of power—the executive political offices at state, town, and borough level. The final part examines the back spaces of power by exploring the roles of fraternal associations and the women who underpinned elite family and marriage networks.

A Land of Steady Habits

In 1905, Killingly historian Henry Vernon Arnold noted how old traditions still persisted along the Quinebaug River Valley, 'wherein the influences thereof born of earlier generations still lingered and tintured the lives of the well to do citizens and farmers of the surrounding country'.⁸ This sociopolitical milieu was a result of political domination by one party, slow population growth before 1850, a 'rotten borough' system of representation in the legislature, and deferential patterns of voting.

The 1639 Fundamental Orders of Connecticut, or the 'Standing Order', was a civil equivalent of a church covenant that placed the Puritan-Congregational Church at

⁷ Paul M. Hohenberg and Lynn Hollen Lees, *The Making of Urban Europe, 1000–1950* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1985), 171.

⁸ Henry V. Arnold, *The Making of Danielson: An Outline History of the Borough of Danielson* (Larimore, ND: H. V. Arnold, 1905), 116.

the centre of power and established the ecclesiastical-political communities that ultimately evolved into towns. In 1662, Connecticut's charter, granted by King Charles II, institutionalised the Standing Order as the colony's form of civil government.⁹ Town freemen sent representatives to a colonial legislature consisting of two houses, a council and an assembly. Chosen at large, the council's deputies were virtual lifetime incumbents. The assembly consisted of two representatives from each town who served annual terms. After Independence, the General Assembly adopted the 1662 charter as the state constitution, cementing the Congregational Church's hold on power. With the onset of party politics after the Revolution, the Congregationalists allied with the Federalist Party, ensuring that a one-party system dominated by the Standing Order remained firmly in control of Connecticut, 'The Land of Steady Habits'.¹⁰

Slow population growth also aided the persistence of Connecticut's traditional culture. By the mid-eighteenth century, a shortage of arable land caused the exodus of Connecticut's younger population. Between 1760 and 1790 the migration from Connecticut may have been as high as 66,000.¹¹ Moreover, because Windham County's nascent textile industry was relatively isolated in the pre-railroad period, the region failed to attract European immigrants, who instead settled in towns nearer to the major ports of entry at Boston, Providence, and New York City. Unchallenged, northeastern Connecticut's oldest landholding families remained firmly in control.

Following the demise of the Federalist Party, Connecticut's elite regrouped in the Whig Party, and by introducing restrictive tariffs fired industrial expansion in the

⁹ Edward Channing, 'Town and County Government in the English Colonies of North America', *Studies in Historical and Political Science* 2 (1884): 22; George M. Dutcher, *The Fundamental Orders of Connecticut* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1934); Albert C. Bates, *The Charter of Connecticut: A Study* (Hartford, CT: Connecticut Historical Society, 1932).

¹⁰ Dwight Loomis and J. Gilbert Calhoun, eds., *The Judicial and Civil History of Connecticut* (Boston, MA: The Boston History Company, 1895), 38; Wesley W. Horton, *Connecticut's Constitutional History, 1776-1998* (Hartford, CT: Museum of Connecticut History, 1988).

¹¹ Bruce C. Daniels, 'Economic Development in Colonial and Revolutionary Connecticut: An Overview', *William and Mary Quarterly* 3 (1980): 446-47.

five towns under consideration in this study. In the 1830s, locals referred to Killingly's expanding mill community at Danielsonville as the 'Whig village', and northeastern Connecticut's Whigs expounded their philosophy in the regional newspaper, the *Windham County Telegraph*. The Whigs and their Congregational church allies continued to dominate the state's civic and religious life to such an extent that when Charles Dickens crossed Connecticut in 1842, he noted that 'too much of the old Puritan spirit exists in these parts'.¹²

In the 1850s the issue of slavery caused the collapse of the Whig Party, allowing a radical anti-immigration party, the Know Nothings, to take control of the Connecticut General Assembly. In 1856 many former Whigs joined the new antislavery, probusiness Republican Party, which also absorbed the Know Nothings.¹³ The debate over abolition, the Civil War, and postbellum immigration conspired to marginalize the Republican Party's political opponents. The election of entire Republican tickets was the norm in postbellum Windham County's milltowns, with voters dismissing Connecticut's Democratic Party as the party of secession, treason, and Irish Catholics. Reporting on the town elections at Windham in 1884, a local newspaper noted: 'So far as the Democrats were concerned they took no interest in the election it being a foregone conclusion that it would go against them'. Plainfield's John J. Penrose, a leading lawyer and a Democrat, suffered a string of defeats in state and local elections, so in 1870 he shook 'the dust of politics forever from his feet'.¹⁴

¹² Bruce M. Stave and Michelle Palmer, *Mills and Meadows: A Pictorial History of Northeast Connecticut* (Virginia Beach, VA: The Donning Company, 1991), 8; Arnold, *The Making of Danielson*, 79; *Commemorative Biographical Record of Tolland and Windham Counties Connecticut* [henceforth *CBR*] (J. H. Beers and Co., Chicago, 1903), 51; Charles Dickens, *American Notes For General Circulation* (New York: Penguin, 2001), 77.

¹³ Alfred C. O'Connell, 'The Birth of the G. O. P. in Connecticut', *Connecticut Historical Society Bulletin* 26 (1961): 33-59.

¹⁴ Terry Alan Baney, *Yankees and the City: Struggling Over Urban Representation in Connecticut* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1993), 114-17; *Willimantic Chronicle*, 8 October 1884; Allen Bennet Lincoln, *A Modern Windham County of Windham County* (Chicago, IL: S. J. Clarke, 1920), Vol. I:176.

Gross malapportionment in the Senate and House of Representatives further aided Republican hegemony during the postbellum years. Despite disproportionate population growth in towns, each town continued to return two representatives to the legislature's lower house. Although Connecticut's 1818 Constitution had replaced the General Council with a Senate, it still decreed that the chamber's twelve senators were to be chosen at large as council members had been prior to 1818. An attempt at democratization occurred in 1831 when the legislature organized 21 senatorial districts across the state, but despite the popular election of senators after this date, little attempt was made to organize the districts by population size.

Industrialisation, urbanisation, increasing rates of immigration, and the extension of the state franchise starkly exposed the keen disparities in Connecticut's House of Representatives. By 1872 the state's smallest towns returned one representative per 518 people, whereas the largest cities returned one representative for every 10,622 people.¹⁵ By the onset of the twentieth century, Connecticut's system of Republican controlled 'rotten boroughs' had become a national scandal. The political power of the state's 44 smallest towns, with a total population of about 30,000, overwhelmed that of Connecticut's four largest cities, with a total population of about 300,000.¹⁶

In October 1878 an Irish employee at a Willimantic cotton mill complained to a Hartford newspaper that company agents had stood at the poll 'convincing' voters to vote for the Republican candidate or risk dismissal. He urged everyone not to buy the company's products until it 'emancipates its slaves'. The following year, Killingly's *Danielsonville Sentinel*, Windham County's only Democratic newspaper, accused

¹⁵ Van Dusen, *Connecticut*, 244.

¹⁶ Frank Putnam, 'Connecticut: The State Ruled By Its Uninhabited Country Towns', *New England Magazine* 37 (1907), 267-90; 'The Rotten Boroughs of New England', *North American Review* (April (1913), 484-89.

management at the same Willimantic mill of 'Republican intimidation'.¹⁷ Ballot-box tending, which critics referred to it as 'Republican bulldozing', were hardly necessary in a democratic but stratified society in which voters continued to defer to those they perceived to be pious and wealthy individuals of high social status.

The principle of deference voting is a difficult one to prove conclusively. The debate about its validity has focussed mainly upon the colonial and early American periods, and the claim that deferential patterns of voting persisted beyond the eighteenth century has been widely challenged. One recent study, employing very little biographical evidence, dismissed the concept entirely.¹⁸ It is argued instead that in pursuit of commercial capitalism, enlightened secular Connecticut Yankees replaced deference politics with a meritocratic system wherein election to public office depended upon personal achievement rather than upon inherited status.¹⁹ However, studies show that the Puritan blend of capitalism, community, and civil society laid down a solid foundation of town-based government and that the social discipline provided by the Protestant work ethic and the rule of local elites fostered an entrepreneurial spirit that limited capitalism's purported capacity to democratise social relations and values.²⁰ In the nineteenth century deference to superiors

¹⁷ John D. Buenker, 'The Politics of Resistance: The Rural-Based Yankee Republican Machines of Connecticut and Rhode Island', *New England Quarterly* 47 (1974) 212–37; *Willimantic Enterprise*, 29 October 1878; 16 September 1879.

¹⁸ Michael Zuckerman, 'Tocqueville, Turner, and Turds: Four Stories of Manners in Early America', *Journal of American History* 85 (1998): 13–42.

¹⁹ Richard Bushman, *From Puritan to Yankee: Character and the Social Order in Connecticut, 1690–1765* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press); Edward Cook, *The Fathers of the Towns: Leadership and Community Structure in Eighteenth Century New England* (Baltimore, MD: John Hopkins University Press, 1976), 111; Kenneth Lockridge, *A New England Town: The First Hundred Years, Dedham, Massachusetts* (New York: Norton, 1970), 42–43; Jack P. Greene, 'Society, Ideology, and Politics', in Richard Jellison, ed., *Society, Freedom, and Conscience: The American Revolution in Virginia, Massachusetts, and New York* (New York: Norton, 1976), 14–76; Robert Gross, 'The Impudent Historian: Challenging Deference in Early America', *Journal of American History* 85 (1998), 92–97.

²⁰ J. G. A. Pocock, *The Machiavellian Moment: Florentine Political Thought and the Atlantic Republican Tradition* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1975), 531–38; Virginia DeJohn Anderson, *New England's Generation: The Great Migration and the Formation of Society and Culture in the Seventeenth Century* (New York, Cambridge University Press, 1991), 89–91; John Frederick Martin, *Profits in the Wilderness: Entrepreneurship and the Founding of New England Towns in the*

continued to ensure that voters elected the pious and affluent elite to positions of power.²¹ An analysis and comparison of elite officeholding at the state, town, and borough level demonstrates that deference, wealth, and status played a much more important role than merit in elevating the elites to political office in northeastern Connecticut.

The Pyramid of Power

A division of the political front spaces into four executive posts provides an analytical framework to determine whether power was a contingent or linear process. State senators constitute the first tier of power, representatives the second, and town selectmen and borough burgesses the third and fourth tiers respectively. A predictable linear progression from the fourth to the first tier would support pluralistic contentions of meritocratic appointment and election based upon experience and achievement. However, breaks in such linearity point both to back space settlements in candidate selection and to patterns of deference in voting.

Commencing at the peak of the power pyramid, 16 individuals from the sample elite represented Windham County's two senatorial districts between 1844 and 1886. In terms of material wealth as reflected in the 1870 census return, they far outstripped their colleagues in the three tiers below them and were well above the entire sample elite's average of \$28,481. Moreover, a senatorial career augured well for future prospects, with nine of the 12 (75 percent) with probate records increasing their capital by the time of death, compared with 58 percent of selectmen, 38 percent of

Seventeenth Century (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1991), 139–42; Stephen Innes, *Creating the Commonwealth: The Economic Culture of Puritan New England* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1995).

²¹ Ronald Formisano, 'Deferential-Participant Politics: The Early Republic's Political Culture, 1789–1840', *American Political Science Review* 68 (1974): 473–87. Bruce M. Daniels, 'Large Town Officeholding in Eighteenth-Century Connecticut: The Growth of Oligarchy', *Journal of American Studies* 9 (1975), 1–12; 'Democracy and Oligarchy in Connecticut Towns: General Assembly Office Holding, 1701–1790', *Social Science Quarterly* 56 (1975), 460–75; William Willingham, 'Deference Democracy and Town Government in Windham, Connecticut, 1755 to 1786', *William and Mary Quarterly*, 30 (1973), 401–22.

burgesses, and 34 percent of the representatives probated. Also, despite the losses incurred between 1870 and probates, the representatives were significantly more prosperous than burgesses or selectmen (Tables 5.1 and 5.2).

Table 5.1: Sample Elite Serving as Windham County Senator

Senators	T	C	Term	P	D	Census	Probate
William Alexander (1787–1875)	K	P/F	1844	D	14	\$46,000	\$57,296
Lucius Briggs (1836–1901)	T	M/C	1876	R	14	\$50,000	
Richmond Bullock (1810–1883)	Pt	P/F	1880	R	14	\$10,300	\$9,206
William H. Chandler (1815–1888)	T	A	1867	R	14	\$24,400	\$1,173,623
William Cogswell (1799–1872)	Pl	P	1861	R	13	\$28,600	\$25,117
John Dean (1832–1904)	Pl	A	1877, 1888	R	13/ 17*	\$15,000	\$8,692
Archibald Fry (1798–1870)	Pl	A	1854	D	13	\$12,000	
David Gallup (1808–1883)	Pl	P/F	1870	R	13	\$510,000	\$1,210,000
Henry Hammond (1813–1895)	K	P/F	1882, 1883	R	14/16	\$29,000	\$32,842
Whiting Hayden (1808–1886)	W	M/C	1875	R	13	\$84,700	
Joseph Hutchins (1820–1899)	Pl	A	1886	R	17	\$151,000	
William Lewis (1829–1895)	Pl	P	1881	R	13	\$11,000	\$13,244
Gilbert Phillips (1828–1888)	Pt	P/F	1863, 1864, 1879, 1880	R	14	\$20,000	\$23,213
Hezekiah Ramsdell (1805–1877)	T	P	1852	D	14	\$13,000	\$25,000
John Tracy (1812–1874)	W	M/C	1863	R	13	\$27,800	\$111,733
Elliot Sumner (1834–1900)	W	P	1872	R	13	\$15,000	\$35,479

Note: From left to right columns indicate name of senator, town, career group, term(s), political party, district, 1870 real estate and property declaration, and probate inventory.

* In 1881, the General Assembly added two new senatorial districts. The 13th became the 17th, and the 14th became the 16th.

Party designations: R=Republican; D=Democratic; W=Whig.

Table 5.2: Wealth and Party Affiliation of Political Officeholders

Political Post	% of Elite	No.	R	D	Average Wealth (1870)
State senator	6	16	13	3	\$79,218
House representative	29	85	73	12	\$31,338
Town selectman	20	57	51	6	\$23,818
Borough burgess	13	39	38	1	\$20,676

Coupled with wealth levels, the senators' non-political careers suggest that voters deferred to individuals in traditionally higher-status occupations, such as lawyers, bankers, and physicians. Between 1818 and 1888, for example, notwithstanding rapid industrialisation in the county, only seven of 87 Windham County senators were manufacturers. This suggests that those practising this career did not yet possess sufficient social cachet to attract voters.²² Although textile manufacturing was more concentrated in the Fourteenth Senatorial District (northern Windham County), where it had commenced a decade earlier, six of the seven manufacturing-senators represented the southern Thirteenth Senatorial District. The first was Sterling cotton manufacturer Dixon Hall, who was chosen Deputy at Large in 1821.

That the majority of northern Windham County's textile industry founders were prosperous Rhode Islanders partially explains the Fourteenth District's paucity of manufacturing-senators. From 1810 onwards, affluent 'Rhode Island adventurers' had claimed northeastern Connecticut's prime waterpower sites. One of the earliest credit listings for a textile manufacturer located in northern Windham County was at the location soon to be transformed into the town of Putnam. Dated 6 November 1846, it noted the construction of 'the largest cotton mill in Windham County'. Its builder and chief financier was the 'very wealthy' Hosea Ballou from Woonsocket, Rhode Island.²³

Compared to the Fourteenth District's absentee owners, Plainfield cotton manufacturer Daniel Packer and Windham paper-manufacturing machine maker George Spafford, who followed Hall to the Senate in 1831 and 1834 respectively, were locally born men from leading families who generated deferential attitudes. However, the Thirteenth District's textile industry gradually succumbed to Rhode Island capital as well. In April 1852 a creditor asking for information about the owner of the Plainfield Union Manufacturing Company discovered that Sampson Almy was a

²² Richard M. Bayles, *History of Windham County, Connecticut* (New York: Preston and Company, 1889), 110–11.

²³ Larned, *Windham County*, 2:438–39; R G. Dun and Co. Collection, Baker Library, Harvard Business School: Windham County, Connecticut [henceforth, RGD], 1:118.

Rhode Islander. He was Windham County's 'greatest financier', and commanded 'unlimited credit from Providence'.²⁴ That Rhode Islanders controlled and operated northeastern Connecticut's textile industry may explain why, after George Spafford's 1834 term, textile manufacturers were entirely absent from the Senate until the Civil War. From then on, however, a range of settlements and accommodations between commercial, professional, and manufacturing elites, as well as between agrarian and modernising interests, sent members of the manufacturing elite to the Senate.

Shortly after the outbreak of the Civil War, Windham County's manufacturers demanded a flowage law to enable them to obtain water privileges through a compulsory purchase order. Connecticut's neighbouring states had passed similar laws during the antebellum period, but the small-town agrarian Republicans controlling the state legislature had stymied all attempts to introduce a similar law in Connecticut.²⁵ In response, in October 1862 the Thirteenth District's Republican Party convention broke with convention and nominated a manufacturer, Willimantic mill agent John Tracy, to run for the Senate so he could lobby for the law's passage.

Tracy's cotton mills weaved cloth sheetings, which he delivered to calico print mills in Rhode Island. Tracy was no 'surly, gruff speaking, poorly dressed individual with cotton ingrained in his hair and clothes', as Allen Lincoln once described Whiting Hayden, a Willimantic cotton manufacturer.²⁶ Beyond his significant material resources, which increased from \$27,800 in 1870 to \$111,733 at death, he was a 'gentleman of the old school' and circulated with ease in the Senate. His mother was a direct descendant of Windham's Samuel Huntington, a signer of the Declaration of Independence, president of the Continental Congress from 1779 until 1783, and Connecticut's governor from 1786 until 1796.²⁷

²⁴ Larned, *Windham County*, 2:504, 383, 411–12; RGD, 1:99.

²⁵ *Willimantic Journal*, 14 June 1861; Van Dusen, *Connecticut*, 228.

²⁶ Hayden, a member of the sample elite, became a senator in 1875. Lincoln, *Windham County*, 1:162.

²⁷ *Willimantic Journal*, 15 May 1874; Lincoln, *Windham County*, 2:116, 119; Windham Probate Records, 23:311.

John Tracy's colleague from Windham County in the Senate's 1862/63 session had equal social status. Although Putnam lawyer Gilbert W. Phillips had no connection to the textile industry, he represented other modernising interests during his four terms in the Connecticut Senate. Phillips, who had wed the daughter of a prominent Connecticut lieutenant governor and US Congressman, was instrumental in the creation of Putnam in 1855 and established the town's first law office. Shortly afterwards, the New York-New England Railroad hired him as its corporate attorney. This honour added greatly to the young milltown's prestige, and voters repeatedly sent Phillips to the Connecticut Senate and House.²⁸

Phillips last served as a state senator during the 1879/80 session, and for the 1881/82 term, the Fourteenth District's Republican Party once more demonstrated its close links with railroad interests, and its habit of deferring to those of higher social status by nominating Killingly's Henry Hammond to fill the seat. Lauded as the organiser of Connecticut's first antislavery society, Hammond was a founding member of Connecticut's Republican Party, a former state railroad commissioner, and an ex-member of the House of Representatives' railroad committee. Despite his reputation of favouring the interests of the railroad over those of his community and the state, voters elected him to a second consecutive term in 1882.²⁹

The members of the elite who held positions at the peak of the pyramid came from occupations in all career categories bar that of merchant. Most were from the political/financial group, and they were also the most affluent of the sample. Excluding manufacturers, the others followed high status careers in medicine, law, and the ministry, occupations directly linked to the preindustrial elite. That no merchants from the sample elite entered the Senate reflects their inferior position in terms of career and wealth and thus their lower status in the towns housing small industrial communities (Table 5.3 and Figure 5.1).

²⁸ Bayles, *Windham County*, 158; *Willimantic Enterprise*, 28 June 1877; *Putnam Patriot*, 2 November 1888.

²⁹ *Windham Transcript*, 1 February 1882, 10 April 1895; *Willimantic Chronicle*, 3 January 1883.

Table 5.3: Average Wealth Distribution per Career (\$)

Career	No.	Totals	Average
Politics/Financial	18	1,164,200	64,677
Manufacturing/Craft	54	2,186,400	40,488
Professional	25	623,700	25,987
Agricultural	108	2,433,730	22,745
Merchant	83	1,776,900	20,904

Although merchants were conspicuous by their absence in the Senate, 17 entered the House between 1830 and 1890. That 15 of the 17 went there after 1860 supports the idea that during the antebellum period merchants, like manufacturers, did not yet possess the social status enjoyed by those following the other careers. Despite rapid industrial growth, farmers continued to dominate the representative posts (Figure 5.2). However, biographical evidence for the two merchants who were elected to the House before the Civil War suggests one of two things: either that the modernising meritocratic milieu was firing an egalitarian trend, or that elites were adopting the 'tacitly accommodative and overtly restrained practises' that ensured power remained fixed within certain prescribed limits.³⁰

In 1829, Talcott Crosby built a hotel and tavern on a turnpike intersection at Thompson that helped increase trade in the hill-top village. The town freemen sent him to the House the following year. This was Crosby's first political post, and despite spending the next 35 years as a justice of the peace and probate judge at Thompson, he never again achieved such heights. Similarly, in 1849, as the New London and Northern Railroad Company constructed its railway line through Windham, Alfred Kinne built a hotel adjacent to it. He went to the House that autumn, but afterwards he served politically only as a justice of the peace.³¹

³⁰ Burton and Higley, 'Political Crises and Elite Settlements', 47.

³¹ Larned, *Windham County*, 2:533; Bayles, *Windham County*, 302; RGD, 1:149.

Figure 5.1: % Senators per Career Category

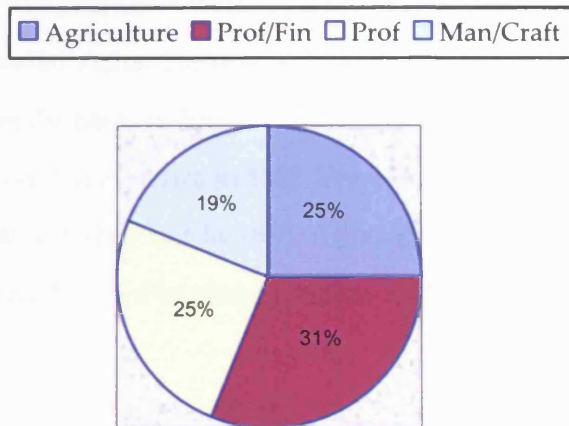
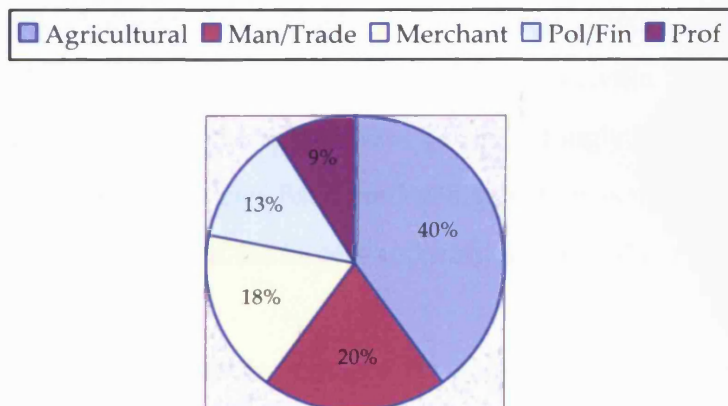


Figure 5.2: % State Representatives per Career Category



Crosby's and Kinne's brief sojourns in the House and their relative lack of political officeholding before and after their two single terms suggests that their entry into the lower chamber was a reward for their investments in the community rather than a sign that individuals of lower status were breaking the older elite's hold onto power. In fact, the postbellum merchant-representatives had solid family backgrounds and the resources needed to enable them to take advantage of the political opportunities provided by the region's growing manufacturing boroughs.

The postbellum merchant-representatives were concentrated at Windham and Killingly. No Thompson merchant followed Talcott Crosby to the House, and the two sent there from Plainfield were affluent individuals from Connecticut's elite families. The first, jeweller Asher Herrick, arrived at the House in 1873. Herrick could trace his ancestry directly back to English aristocrat Henry Herrick, of Beaumanor, Leicester, who had arrived in America in 1652. The other, tin and stove merchant George Loring, entered the lower chamber in 1880. Although he lacked Herrick's prestigious lineage, he had married into Plainfield's influential Lester family, and his wife inherited \$80,000 in 1872.³²

The biographical record of the Windham and Killingly merchant-representatives reveals individuals with family backgrounds of equal status and lineage and with career paths that predictably meandered through a range of traditional organisations. For example, after a private education at the Killingly Academy, Anthony Ames taught in mill village schools, clerked in a mill store, and aged 27 purchased a dry goods store at Danielsonville. He was Killingly town clerk and treasurer for 20 years, a director of the Killingly National Bank, treasurer of the Windham County Savings Bank, and at his death was the oldest member of Killingly's Masonic Lodge, 'one of the largest and most influential in eastern Connecticut'.³³

Despite the textile industry investments that fired economic growth to the benefit of men like Ames, manufacturing-representatives were mainly absent from the House during the antebellum period. All but one of 17 entered the lower chamber after 1860. The exception was Plainfield's Arnold Fenner, a Rhode Islander and a pioneer of the town's cotton industry. He went to the House in 1839, sent there to seek help for manufacturers in the wake of the Panic of 1837.³⁴ Not until the Civil War would another manufacturer from the sample elite sit in the House of Representatives.

³² *Moosup Journal*, 13 May 1909; RGD, 1:163.

³³ *Windham Transcript*, 12 April 1917; J. A. Spaulding, *Illustrated Popular Biography of Connecticut* (Hartford: CT: Spaulding/Case, Lockwood and Brainard Company, 1891), 80.

³⁴ *Windham Transcript*, 13 April 1872.

In 1862 the Republican-controlled US Congress introduced high protective tariffs that greatly benefited Windham County's textile industries. The GOP retained the high tariff structure during the postbellum period, but in Connecticut a split between the radical and conservative wings of the Republican Party enabled the state Democratic Party to challenge GOP supremacy and its protectionist policies.³⁵ The Republicans remained the dominant force in northeastern Connecticut's milltowns, but in the face of the Democratic Party's attacks, the GOP's rural professional/financial elites constructed settlements and accommodations with the urban manufacturing elite to resist the onslaught. In so doing, they made full use of political back spaces in the form of nominating conventions. There, they chose manufacturers to fight for the House seats from which they could expertly promote the cause of tariff retention, much in the same way as the GOP had recruited John Tracy to lobby for the Flowage Law. Consequently, seven of the eight textile manufacturers from the sample elite who were sent to the House between 1865 and 1879 were Republicans, including the old Whig, Plainfield's Arnold Fenner.

The Republican Party machine recruited manufacturers for their economic and industrial, rather than political expertise. For the majority this post was their first experience of party politics at any level. Nevertheless, these political novices were able to take advantage of the power base constructed in the state by rural, small-town elites. Accordingly, the increasing numbers of elite manufacturers in the House hardly represented a democratic surge or a meritocratic process empowering those from lower- status occupations. Nevertheless, House membership, however brief and temporary, was a means by which the elites allowed access into their circles of power. They recruited only those from suitable backgrounds, most often elites from geographically adjacent figurations such as Thompson's Timothy Earle Hopkins.

Fuelling a national obsession with rags-to-riches success stories, celebratory biographical forms widely disseminated the idea of fluid social structures that enabled

³⁵ Van Dusen, *Connecticut*, 240–41.

unlimited upward mobility for hard working, moral men. Timothy Hopkins' obituarist employed the classic language of the genre in describing him as 'a vigorous, intelligent and honourable type of American citizen, a splendid example of the self made man'.³⁶ In reality, cotton mills at Pascoag, Rhode Island, operated by Hopkins' father and uncle, Carver and Augustus Hopkins, generated the wealth that gave Hopkins the wherewithal to take advantage of manufacturing and financial networks linking northwestern Rhode Island and northeastern Connecticut.

Timothy Hopkins was educated at the elite New Hampshire Academy. After graduating, he became involved in 'mercantile pursuits' at Iowa and Providence, and in 1865 his uncle Oscar Chase appointed him treasurer of his cotton mill at Thompson. After just three years in the position, the town of Thompson sent the politically inexperienced manufacturer to the House to buttress the fight for tariff retention. Shortly after he completed his term there, the Chase Manufacturing Company went into receivership, and Hopkins returned to Pascoag.³⁷

Hopkins supervised his father's mills in Pascoag's Burrillville mill community until 1877, when the Hopkins family became aware of a manufacturing opportunity arising at Killingly's Whetstone Brook, 22 miles to the southeast. Thanks to Hopkins' previous experience in Windham County, the family leased the Killingly woollen mill and despatched Timothy to Killingly to operate it. From this point, the R. G. Dun investigators traced Hopkins' increasing fortune, and in the process they revealed regional and family business networks in action.

The first Dun report revealed that Timothy Hopkins' brother was the major investor in the new venture, but subsequent investigations into the sources of Timothy Hopkins' finances found them to be elusive. The Dun reporters could trace no investments in local banks, but they did discover that Hopkins owned real estate at

³⁶ *Windham Transcript*, 21 August 1924.

³⁷ *Illustrated Review of Northeastern Connecticut* (New York: Sovereign Publishing and Engraving Company, 1891), 76.

Pascoag and operated cotton mills at Fitchburg, Massachusetts. Because of the paucity of local financial records, the reporters relied upon estimates and personal information emanating from community business circles. In 1881, Hopkins' Killingly business associates calculated that he was worth \$30,000, and by 1885 that estimate had risen to \$60,000, attributable to the fact that 'his wife's people are well off'. An 1889 report evaluated Hopkins' resources at \$100,000, noting that 'like all manufacturers he is a large borrower of money at different banks'.³⁸

Hopkins' post at his uncle's Thompson mill, coupled with his brief stint in Connecticut's House of Representatives, introduced him to those active in northeastern Connecticut's industrial networks and provided him with important contacts in the Republican Party. His House colleagues in 1868 had included two influential state Republicans and members of the sample elite: Putnam's Augustus Houghton, a twine manufacturer, and James Atwood, the driving and creative force behind Plainfield's giant Wauregan Cotton Company. For Hopkins and many others, political office was a path to power, not merely an end in itself. When such men had cemented their power, they could recruit others to do their political work at the state and local level.

Hopkins' involvement in banking reveals the central role played by banks in sustaining wealth and regional power. He became president of the Killingly Trust Company, president of the Windham County National Bank, and vice president of the Federal Trust Company of Boston. These banking careers, along with his position on Connecticut's powerful Republican Central State Committee, made him an influential power broker, and once his power base was secure, he shunned further political posts, either at Killingly or at the state level.³⁹

It was little coincidence that one of Hopkins' fellow members on the Republican State Central Committee was Sabin Sayles. This Thompson and Killingly woollen mill owner was a member of the Pascoag, Rhode Island, dynasty that had

³⁸ RGD, 2:481, 673.

³⁹ Lincoln, *Windham County*, 2:1096.

originally alerted the Hopkins family to manufacturing opportunities in northeastern Connecticut. He had purchased extensive woollen mills in Thompson in 1863 and owned the mill that the Hopkins family leased in 1877. Moreover, Sayles, 'an ardent and working Republican', had been the Connecticut Governor's 'right hand man' during the Civil War and a delegate to the Republican National Convention in 1868 and 1872.⁴⁰ No doubt he played a part in placing 33-year-old Timothy Hopkins on the path to power in 1868 as Thompson's state representative.⁴¹

The fact that Hopkins' nomination as a candidate for the House was an exception for a manufacturer at Thompson reveals the secondary role that the textile industry played in the regional political process, and further illustrates the division between the industrial towns of Windham, Killingly, and Putnam on one hand and rural Thompson and Plainfield on the other. Between 1865 and 1899, Windham, Killingly, and Putnam sent 13 of the 17 manufacturers to the House, compared to only four from Thompson and Plainfield, towns whose representatives followed more traditional occupations. For example, Windham, Killingly, and Putnam sent no members of the professional group to the House, and the seven professional-representatives from Thompson and Plainfield conducted occupations that had supported the county elite since the colonial period. The three at Thompson were all church ministers, and at Plainfield, three were physicians and one was a lawyer. At the town level not one professional filled the post of selectman. Farmers not only held the majority of representative seats, but by far the most posts on the towns' boards of selectmen.

Deferential Democracy at the Local Level

Town selectmen constitute the third tier in the analytical framework, beneath House and Senate members. Between 1828 and 1890, 57 members of the sample elite sat on the boards of selectman in the five towns, and 47 held office under the GOP

⁴⁰ *Putnam Patriot*, 1 January 1892.

⁴¹ *Windham Transcript*, 5 February 1863.

banner. Moreover, the majority who served in the post did so on multiple occasions, and more than half also served as state representatives. The Republican Party's dominance, the frequency with which individuals returned to the position, and the fact that selectmen commonly sat in the House of Representatives suggests a system of prescribed rotational officeholding and deferential voting patterns.

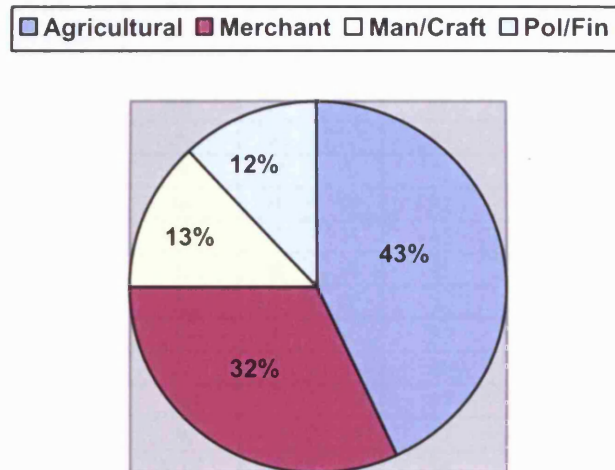
A study of recruitment patterns to colonial town councils and assemblies concludes that social class played but a minor role in selecting and electing candidates to positions of power. Instead, it argues, local elites had to build trust by serving in minor political posts, such as on boards of relief or as a justice of the peace, before gaining entry into high office.⁴² Conversely, evidence that elites with little or no prior experience acquired leading political posts would indicate that status and deference played a more important role in electing candidates than experience in minor town posts. Whether political nominating committees and voters considered class during selection meetings and elections is measurable in part by examining the timing of post acquisition, which can establish the amount of political experience individuals garnered before assuming powerful political positions. Whilst deference cannot wholly explain how small-town, nineteenth-century political structures operated, it is clear that deference to those of a higher social class remained a feature of local life in northeastern Connecticut.

If experience in lesser posts were a qualification for higher office, it would follow that the 28 selectman who also served as state representatives had either been selectmen first, or had occupied a range of lesser posts before taking either position. However, more than half held no political post before acquiring those positions. Of the remainder, in many cases only minimal experience seemed sufficient to acquire higher posts. Killingly farmer Leonard Day served just two terms as a justice of the peace in the town before he was elevated to the House of Representatives at age 35. Similarly, Plainfield farmer Andrew Lester served just one term as a justice of the peace in 1847 before the town freemen sent him to the House the following year at age 28. Moreover,

⁴² Cook, *The Fathers of the Towns*, 159–63, 185–86.

indicating elite influence stretching back to the preindustrial period, more than half of the selectmen/representatives were farmers (Figure 5.3; Table 5.4).

Figure 5.3: % Selectmen per Career Category



Of the 28, only five were Democrats, although farmer Andrew Lester was originally a member of the Democratic Party but converted to the Republican Party on its formation. However, Windham's Don Johnson remained a Democrat, which may explain why he spent 21 years on the Board of Relief, as an assessor, and as a justice of the peace. However, local trends followed wider developments, as after 1872 Democrats began to make a comeback at the national level, and 1877 Johnson was elected selectman and state representative the following year.

Table 5.4: Sample Elite Serving as Town Selectmen and State Representatives

Selectmen/Rep	Career	Party	Town	Age at First Post	Prior Post	First Year Selectman	First Year Rep
Edward Aldrich	P/F	R	T	33	1841–1847: JP, BOR	1861	1849*
William Alexander	P/F	R	K	40		1828	1836
Mowry Amesbury	A	R	K	47	1849–1854: JP	1857	1866
Samuel Bingham	P/F	D	W	36		1854	1864
Fenner Burlingame	A	R	K	34		1857	1869
Edwin Burnham	A	R	W	35	1849–1850: A, BOR	1851	1869
George Burnham	M	R	W	31		1849	1863
George Buck	M/T	R	P	45	1855: A	1858	1878
John Chapman	A	R	Pl	45		1870	1872
John Clark	A	D	W	40	1845–1859: JP, T	1851	1859
Leonard Day	A	R	K	32	1835–1837: JP	1850	1838*
Albert Gordon	A	R	Pl	38		1848	1854
Horace Hall	M	R	W	27	1834: B; 1845–1853: JP	1853	1862
Elisha Hammond	A	R	W	47		1858	1852*
Jonathan Hatch	M/T	R	W	64		1886	1881*
Asher Herrick	M	R	Pl	56	1872: BOR	1877	1873*
Charles Hinckley	A	R	Pl	33		1849	1862
Aug. Houghton	M/T	R	P	47		1883	1869*
Joseph Hutchins	A	R	Pl	17	1837–1839: JP	1847	1842*
William James	A	D	K	52		1850	1848*
Don Johnson	M/T	D	W	37	1856–1875: A, JP, BOR	1876	1877
John Kelley	M	R	K	34		1855	1878
Andrew Lester	A	R	Pl	27	1847: JP	1850	1848*
George Loring	M	R	Pl	45		1875	1880
James Martin	A	D	W	41		1873	1876
Jeremiah Olney	P/F	R	T	29	1847–1851: JP	1862	1852*
Walter Palmer	A	D	Pl	31		1855	1880
Dyer Upham	A	R	T	63	1857–1860: A, T	1873	1863*

Source: Connecticut State Register and Manuals, 1834–80

JP = Justice of the peace

BOR = Board of Relief

A = Assessor

T = Tax collector

B = Borough burgess

* = Representative before selectman

Of the 11 individuals who went straight onto the Board of Selectmen, eight were Republicans, and three of the four who went to the House without any prior political experience were also Republicans. Youthfulness typifies them, as over 60 percent were under 40 before they took up these senior positions, a further sign that status outranked experience in their selection. For the remainder, politics became a

career after retirement from business. Moreover, 40 percent of this subgroup did not rise predictably up the political hierarchy, as 11 became state representatives before being elected selectmen.

Those who went straight to the House had little need for political apprenticeships. Voters and selection committees deferred to their wealth and status, and the settlements reached in choosing candidates even transcended party divisions. For example, in 1844 farmer William James arrived in Killingly from neighbouring Pomfret at the age of 50. He had no previous 'official' political experience other than in an important back space of political activity—banking. A long-serving director of the Windham County National Bank, James had intimate knowledge of local financial networks, which gained him the Killingly's Democratic Party's nomination for the post of state representative in 1847. He switched between the posts of representative and town selectman, and in 1864 he became the founding president of the Windham County Savings Bank. Despite being a Democrat, he repeatedly 'received the suffrages of both political parties'.⁴³

In the fourth tier of political power, the 39 members of the sample elite who sat on the boards of burgesses of the county boroughs of Willimantic (1833) and Danielsonville (1854) were all Republicans bar one (See Addendum). The typical Connecticut borough consisted of an elected warden and an advisory board or court of burgesses. An 1888 study described such communities as 'busy manufacturing or commercial centres' requiring a 'municipal organisation' with the power to 'remove annoyances, improve external conditions, and make life and property safer and the public health more assured'. However, the study also noted that, as in town government, issues of 'favouritism, preferential treatment and nepotism' plagued the typical borough board of burgesses. ⁴⁴ Reporting on the annual election of officers for

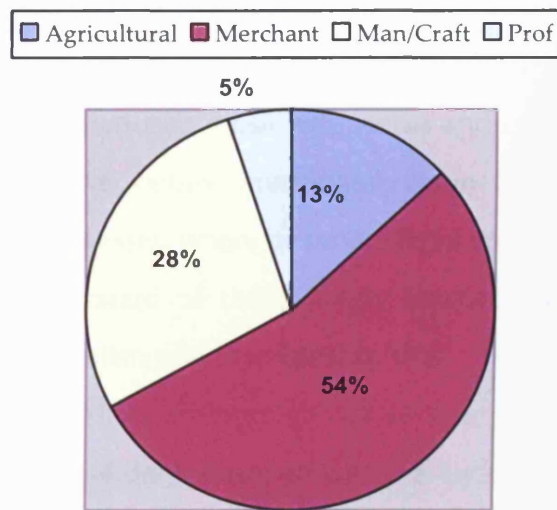
⁴³ *Democratic Sentinel*, 7 August 1878; Bayles, *Windham County*, 973; *CT State Register and Manuals*, 1848-65.

⁴⁴ Calvin H Carter, 'Connecticut Boroughs', *Papers of the New Haven Colony Historical Society*, (1888), 140, 153, 181, 183; Constance M. Green, 'Establishing Manufacturing Cities', in A. M. Wakstein, ed., *The Urbanization of America* (1970), 188-202.

the borough of Willimantic in 1880, the local newspaper noted that the result 'was as usual, a complete walk over for the Republicans'.⁴⁵

Whatever their party affiliation, progression up the pyramid of power was relatively limited for burgesses. At varying times, eight of the burgesses were town selectmen, but only four were state representatives, and one became a senator. Utilised most by those in the lower-status mercantile and manufacturing occupations, the post articulated power more at the urban/local than the state level (Figure 5.4).

Figure 5.4: % Burgesses per Career Category



Deference played an important role in deciding who filled the prominent front-space post of borough burgess. George Danielson, for example, needed no previous political experience. James Danielson had been Killingly's first settler in 1708; George Danielson's father had established the community's first textile manufacturing company in 1807; and the Danielson family had given the town its name. Upon the borough's establishment in 1854, voters elected George Danielson warden.

The five burgesses who filled posts at the state level were all manufacturers and included George Danielson and Willimantic's Horace Hall, another cotton

⁴⁵ *Willimantic Chronicle*, 13 October 1880.

industry pioneer who had sat upon his borough's inaugural boards of burgesses in 1834. Repeating at this level the same settlement processes occurring in the other tiers of power, the burgesses followed the path beaten to the House by other manufacturers. Hall entered in 1862 and Danielson in 1868 to fight for the introduction of the Flowage Law and the retention of high tariffs on imported textiles.

Although the Danielson Cotton Company became northeastern Connecticut's major producer of cotton sheetings, it almost failed during the economic panic of 1857. Despite increased wartime orders, the company never fully recovered, and in 1865 George Danielson passed control to a consortium headed by Daniel Sherman of Providence, Rhode Island.⁴⁶ In 1868 a credit reporter noted a \$300,000 investment at the Danielson Company funded by 'monied men' from Providence and New York City. Once more illustrating deference to those with status and financial wherewithal, the anticipation of this massive outlay immediately won Sherman a place on the Danielsonville Board of Burgesses, where he served eight consecutive terms. In 1868 he also won a place on the board of the Killingly National Bank, which had been established by local industrialists and merchants in 1865.

The Killingly National Bank Board provided a back space where its members discussed and mediated issues arising in the borough. The board consisted of a president and eight directors, and seven of the nine were members of the sample elite. Henry Hammond, the State Railroad Commissioner and a director of the Danielson Cotton Company, was president. In addition to Sherman, the directors consisted of Plainfield cotton mill owner Arnold Fenner, Killingly woollen manufacturer Harris Sayles, Danielsonville shoemaker Abner Young, and Danielsonville merchants Sylvanus Gleason, Silas Hyde, and George Danielson's brother Hezekiah. Young, Gleason, and Hyde, like Sherman, also served on the Danielsonville Board of Burgesses during this period.⁴⁷

⁴⁶ *Windham Transcript*, 8 and 15 June 1865.

⁴⁷ *Windham Transcript*, 11 January 1866; *Connecticut State Register and Manual* (1868), 145.

Sherman employed the front space of the Board of Burgesses and the back space of the bank to influence the community's political, and ultimately he helped to shape its religious life. In 1873 Sherman invited the superintendent of missionary work from the Connecticut Baptist State Convention to institute services in the borough. The following spring, in partnership with two members of the sample elite, Henry Westcott and William Woodward, Sherman organised and built the Danielsonville Baptist Church.⁴⁸

Churches, cotton mills, schools, libraries, and business blocks were physical manifestations of the settlements reached between competing elites on the Boards of Burgesses in both boroughs. In 1862 grocer Charles Carpenter built a brick block on Willimantic's Main Street. By 1888, burgess Carpenter had convinced the state to establish a teacher training college in Willimantic. As the last borough warden before Willimantic achieved city status in 1893, he witnessed the construction of the towering college edifice.⁴⁹ Equally, Danielsonville's Timothy Evans, a clothier and horse dealer, built a 'substantial and elegant business block' on the borough's main thoroughfare in 1878. His last duty on the Board of Burgesses before his death in 1889 was to write a report in favour of illuminating Danielsonville's streets with electric lights. Moreover, in his will he left \$3,000 toward the construction of a new high school and \$2,000 toward the building of a public library.⁵⁰

Evans' generosity points to the urban elite's role in developing a civic culture operating in the back spaces of the political network at the borough level. The physical shaping of the Danielsonville borough, for example, was in large part a result of Timothy Hopkins' influence and efforts outside the normal channels of decision making. He fought for the Killingly town hall to be located at Danielsonville, rather than in a rural section of the town, and became a driving force in the development of

⁴⁸ RGD, 1:43; *Windham Transcript*, 11 May 1873; 2 April 1874.

⁴⁹ *Willimantic Chronicle*, 5 March 1911.

⁵⁰ *Windham Transcript*, 17 July 1889; Killingly Probate Records, Killingly No. 786, Connecticut State Library Archives.

the pastoral Davis Park in the borough's centre. In 1885 he established the Crystal Water Company and piped fresh drinking water to the business district. Moreover, Hopkins' served on the Killingly High School and Public Library building committees, ensuring that those institutions would be located in the heart of downtown Danielsonville.⁵¹

Elite back spaces included a range of voluntary associations that enabled the elites to tap into local information networks for the knowledge vital to their business success and retention of local power. Equally important in this process was having the right relatives and spouses.

Fraternities and Families

Voluntary associations were ubiquitous as America made the transition to industrial capitalism. On his tour of America in 1831, Tocqueville noted a thousand or more associations and clubs that were 'religious, moral, serious, futile, general or restricted, enormous or diminutive' in nature.⁵²

Democratic elite theorists place great emphasis on the historical, egalitarian, anti-radical role of voluntary associations. Adopting Habermas' theory of the public sphere to illustrate how the United States developed an active civic culture during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, pluralists contend that American civil society has represented a voluntaristic and idealistic desire to create cohesive, democratic communities, promote reform, and ultimately limit the power of elites.⁵³ Indeed,

⁵¹ CBR, 296–98.

⁵² Philipps Bradley, ed., *Democracy in America* (New York: Vintage Books, 1954), 2:106.

⁵³ Jurgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, Thomas Burger, trans. (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1989); Thomas Bender, *New York Intellect: A History of Intellectual Life in New York City, from 1750 to the Beginnings of Our Own Time* (New York: Knopf, 1987); Richard D. Brown, *Knowledge is Power: The Diffusion of Information in Early America, 1700–1865* (New York, Oxford University Press, 1989).

pluralists have contended that the most important function of these associations was to provide an egalitarian forum that kept elites in check.

However, Glazer's study of nineteenth-century Cincinnati concludes that voluntary associations strengthened the local elites' hold on political power, thanks to the information provided to those who held memberships in several associations. The communication networks provided by Cincinnati's clubs and lodges mirrored those of interlocking corporate directorships and acted as a forum and power base for elites to extend their social, political, and economic control.⁵⁴ Similarly, Gamm and Putnam conclude that associational activity was greatest in smaller, homogeneous communities and that associations more successfully sustained local elites there.⁵⁵

Morris suggests that associationalism blunted class conflict in nineteenth-century Britain because its working and middle classes yearned for the status provided by membership in urban political parties, church groups, and literary and philosophical societies.⁵⁶ Morris' concept of 'status identity' is a reworking of the social mobility studies American urban historians undertook to explain the failure of radical politics. However, 'status' has deferential and cultural aspects, and the recognition of this is more helpful in examining the nature of elites. Those with ambitions of becoming assistant lodge grand masters may have diffused some inter-class tensions in small town America and Europe. Of more importance, however, was the daily face-to-face interaction between all classes in smaller towns and communities. Local elites carried out a paternalistic, patrician *noblesse oblige* role by providing charity, welfare, and employment for the local populace.

⁵⁴ Walter S. Glazer, 'Participation and Power: Voluntary Associations and Functional Organization of Cincinnati in 1840', *Historical Methods Newsletter* 5 (1972), 150–68.

⁵⁵ Gerald R. Gamm and Robert D. Putnam, 'The Growth of Voluntary Associations in America, 1840–1940', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 29 (1999): 511–57.

⁵⁶R. J. Morris *Class, Sect and Party: The Making of the British Middle Class: Leeds, 1820–50* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990).

Nineteenth-century associational life—as expressed through a wide range of associations and institutions that established schools, colleges, lyceums, clubs and voluntary societies—was exclusionary. Pluralistic suggestions that in the long term voluntary associations benefited poor immigrants ignore this exclusivity. Moreover, the institutional structures that underlay civic culture reflected the social, economic, and religious values of elites.⁵⁷ Fraternal lodges and clubs, those hallmarks of civic culture, not only symbolised class and ethnic divisions, but were also loci of community power that served as a political back space where competing elites fashioned settlements and accommodations.

By 1889, 37 voluntary associations were operating in the five towns. Once again signifying the urban and rural divide between them, the vast majority functioned in the most densely populated communities. Windham hosted 12, Putnam 11, Killingly 9, Plainfield 3, and Thompson 2. The establishment of lodges grew concurrently with the rise in foreign immigration to the milltowns, with local businessmen and artisans instituting 31 of the 37 in the postbellum period. For example, at Willimantic and Danielsonville, millworkers formed two branches of the Order of United American Mechanics, an organisation that limited membership to those born in the United States. However, conditions seem to have been less confrontational at rural Thompson, where the only voluntary associations consisted of a fire company and a village improvement society.⁵⁸

Revealing the complexity of associational involvement across the region, the sample elite's biographical records reveal memberships in Masonic lodges, boards of trade, the Grange movement, the Elks, the Knights of Pythias, the International Order of Oddfellows, the Shriners, the Sons of the American Revolution, and the Grand Army of the Republic. The leading industrialists and merchants welcomed the establishment of such lodges in their midst. For example, in February 1888 Killingly

⁵⁷ Jason Kaufman, *For the Common Good? American Civic Life and the Golden Age of Fraternity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002); E. Digby Baltzell, *Puritan Boston and Quaker Philadelphia: Two Protestant Ethics and the Spirit of Class Authority and Leadership* (New York: Free Press, 1979).

⁵⁸ Bayles, *Windham County*, 347–57; 465–67; 711; 805–70; 956–57.

woollen magnate Sabin Sayles, 'a man with hand and heart open to all liberal and benevolent enterprises' built and provided a 'Castle Hall' for a new lodge of the Knights of Pythias in his mill village of Dayville. Sayles also provided a 'royal banquet' on initiation day, which witnessed the 'Knighting' of 49 members. Entrance qualifications were high: 'It would be difficult in some of our larger boroughs to find 49 cleaner cut, higher type of manhood than is displayed by the charter members of this lodge'.⁵⁹

A number of the elite, such as Willimantic's John Keigwin and Killingly's Timothy Hopkins, were involved in multiple associations within towns and across the region. Considered an important factor in the growth of Willimantic 'from a village into a borough into a city', Keigwin was a Knight of Pythias, an Oddfellow, a Shriner, and in 1881 the founder of Connecticut's Veteran Masonic Association based at Norwich, Connecticut.⁶⁰ The multiple business activities Hopkins entered into caused him to spread his associational net further, and he was a member of two Masonic lodges at Providence, Rhode Island.⁶¹ Such multiple memberships provided further conduits of information on political and business activity in the locality and region.

The oldest associations in northeastern Connecticut were two Masonic lodges, founded in the late eighteenth century in mercantile hill-top villages. Killingly's Moriah Lodge of the Free and Accepted Masons (FAAM) No. 15 originated in Canterbury, Connecticut, in 1790, and a group of professionals and merchants founded Windham's Eastern Star Lodge FAAM No. 44 at contiguous Lebanon in 1798. Shortly after they were founded, each association followed the path of trade and relocated to industrialising towns of Killingly and Windham.

As recorded in individual biography and obituary, the two towns with industrial boroughs had the most Masonic activity, which overlapped with political

⁵⁹ *Willimantic Chronicle*, 29 February 1888.

⁶⁰ *Willimantic Chronicle*, 20 February 1897.

⁶¹ Bayles, *Windham County*, 987.

activity. There were no lodges at rural Thompson, and the three Masons at Plainfield had to travel to neighbouring Norwich, as a lodge in Moosup had recently closed. Moreover, only one Mason, furniture dealer and undertaker Samuel Fenn, came from Putnam, but he was not involved politically. On the other hand, between 1855 and 1879, Killingly merchant Oliver P. Jacobs, a Worshipful Master of the town's Moriah Masonic Lodge and a member of the Columbian Commandery of Knights Templars, was a deputy sheriff of Windham County, Danielsonville's clerk and treasurer, a borough burgess, justice of the peace, postmaster, and judge of probate. Jacobs fought to provide a direct rail link from Killingly to Providence and was a central figure in the building of the Danielsonville Music Hall. Moreover, he helped establish an urban park in the borough and provided funds for the erection of a towering Civil War monument there.⁶²

An examination of the cultural role of American associations reveals that they provided much-needed ritual to a society professing no class system. Masons, like the members of many voluntary associations, endured elaborate initiation ceremonies, wore colourful costumes and uniforms, and conducted regular parades and marches. Moreover, the central theme permeating all American lodges was their preservation and celebration of residual cultural patterns. The links to political structures, the exclusive nature of lodges, the opportunities for networking and dissemination of information, and the symbols and rituals of voluntary associations are evident in an exploration of the minute books of Windham's Eastern Star Lodge.

The lodge's nineteenth-century development can be broken down into two phases: 1798–1829 (ante-urbanisation) and 1849–1885 (post-urbanisation). The biographical record of its founding members and officers during the first phase reveals their high status and standing in the community. They consisted of landowners, politicians, physicians, and military officers, and after 1823 the pastor of the Windham

⁶² *Windham Transcript*, 11 April 1883; *CBR*, 734–35.

Congregational Church.⁶³ Between 1826 and 1875, 18 members of the Windham sample elite became Eastern Star lodge members. The Windham Masons were financially representative of the entire elite sample, averaging \$28,700 each in 1870 compared to \$28,481 overall. Although six of the 12 probated experienced a loss between 1870 and death, they remained relatively wealthy men. Sixteen of the 18 Masons entered the lodge after the move to Willimantic, and 14 held political posts at state, town, and borough level. All but three of these men were Republicans. By career, one was a manufacturer, 10 of the 17 were merchants, and two of the three professionals, David Card and Fred Rogers, were physicians.

The end of the Eastern Star Lodge's first phase coincided with the rise of the Antimasonry movement, when the Windham Masons found it prudent to suspend operations during this 'cyclone of nonsense, prejudice and dirty politics'. Consequently, meetings were intermittent during the 1830s and 1840s.⁶⁴ The lodge fully reinstituted meetings in early 1849, the year the railroad came to the borough of Willimantic. In September 1851 the Masons abandoned their hall in the Windham centre village and relocated the three miles to the expanding borough. After occupying several locations, they rented the basement of the Willimantic Congregational Church until 1857. After that they met in a centrally located business block until 1885.⁶⁵

Membership grew during this period, but at the same time, Willimantic was experiencing high rates of immigration. In 1862, the borough's population of 2,955 consisted of 499 Irish-born immigrants, who mostly lived in crowded, unsanitary conditions where smallpox outbreaks were common. Incidences of drunkenness, organised dogfights, rowdiness, and a riot between the Irish employees of two cotton

⁶³ Walter D. Brigham, *Souvenir of the Centennial: Eastern Star Lodge, No. 44* (Willimantic, CT: Hall and Bill, 1898), 23–37.

⁶⁴ Paul Goodman, *Towards a Christian Republic: Antimasonry and the Great Transition in New England, 1826–1836* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988); Brigham, *Eastern Star*, 16.

⁶⁵ Eastern Star Minute Book, 1824–54, 8 September 1851; 5 April 1854; ESMB, 1854–64; 13 June 1856; 10 April 1857; ESMB, 1875–89, 16 April 1885.

mills, conducted with clubs and knives, did nothing to enhance their local reputation.⁶⁶ In 1865, John Hickey, one of only two Irishmen in the sample elite, petitioned for admittance to the Eastern Star Lodge, but the selection committee rejected him.⁶⁷

The privately educated sons of a wealthy Irish farmer, John Hickey and his brother Michael had travelled to the United States in some style aboard the steamer *George Washington* in 1849. In 1863 they arrived in Willimantic and opened a provisions and drug store for millworkers. Excluded from membership in Windham's Eastern Star Masons, the prospering Hickey brothers organised a local branch of the Ancient Order of Hibernians at Willimantic, demonstrating the importance of associationalism in sustaining elites. They contributed substantial funds to Willimantic's Irish Catholic church, and John Hickey became a director of the borough's leading bank. Although excluded by the local Yankees, Hickey's associational, church, and financial links were beneficial, as he left an estate valued at over \$70,000.⁶⁸

The Irish were not the only ones excluded from membership in the Eastern Star Lodge. Further demonstrating associational exclusivity, the lodge submitted all those applying for membership to an exacting application process and expected a high code of behaviour from those admitted.⁶⁹ Prospective members had to submit a written petition with a fee. A petitioning committee subsequently discussed the application and voted upon it. The vote for entry, known as a 'clear' ballot, had to be unanimous. Those rejected, about half of all petitioners, suffered a 'cloudy' ballot. This was often the fate of applicants subjected to the findings of a 'committee of investigation', which usually reported back 'unfavourably'. For example, after an investigation in 1869, merchant William Swift, a member of the sample elite, had his petition rejected. The

⁶⁶ *Willimantic Journal*, 4 April 1862; 2 May 1862; 18 September 1863; 14 February 1867.

⁶⁷ ESMB, 1864–74; 3 March 1865. Roderick Davison, the Eastern Star Lodge's Worshipful Master at the time, owned the tenements where the smallpox epidemic had broken out and also held multiple political posts in the borough and was a Windham County deputy sheriff.

⁶⁸ ESMB, 1864–74; 3 March 1865; *Willimantic Chronicle*, 14 October 1910; CBR, 351; Windham Probate Records, 11: 59.

⁶⁹ ESMB, 1864–74; 1 April 1866; 19 January 1870.

lodge also surveyed the everyday behaviour of existing members, and failure to uphold standards of decorum led to charges of 'unmasonic conduct'. In 1883, the Eastern Star Masons accused a member of bringing reproach to the order of Free Masonry through his 'frequent and continuous use of intoxicating liquor to excess'. Although acquitted of these charges, the lodge then put him on trial for robbing the dry goods store of a fellow Mason, found him guilty, and ejected him.⁷⁰

Despite ejections from the lodge, membership increased during the 1880s. In 1881, 117 lodge members attended member James Johnson's funeral. Moreover, an increasing number of Masons from other lodges attended Eastern Star meetings, a fact highlighting the information and communication networks they provided. The lodge secretary who recorded the death of Mason George Burnham in 1882 noted that his passing severed 'another link of the fraternal chain that binds us together'. It also bound the members from the area textile towns together.

In early 1879, shortly after Plainfield's Andrew Kimball purchased a grocery store in Willimantic, he attended a meeting as a guest from Plainfield's Moosup Lodge No. 113 to meet and evaluate the leading men in town.⁷¹ Kimball appears to have made the right connections at this meeting. In October 1880 he successfully ran for election to the Willimantic Board of Burgesses on the Republican ticket. The successful warden in this election, along with the other five elected burgesses were all long-standing Eastern Star Lodge members. Membership in the lodge for these seven Masonic borough officers totalled 80 years, dating back to 1853. During the 1880/81 term, the Eastern Star Lodge was a back space for borough political decisions and discussions.⁷²

⁷⁰ ESMB, 1864-74; 21 April 1869; 21 February 1883.

⁷¹ *Willimantic Enterprise*, 10 December 1878; ESMB, 1875-89, 5 February 1879; 22 May 1881; 5 April 1882.

⁷² The borough election results, reported in the *Willimantic Chronicle* of 13 October 1880, reveal the warden as Roderick Davison, who had been a lodge member since 1859. Along with Kimball, the elected Burgesses, with the year they became Masons, were John Keigwin (1853), John Alpaugh (1865), Charles Billings (1868), Henry Hall (1868), and George Harrington (1876). Brigham, *Souvenir of the Centennial*, 42-44.

Demonstrating the hierarchical and deferential nature of associations, high-status individuals rose rapidly through the lodge ranks. During the 1860s, the five executive posts recorded in the minute books were worshipful master, senior and junior warden, treasurer, and secretary. Silas Loomer, who had represented the neighbouring town of Columbia in the legislature in 1859, came to Willimantic in May 1861 to establish a coal and lumberyard. Elected as a lodge member in April 1862, within five months he was treasurer. Equally, neither Dr. Card nor Dr. Rogers were local men, but they too rapidly climbed through the lodge ranks. Card, who arrived in Willimantic in 1861, became a member in 1864, and was lodge secretary less than six months later. Similarly, Rogers, who came to the borough in 1863, became an Eastern Star Mason in 1867 and lodge secretary three months later ⁷³ (Table 5.5).

In February 1870 the lodge ordered regalia that not only distinguished the ranks in the order, but also highlighted their status to outsiders during public processions and funerals. It purchased 60 lambskin aprons, 60 blue sashes, and a batch of silver lace with stars to 'affix to the collars of lodge officers'. As studies by Lipson and Dumenil suggest, Masonic membership filled a ritualistic gap. Expressing a faith in God, but without stressing a particular doctrine, lodges such as the Eastern Star became a surrogate for the church, providing their commercially minded secular members with identity, codes of ethics, complex rituals, initiation ceremonies, and elaborate funeral services.⁷⁴

⁷³ ESMB, 1864-74; 29 September 1864; 8 March 1865; 16 January, 19 April 1867.

⁷⁴ Dorothy Ann Lipson, *Freemasonry in Federalist Connecticut* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1977); Lynn Dumenil, *Freemasonry and American Culture, 1880-1930* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1984).

Table 5.5: Windham Eastern Star Lodge Members from Sample

Mason	Career	Year Raised	Politics	Census	Probate
Amos Bill (1827–1892)	M	1875		\$16,300	
David Card (1822–1899)	P	1864		\$20,000	
David Clark (1835–1886)	M	1867	R: 2	\$12,300	\$4,750
Roderick Davison (1821–1892)	M	1859	R: 2, 4	\$17,500	\$9,781
George Hanover (1826–1880)	M	1852		\$35,000	\$48,076
Elisha Holmes (1799–1886)	M	1862	D: 2	\$35,000	\$26,602
James Hayden (1830–1898)	M/F	1857		\$23,000	\$150,284
James Johnson (1823–1881)	A	1859	R: 2, 4	\$38,500	\$26,083
John Keigwin (1825–1897)	M	1853	R: 2, 4	\$21,000	\$32,000
Allen Lincoln (1817–1882)	P/F	1852	R: 3	\$55,000	\$51,191
Silas Loomer (1824–1899)	M	1862	R: 2, 3, 4.	\$26,000	\$92,891
James Martin (1832–1906)	A	1863	D: 2, 3	\$26,000	\$12,543
Frederick Rogers (1835–1917)	P	1867	R: 4	\$10,500	
Chester Tilden (1795–1872)	P	1826	D: 3	\$18,300	\$30,200
David Tucker (1846–?)	M	1861		\$12,000	
Thomas Turner (1819–1882)	M	1852		\$60,000	\$88,207
James Walden (1825–1916)	M	1857	R: 2, 3, 4	\$68,000	
Albert Whittemore (1834–1891)	A	1863	R: 4	\$16,500	

Note: 1 = senator; 2 = state representative; 3 = town post; 4 = borough post

The evidence from the Eastern Star Masonic Lodge suggests that rather than distributing power in a meritocratic fashion in a perceived civil society, associationalism concentrated and secured it at the borough level, much in the same way family and occupational networks anchored the social and political positions of senators, representatives and selectmen. Reflecting a lingering hostility to associational organisations and revealing that local power resided in other spaces beyond back space lodge meeting rooms, the obituaries of a small proportion of the sample stressed their subjects' antipathy to associational life. Putnam's Hiram Brown was 'never a member of any secret organisation' and although George Buck, a Putnam builder, was active in the temperance movement, he was 'against secret societies'. Moreover, two of the most prominent men in the region, Plainfield's David Gallup and Joseph Hutchins had neither 'secret society affiliations', nor memberships in 'clubs or fraternities'.⁷⁵

⁷⁵ CBR, 119; *Putnam Patriot*, 31 January 1902; *Windham Transcript*, 22 August 1883; Spaulding, *Illustrated Popular Biography*, 296.

Gallup and Hutchins did not need associationalism to buttress their hold on local power. They controlled the political network through deference, wealth, and elite family and political networks within the town and state. For example, when the 1870 census taker asked Gallup the nature of his occupation, he said that he was a probate judge, despite the fact that at the time he was the Fourteenth District's state senator. Gallup also served as speaker of the House of Representatives in 1866, as president of the Senate in 1869, and as Connecticut's lieutenant governor in 1879.

David Gallup (Figure 5.5) had held the post of probate judge at Plainfield since 1846, and voters doubtlessly deferred to him. His obituarist noted this and outlined the qualifications that eased him into the regional elite network: 'From a good beginning he continued to improve his position...and the people of Plainfield reposed such confidence in him that he practically managed all their public affairs'. His name was a 'synonym of integrity and ability' throughout Windham County. To be a member of this family 'was a passport to the best circles. It was much better than Norman blood'.⁷⁶

Windham County's Gallup family was a Windham County, land-owning aristocracy. David Gallup was directly descended from John Gallup, an English soldier of fortune awarded significant tracts of land in eastern Connecticut for service in the Pequot Indian Wars of 1634–38. His marriage in 1834 to Julia Woodward united his exalted family with one equally as prominent. This union, in securing his place at the centre of Windham County's web of power, also demonstrates how familial networks dispersed power across the region and to new locales.

⁷⁶ *Windham Transcript*, 22 August 1883.

Figure 5.5: David Gallup



Source: Commemorative Biographical Record of Tolland and Windham Counties, Connecticut (Chicago, IL: J. H. Beers, 1903), 51.

Marriages cemented dynasties, locally, regionally, and nationally. Those between the four families in adjacent towns, the Gallups, Woodward, Clevelands, and Hutchins of Plainfield and Canterbury, illustrate this point. David Gallup's wife, Julia, was a daughter of Lemuel Woodward (1778–1851), a wealthy Plainfield landowner whose family prospered further from the opening up of the Northwest Frontier. In 1791, Lemuel's elder brother William Woodward (1768–1833) was one of the first settlers of Cincinnati, Ohio. Armed with family resources, William Woodward invested in Cincinnati's early growth. In the long term he expanded his already

considerable wealth, and his postmortem endowments led to the establishment of the University of Cincinnati. Although remaining in Plainfield, William's brother Lemuel Woodward also forged links with the expanding West.⁷⁷

The 1870 census for Plainfield partially revealed the nature of these links. In that year Lemuel Woodward's daughter Lydia (Woodward) Cleveland was a 59-year-old widow. Reporting to the census taker that she was 'keeping house', Mrs. Cleveland declared \$147,000 worth of property and real estate. Her late husband, Luther Cleveland, was a nephew of Moses Cleveland, a surveyor for the Connecticut Land Company who had founded the city of Cleveland, Ohio, in 1796.⁷⁸

Gallup's marriage into an elite northeastern Connecticut family, which had invested much of its New England generated wealth into the development of the cities of Cincinnati and Cleveland, demonstrates how elites dispersed power and avoided displacement from the peak of the social hierarchy. For example, these Ohio cities became the ultimate destination of much of David Gallup's extensive estate. He left a fortune in 1883 inventoried at \$1,210,000, which already included extensive real estate in Cincinnati. Gallup directed his executors to divide his Plainfield assets equally between his wife and son-in-law, the city of Cincinnati to endow educational fund of his wife's uncle, William Woodward, to Yale University to endow a Gallup scholarship, and to the town of Plainfield to support the poor.⁷⁹

In further buttressing the family network, Lemuel Woodward's other daughter, Lucy, married Joseph Hutchins, the son of a prominent Plainfield farmer and landowner. Demonstrating local deference, Plainfield's freemen had elected Hutchins a justice of the peace shortly after he graduated from the Plainfield Academy at the age of 17. At 22, Hutchins entered Connecticut's House of Representatives. He 'retired' at

⁷⁷ CBR, 51.

⁷⁸ Bayles, *Windham County*, 1,073.

⁷⁹ Plainfield Probate Records, 26:11, 52.

age 33 and spent his time on two bank boards at nearby Norwich.⁸⁰ After David Gallup's death, Hutchins oversaw the family's interests in Plainfield, supervising his late brother-in-law's 'Plainfield fund', which financed the town's almshouse. The network strengthened its links with the West when Joseph Hutchins' daughter married and settled in Ohio. Late in life, Hutchins spent summers at Plainfield and 'wintered in Cincinnati with his daughter'.⁸¹

Women were indispensable links binding elites together and significant figures in family back spaces, where they negotiated settlements as significant and far reaching as those achieved in the front and back spaces of politics. The women featured in this study stood outside of the formal and even informal structures and networks of power, but they played important roles in a range of family and associational figurations. They funded the family businesses, decided who inherited what, and who would marry whom. Moreover, those who did not marry still maintained important family links and had the final say in the distribution of their land and properties.

The Dun records reveal several examples of how wives funded their husband's businesses. In 1848, Plainfield's Isaac Cutler was operating a dry goods store. The following year his wife inherited \$10,000, which she invested in the business. William Bacon was a Killingly undertaker and cabinetmaker. In 1868 his wife was receiving a lifetime annuity of \$500, which was funding the business. Amos Adams was Willimantic's largest insurance broker in 1884, but credit reporters noted that he had no financial basis for credit and was 'worth nothing'. However, his wife was 'very wealthy'. She held much property in the borough and paid all her husband's bills.⁸²

Celebratory biographical forms rendered these females invisible. Even amongst the 19 women from the sample elite, the biographical record is sparse. Beyond

⁸⁰ Spaulding, *Illustrated Popular Biography*, 296.

⁸¹ Bayles, *Windham County*, 474.

⁸² RGD, 1: 43; 1: 98; 2:364.

revealing that all but three were the wives and widows of prominent men, it indicates that they were from leading local families. In the best traditions of the Yankee genteel tradition, none followed a career, each describing their occupation to the 1870 census taker as 'keeping house'. Consequently, they were all absent from credit records. Nevertheless, they upheld the elite network through contributions of time and resources to a range of charitable and religious organisations.

Probate records signpost the relocation of the local dynasties of which these women had been a part (Table 5.6). Maria Turner, the widow of wealthy Willimantic merchant Thomas Turner, split her estate between a friend living at Providence and a sister living in Ohio. Although born in the Windham centre village, Anna Baker, the mother-in-law of artist Julian Alden Weir, lived in New York and was only a summer resident of Windham. She distributed her substantial estate to daughters living in New York City and Branchville, Connecticut.⁸³

Four women left the region and died elsewhere. Windham's Jane Holland, widow of Goodrich Holland, the founder of a Willimantic silk thread manufacturing plant, inherited her husband's company in 1870. However, after three years she passed control to a local agent and retired to Boston.⁸⁴ Mary Burnham, the widow of prominent local US Congressman Alfred A. Burnham, died in Hartford, Connecticut. Mary Robinson, whose husband Calvin had donated substantial funds for the building of Willimantic's Congregational Church in 1870, died in Minnesota; and Louisa Chase, the daughter of a pioneer Windham cotton manufacturer, died at Stamford, Connecticut.⁸⁵

⁸³ Windham Probate Records, 36:167; 29: 30; *Willimantic Chronicle*, 11 October 1899.

⁸⁴ RGD, 1: 149.

⁸⁵ *Willimantic Chronicle*, 21 July 1914; 9 June 1899.

Table 5.6: Women of the Sample Elite

Women	Census	Probate	Town
Anna Baker (1823–1899)	\$147,000	\$270,725	Windham
Mary Burnham (1834–1914)	\$14,000		Windham
Lydia Cleveland (1811–1890)	\$147,700		Plainfield
Louisa Chase (1837–1897)	\$10,300		Windham
Esther Danielson (1808–1888)	\$10,200		Killingly
Delia Hebard (1817–1902)	\$11,700	\$18,765	Windham
Mary Hall (1831–1888)	\$17,000		Killingly
Jane Holland (1834–1921)	\$37,000		Windham
Eunice Kellog (1802–1887)	\$23,000		Windham
Charlotte Lathrop (1830–1916)	\$10,000		Windham
Ellen Peck (1830–?)	\$12,000		Killingly
Lucia Perrin (1815–1893)	\$32,000	\$24,658	Putnam
Mary Robinson (1810–1899)	\$15,800		Windham
Louisa Smith (1813–?)	\$13,000		Windham
Martha Smith (1787–1870)	\$12,000	\$14,272	Plainfield
Catherine Tingley (1818–1897)	\$13,000		Windham
Maria Turner (1822–1919)	\$10,500	\$9,665	Windham
Ludentia Weld (1814–1904)	\$11,000	\$6,215	Killingly
Harriet Whitmore (1815–1898)	\$10,000	\$7,323	Killingly

Religious and philanthropic work was a common factor amongst the female elite. Louisa Chase had been a Congregationalist missionary abroad and gave to charities; Windham's Eunice Kellog gave a plot of land in the centre of Willimantic for the building of an Episcopal Church; Ludentia Weld and Harriet Whitmore, the daughters of Roswell Whitmore, the pastor at Killingly's Westfield Congregational Church from 1813 to 1843, supported their father's church throughout their lives. Ludentia married a teacher at the elite Killingly Academy, and after his death in 1865, she devoted the rest of her life to the church. 'Everywhere she was a moral power, loyal to her church in its every department of work, and in the meetings of the Woman's Board of Missions she was the strongest individual force'.⁸⁶

The obituary of Ludentia's sister Harriet Whitmore, one of three women who remained unmarried, described her as a 'generous, staunch and liberal friend of the

⁸⁶ *Willimantic Chronicle*, 5 February 1897, 20 December 1882; *Willimantic Journal*, 3 December 1897; *Windham Transcript*, 21 December 1898, 17 November 1904.

Westfield Congregational Church'. The second spinster, Plainfield's Martha Smith left \$500 to New York City's Magdalen Benevolent Society, a rehabilitation asylum for prostitutes.⁸⁷ The third, Lucia Perrin, represented a dynasty once empowered by industrialisation, but in decline by the 1890s. The Perrin family owned large tracts of land in the section of Pomfret absorbed by the milltown of Putnam, and Lucia's uncles and brothers constituted the local network of farmers and bankers who collaborated with the incoming Rhode Island mill builders. Lucia subsequently inherited and owned much property in Putnam, including an old church and several private and commercial buildings, but much of the land remained undeveloped; and over a ten year period after her death in 1893, Perrin's heirs sold off over 200 acres of 'sprout lots' and 'woodlots' in the city.⁸⁸

Despite the dispersal or winding down of the local dynasties represented by these women, family networks still functioned efficiently and transmitted power into the twentieth century, as the family history of Warren Wheeler Woodward illustrates. One of Woodward's ancestors, Roger De Woodward, had arrived in England with William the Conqueror in 1066, and another was local Revolutionary War hero General Israel Putnam. Woodward was also a member of the elite Canterbury-Plainfield dynasty that had extended its influence to Ohio. He purchased a drugstore in Danielsonville in 1868, and in 1873, along with Henry Westcott and Daniel Sherman established the borough's Baptist Church. That added to his status and won him a high level of local deference. His obituarist considered Woodward 'a most active factor in the development of the borough of Danielsonville and in support of all those interests which made for its material, intellectual, social, political and moral progress'.⁸⁹ However, the official record did not allude to some of the reasons for Woodward's many accomplishments.

⁸⁷ Plainfield Probate Records, 23:494.

⁸⁸ Woodstock Probate Papers, 1893. Pomfret, No. 4791, Connecticut State Library; *Putnam Patriot*, 1 December 1893; 11 January 1895; Bayles, *Windham County*, 1,142.

⁸⁹ Bayles, *Windham County*, 1,197, 1,834; Lincoln, *Windham County*, 2: 1,448-49; *Windham Transcript*, March 16, 1911.

In 1877 Dun credit records noted that Woodward's father was the drugstore's true owner and that in 1885 his wife's father was financing the entire store's stock. The following year a report warned creditors that Woodward was fully mortgaged and that he had an 'expensive family' to upkeep. In 1887, Woodward declared bankruptcy, and the sale of his store and goods raised \$14,193 to pay debtors. However, Woodward's fellow Mason at Killingly's Moriah Masonic lodge, Danielsonville merchant Edward L. Palmer, took the responsibility for the remainder of the store's debts.⁹⁰

After Woodward died in 1911, his eldest son Arthur, who had attended pharmaceutical school, inherited the family drugstore business. Woodward left only five dollars to his youngest son William, reminding him in his will that he had already expended 'several thousands upon his education' and had fully supported him after he became of full and legal age'.⁹¹ William F. Woodward had attended Boston University's law school, was a member of his father's Masonic lodge, the president of Danielson's Bohemian Club, treasurer of the Danielson Fire Department, and in 1915 was serving as a Connecticut superior court judge.⁹² Although he inherited only five dollars, William had already received all the social and economic capital he needed from his father.

Woodward had steered clear of the front spaces of political activity, but he benefited from deferential attitudes and accommodative and restrained practises in the back spaces of power provided by family networks, associationalism, and religion. The activities within and between these spaces illustrate both how power retention and transmission was a contingent, rather than a linear or meritocratic, process and how they enabled Woodward to pass down sufficient cultural and economic capital to the next generation.

⁹⁰ RGD, 2: 356, 2: 526; Killingly Probate Records, 6:46.

⁹¹ Killingly Probate Records, 20:419–20.

⁹² Lincoln, *Windham County*, 2:1148–49.

Paths to Power

Woodward is representative of the northeastern Connecticut elites who skilfully maintained their power through the front spaces of local and regional political offices and the back spaces of financial institutions, voluntary associations, and family networks. The next chapter expands upon the spatiality of power to explore how elites at the state, town, and borough levels retained and transmitted power by transforming the Last Green Valley's natural space into political and social space.

Chapter Six

Geographies of Space and Power

Territory is no doubt a geographical notion, but it's first of all a juridico-political one: the area controlled by a certain kind of power. *Field* is an economico-juridical notion. *Displacement*: what displaces itself is an army, a squadron, a population. *Domain* is a juridico-political notion. *Soil* is a historico-geological notion. *Region* is a fiscal, administrative, military notion. *Horizon* is a pictorial, but also a strategic notion.¹

Positivist analyses have rendered social space invisible by dividing it into natural, mental, physical, residential, productive, and commercial places and describing it in undialectical, temporal terms. To unmask social space and explain how it was historically produced, Lefebvre developed a theory based on a three-part dialectic, or trialectic: *l'espace perçu* (perceived space), *l'espace conçu* (conceived space), and *l'espace vécu* (lived space).² For Lefebvre, space is the historical and its consequences: 'the *diachronic*, the *etymology* of locations in the sense of what happened at a particular spot or place and thereby changed it—all of this becomes inscribed in space'.³

Perceived, or visual, space is how observers read the city, either by looking at it directly or through its visual representations. Conceived, or conceptualised, space is the realm of scientists, planners, and urbanists. Shaped by the political process, it is the dominant space in any society. According to Edward Soja, lived space is that which the imagination seeks to change and appropriate, the realm of infinite possibility, which develops multiple identities. Each of these spatial arrangements influences the others. Lived space is passive, dominated by a conceived abstract space shaped by

¹ Michel Foucault, 'Questions on Geography', in Colin Gordon, ed., *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings 1972–1977* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1980), 68.

² Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, Donald Nicholson-Smith, trans. (Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1991), 37.

³ Lefebvre, *Production of Space*, 33, 38.

homogenizing forces. Accordingly, perceived space is dialectically implicated in conceived and lived space.⁴

A central concept of Lefebvre's spatial trialectic is the temporal, historical process of dialectical centrality, in which natural space, perceived and conceived over time into abstract space, constantly re-sites itself through the conflicts inherent in space production. Centrality aspires to be total, and ultimately it spurns the dialectic, expelling all peripheral elements in order to concentrate everything in the centre. According to Lefebvre, industrial production took place at 'discrete points' of extraction, production, sale, and distribution until the 'agents of the technostucture' created scarcities of natural space by commodifying land and water. Scarcity equated with urban centres, which 'may have grown up from historically established towns...or evolved out of new towns'. Spatial scarcity also enveloped historical contradictions and absorbed old conflicts. Urban centres were contradictions *of* space and temporal contradictions *in* space. As places of 'accumulated energies' at points of 'decision-making', they ultimately burst out, causing shifts in centrality. Re-sited over time, urban centres enabled power elites to transform natural space, particularly land and water resources, into controllable social space.⁵

Foucault has defined the hegemonic process of Lefebvre's spatial trialectic in terms of the 'techne'—'a practical rationality governed by a conscious goal'. The techne is best understood in terms of *bio-power* and *governmentality*. Scarcity of space at urban centres created sanitation and public health issues, and when these threatened the elite's hold upon power, a governmental system of freedoms and repressions addressed the problem. Promising to create an efficient economy to benefit all, the elite

⁴ Edward Soja, *Postmodern Geographies: The Reassertion of Space in Critical Social Theory* (London: Verso, 1989).

⁵ Lefebvre, *Production of Space*, 330–32. The Wittfogel thesis also identified a close link between water control and political power. Expanding upon this in postmodern terms, Cosgrove and Petts argue that hydro-engineering is best understood in the context of modernisation in order to observe how applied science became 'the paradigm for human control in all environments of human life'. Denis Cosgrove and Geoff Petts, eds., *Water, Engineering and Landscape: Water Control and Landscape Transformation in the Modern Period* (London: Belhaven Press, 1990), 7.

documented and quantified the urban population, objectifying it into a living, easily monitored, organic body. The *techne* thus enabled authoritarian interventions in urban spaces to build sewage and drainage systems. In order to fashion and maintain a passive industrial workforce, politico-technological institutions underpinned social segregation and hierarchisation, 'guaranteeing relations of domination and effects of hegemony'.⁶ Dialectical centrality, then, can be understood in terms of the *techne*'s 'political rationality', wherein bio-power and governmentality organised urban centres that provided the populace with physical, spiritual, and cultural health in communitarian spaces of ritual and distraction.

The production of space in industrialising Windham County occurred within a complex network of hegemonic institutions across a triad of community types: colonial hill-top hamlets, industrial river-valley communities, and multi-centred mill-town boroughs. These centres in turn provided an interactive foundation for a tripartite geography of power consisting of the *ancien regime*, an aristocratic landowning elite who lived in the hill villages and traced their ancestry back to the British 'Great Migration' of 1630–60; the *technocrats*, a cadre of out-of-state manufacturing magnates who established and controlled mill villages and boroughs; and the *bourgeoisie*, a new generation of entrepreneurs, usually privately educated men from well established rural families, who moved into the industrialising boroughs from neighbouring country towns to maintain their wealth and power.

Commencing at Pomfret's Factory Village in 1806, spatial processes underpinned modernity's transformation of the Last Green Valley into an urban-industrial network. This chapter applies Lefebvre's trialectic to modernising Windham County to provide a framework for understanding the complex and dynamic ways in which northeastern Connecticut's elite culture operated as it continuously—and

⁶ Michel Foucault, 'Space, Knowledge, and Power, in Paul Rabinow, ed., *The Foucault Reader* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1984), 255; 'Governmentality' in Graham Burchell et al., eds., *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), 87–104; 'The Politics of Health in the Eighteenth Century', in Colin Gordon, ed., *Power/Knowledge* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1980), 175; 'Right of Death and Power Over Life', in Rabinow, ed., *Foucault Reader*, 263.

successfully—attempted to maintain stability and balance in the face of ever-changing social and economic developments. The first part explores how elites originally conceived social and political space in northeast Connecticut and then re-sited abstract space from hill-top village to mill village. The second part investigates the commodification of natural space through political agencies at the town, borough, and state level. The final part is a comparative analysis of representations of planned urban space at Willimantic and Putnam, two of the region's most densely populated urban centres. These relatively sophisticated industrial communities represent a culmination of the hegemonic processes instigated by the regional triad of elites in hill-top and mill-village centres.

From Hill Village to Mill Village

The transformation of natural space into political and social space in Windham County began when the 1639 Fundamental Orders of Connecticut established an 'orderly and decent government' based upon towns. These 'administrative ecclesiastical-political organisations' became the base unit for representation in the colony's General Court. When the Crown and General Court opened northeastern Connecticut for settlement in the 1670s, it granted land to proprietors, who either developed it into farmland or sold it in lots. By 1762 the entire colony consisted of incorporated towns. Those formed after that date emerged from existing townships, usually in communities where travel to the town's mother church and meeting hall was difficult and time consuming. These 'second order ecclesiastical parishes' inevitably sought political autonomy and petitioned the General Assembly for town incorporation.⁷

Historiographically, colonial Connecticut was long viewed as a 'land of steady habits' where no significant societal changes occurred from the time of the first

⁷ Dwight Loomis, ed., *The Judicial and Civil History of Connecticut* (Boston, MA: The Boston History Company, 1895), 38; Bruce C. Daniels, *The Connecticut Town: Growth and Development, 1635–1790* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1979).

European settlement to the Revolutionary struggle. In communitarian townships, freeborn Englishmen worked a prosperous mixed-grain and livestock economy and paid homage to the Congregational church. This view gained credence in the debate over how New England made the transition to capitalism. Expanding on the work of Perry Miller, Bushman and Lockridge contended that New England's 'Christian utopian closed corporate' communities eventually gave way to competitive, commercialised Yankee townships. Innes and Martin have challenged this 'communitarian synthesis', arguing that from the time of the first settlements, the economic, social, and institutional development of New England town life was an hierarchical commercial undertaking organised by entrepreneurs in joint-stock corporations, which, they contend, laid the foundations for the emergence of a democratic municipal system.⁸

It is true that northeastern Connecticut's ancient town form of government was slow to respond to urban and industrial growth and that joint-stock companies proved to be persistent and effective agencies of power during the region's transition to a capitalist economy. These companies, however, did little to stimulate municipal democracy in the old colonial urban centres established by the ancien regime. Instead, they facilitated the elite's control over natural space, specifically over land and water. Windham's Taintor family demonstrates how joint-stock companies often usurped and bypassed the democratic municipal organizations they had supposedly created.

The Taintors were a family dynasty descended from the colony's original landed aristocracy. In 1634, Welshman Charles Taintor was granted substantial acreage in the Connecticut River Valley, where he established an exclusive trading

⁸ Charles. W. Burpee, *Burpee's The Story of Connecticut*, 3 vols. (New York: The American Historical Company Inc., 1939); Jackson T. Main, *Society and Economy in Colonial Connecticut* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985); Richard Bushman, *From Puritan to Yankee: Character and Social Order in Connecticut, 1690-1765* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967); Kenneth Lockridge, *A New England Town: The First Hundred Years, Dedham, Massachusetts, 1636-1736* (New York: Norton, 1970); Stephen Innes, *Labour in a New Land: Economy and Society in Seventeenth Century Springfield* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1983); John F. Martin, *Profits in the Wilderness: Entrepreneurship and the Founding of New England Towns in the Seventeenth Century* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991).

network with the West Indies. Five generations later, John Taintor (1725–98), ‘a man of wealth and great influence before and during the revolution’, arrived in Windham and began to trade locally produced goods with the Leeward Islands in the Caribbean.⁹ His sons, Charles and John, inherited their father’s trading network and continued to send Windham cattle, knitted woollen goods, and cheeses to the West Indies in return for rum and British manufactured goods. To ensure the speedy transformation of their goods from Windham’s inland location, the Taintors organised the Windham and Mansfield Turnpike Company in 1800.

Shortly afterwards, the Taintor brothers hatched a scheme to provide fresh water to the hill-top village. In 1807 they formed another joint-stock company, the Windham Aqueduct Company, which pumped spring water to every house in Windham through subterranean wooden pipes. Town voters deferred to them, and through their posts on the Board of Selectmen, the Taintors smoothed the passage of this innovative bio-power project. In providing a proto-industrial example of the *techne* in action, it pointed the way for the production of space in the first textile mill villages.

The War of 1812 benefited both Windham and the Taintors, who by supplying the United States Army and Navy with provisions from the town instigated an economic boom there, and virtually every trader and proto-industrialist in the village benefited. However, the resulting economic and commercial growth transformed the ancient village, causing the rapid construction of unplanned buildings and bringing noise and chaos to the old hill-top community.

The stench of cattle dung and sheep droppings permeated Windham’s narrow thoroughfares, and affected the Taintors’ manorial residences located in the village centre. In response to the infestations of flies and smells, the Taintors urged their fellow town officers to initiate a programme of village improvements. When the

⁹ *Windham Herald*, 12 April 1798; Ellen Larned, *History of Windham County, Connecticut* (Worcester, MA: The Author, 1880), 2: 214.

Windham town officers refused to fund it, the Taintor brothers transcended the local political process and applied to the Connecticut General Assembly for permission to operate the Windham centre village under the auspices of a private joint-stock company. This incorporation was granted in 1814, and the Taintors' 'village company' appointed a clerk to enact municipal byelaws. Cattle, geese, and sheep were banned from the village, and 'ancient grants' allowing tan works, shops, and houses on the town's public highways were revoked.¹⁰ When ancient town government failed to respond to the problems caused by rapid commercial growth, joint-stock companies became effective agencies of governmentality and bio-power.

Charles Taintor eventually abandoned his pursuit of power and wealth; his death certificate in 1854 noted that his occupation was 'Making Merry'.¹¹ The turning of cotton industry waterwheels at nearby Willimantic signalled the end of the Taintor dynasty in Connecticut. The last in the local line and a member of the sample elite, Yale-educated Giles Taintor, retired from business in New York City at age 33 to run the family estates. Since he spent most of the year at a New York City hotel, he was not involved in Windham politics. In 1856 his business was to 'take care of his money'.¹²

As the Taintors' influence waned, textile magnates arrived from Rhode Island to take advantage of northeastern Connecticut's widely untapped water resources. The establishment of cotton and woollen industries spawned two types of urban centres. The first was an almost autonomous, absentee-owned mill village community administered as a virtual fiefdom by company agents. Windham County's first cotton and woollen joint-stock companies acquired lands next to waterfalls, and availing themselves of the doctrine of riparian rights through civil actions in local courts, they appropriated 'prior occupancy' water rights on adjacent lands. Although this tactic

¹⁰ Larned, *Windham County*, 2: 413; Richard Bayles, *History of Windham County, Connecticut* (New York: Preston, 1889), 274, 277.

¹¹ Windham Vital Statistics, vol. E, 188.

¹² However, Taintor did build Windham's Fitch Academy, a private school that prepared boys for entry to Yale University. RGD, 2: 184; *New York Times*, 8 March 1882.

might fail if a town's political and judicial officers or landowners were not included amongst company stockholders, those companies formed with the town's blessing were quick to commodify natural space. They bridged and dammed rivers and built textile mills, meetinghouses, roads, houses, taverns, and company stores. Within a system of benevolent paternalism, company agents administered these villages, clearly delineating the spaces for work, leisure, home, and entertainment.¹³

A recent study of America's most notorious company-sponsored community has challenged the consensus view regarding the strict control of company towns and villages. Employing the Lefebvrian trialectic to demonstrate 'spatial flexibility' of lived space, it contends that the inhabitants of company housing enjoyed a high level of autonomy.¹⁴ A brief exploration of spatial and temporal changes at Williamsville and Wauregan, two company villages located on the Quinebaug River at Killingly and Plainfield, reveals the extent of their spatial flexibility, and how, in the long term such flexibility in fact restricted worker autonomy. Monuments to paternalism, these mill villages demonstrate how elites conceived and controlled urban centres.

In 1827, Caleb Williams of Providence organised a joint-stock company and built a cotton mill and community in an isolated valley on the west bank of the Quinebaug River at Killingly. In 1833 he sent John Atwood to superintend operations at the Williamsville Manufacturing Company. This organisation became nationally known for a finely woven cotton cloth. The 'quality of linen', it was the best produced beyond Lancashire, and its popularity fired the company's growth and expansion during the remainder of the century.

In 1860 a visitor to Williamsville noted its prosperous condition and the new, extensive stone mill responsible for doubling the community's population. 'This little valley is a busy hive of industry, and a place of much interest to the town', he wrote.

¹³ Margaret Crawford, *Building the Workingman's Paradise: The Design of American Company Towns* (New York: Verso, 1995).

¹⁴ Janice Reiff, 'Rethinking Pullman: Urban Space and Working Class Activism', *Social Science History* 24 (2000): 7–32.

John Atwood occupied a fine house on a bluff overlooking the valley. He had built a boarding house and was laying foundations for more worker housing units.¹⁵ By 1867, its tree-lined streets had 'a feature peculiar to Williamsville': 40 single-family detached houses complete with large yards, which some observers thought explained why there was a low turnover amongst the 200 employees in the mill and on the company farm.

In 1868 the company built a 'fine hall' for religious purposes and lectures and fitted out a schoolhouse in the basement, and by 1873 it had doubled the size of its mill and built another avenue of houses. In 1880, Larned described Williamsville as a 'pleasant, isolated, well managed and orderly working village'. When Richard Bayles visited the mill village in 1889, he observed that Williamsville consisted of 105 company-owned buildings.¹⁶

John Atwood's son, James S. Atwood, a member of the sample elite, grew up in his father's model company town. In 1848, after studying in a private seminary in Rhode Island for four years, he returned to Williamsville and began working in the family mill. Within five years, he had advanced from bobbin boy to general manger, and in 1853, Amos Lockwood of Providence hired the 21 year old to tool a new mill for Plainfield's Wauregan Company. Following the financial panic of 1857, Lockwood instructed Atwood to double the company's output. Atwood also designed and built waterwheels, driving shafts, looms, and 'white wooden cottages' to house the increasing workforce. He also followed his father's example by building a fine home on a hill overlooking Wauregan.

In 1866, Atwood increased the mill's capacity to 50,000 spindles, as 'many running in the town of Killingly', and by 1868 the Wauregan mill village housed over 1,000 workers and their families. It consisted of 229 tenements, two boarding houses, the 'largest and best hall in town', several stores, a market, a library, a milliners shop,

¹⁵ *Windham Transcript*, 17 May 1860.

¹⁶ *Windham Transcript*, 24 October 1867; Larned, *Windham County*, 2: 574; Bayles, *Windham County*, 958.

and a 400-acre company farm. Atwood banned alcohol, encouraged workers to attend 'uplifting' lectures in the company hall and library, knew the first name of every worker, and spoke to the head of each family if domestic or industrial trouble arose. After Atwood's death in 1885, one 'warm hearted Irish employee' declared that, 'all of us felt as if he was kin to us', and Atwood's obituary quoted Wren's epitaph: 'If you would see his monument, look around'.¹⁷

Although modern-day aerial views of Wauregan and Williamsville (Figures 6.1 and 6.2) reveal their relative isolation, the Atwoods concentrated all social, cultural, economic, and educational amenities into the compacted urban centres. The expansive, natural space encircling the communities would suggest that space was not that scarce a commodity, yet the villages tightly abut the Quinebaug River, and their cul-de-sac roads adjacent to the mill are filled with houses. However, the 'accumulation of energies' at Wauregan seems to have exploded, creating a new urban centre.

Observable to the northwest of Wauregan is the village of West Wauregan. Haphazard, unplanned, and meandering in form, it seemingly underpins the theory of spatial flexibility. However, West Wauregan provides an example of how this contradiction *of* space can distract attention from timeworn conflicts, particularly those between Yankee capitalists and incoming immigrant mill workers.

¹⁷ *Windham Transcript*, 14 October 1858; *Norwich Bulletin*, 28 April 1859; *Windham Transcript*, 30 August 1866, 9 April 1868, 15 February 1885; Bayles, *Windham County*, 454; Larned, *Windham County*, 2: 579.

Figure 6.1: Williamsville Mill and Village, Killingly, Connecticut

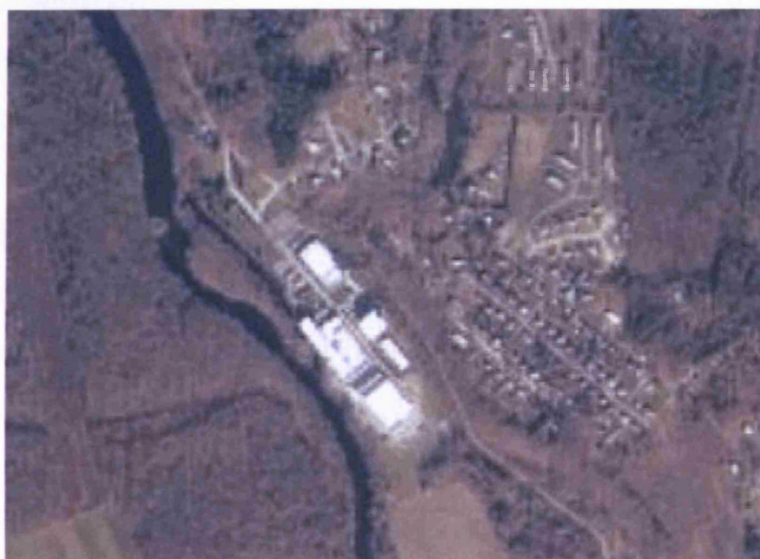


Figure 6.2: Wauregan Mill and Village, Plainfield, Connecticut and West Wauregan, Brooklyn, Connecticut



Designed and built by John Atwood between 1833 and 1860, Williamsville was the inspiration for James Atwood's Wauregan mill village, built in 1853 five miles downstream on the Quinebaug River.

James Atwood's paternalism did not extend to Wauregan's Roman Catholic community. He refused to build a Catholic church in the village, which forced his Irish and French Canadian employees to make a six-mile round-trip to worship. To provide a church closer to Wauregan, the village's growing Catholic population established a building fund, and in 1870 the Sacred Heart Roman Catholic Church was erected in the neighbouring town of Brooklyn, less than half a mile from Wauregan on the opposite bank of the Quinebaug River.¹⁸ A village quickly grew up around the Sacred Heart church, transforming a section of the dense forest into tenement blocks, private houses, several saloons, a hotel, two stores, a meat market, a bakery, an artist's saloon, a doctor's office, and a livery stable.¹⁹

This lively village was not to everyone's taste. When the telephone connected the Wauregan mills to its Providence headquarters in 1880, the *Windham Transcript's* Plainfield correspondent expressed the hope that the first directives down the line from Providence would order a free cut of cloth for every family in Wauregan, reduce the working day to 10 hours, and order the closure of West Wauregan's rum holes.²⁰ West Wauregan may have offended some middle-class sensibilities, but Atwood did not try to shut down its saloons, nor did he forbid his employees to cross the bridge into the village.

Rather than viewing West Wauregan in terms of flexible spatial boundaries that indicate working class autonomy and the versatility of lived space, it is more accurate to view it as a displacement that distracted attention from how lived space at Wauregan was firmly controlled. In Foucaultian terms, West Wauregan was a heterotopic space, a mirror image of Atwood's model village, a counter-site in which the 'real site' Wauregan was simultaneously 'represented, contested, and inverted'. In this context, West Wauregan becomes a hegemonic space of illusion that makes

¹⁸ Patricia Koziol, *History of Wauregan Mills* (np: 1989), 25.

¹⁹ *Windham Transcript*, 27 March 1879.

²⁰ *Windham Transcript*, 22 April 1880.

Wauregan's real spaces—its houses, stores, and halls—still more illusory in order to create a false image of worker autonomy.²¹

West Wauregan is an example of 'temporary' flexible urban spatiality shaped by economic exigency. During periods of prosperity and growth, there was intense competition for experienced labour in the New England textile industry. By allowing West Wauregan to exist, James Atwood demonstrated that he was willing to let go of some control in order to preserve the base of his power. West Wauregan provided his employees with a temporary escape from his stifling controls, and this, along with the amenities he provided, kept his workers from seeking employment elsewhere. By acting as a safety valve, the West Wauregan heterotopia partly fulfilled the role played by the larger detached worker housing units and gardens at Williamsville, where the owners were doubtlessly aware of the tensions, pressures, and overcrowding in adjacent mill villages. The masters of space, the elites, tolerated spatial flexibility in order to underpin their hegemony.²²

The second type of urban centre spawned by the establishment of cotton and woollens industries was a substantial conurbation formed by the unification of several mill villages with a borough form of government. Many of the mills and villages that sprang up in Killingly and Windham in the 1820s were in close proximity to one another, and increased economic activity resulted in urban accretion through an infilling of the spaces between the communities. By the 1830s, this process was creating levels of urban density not previously experienced in northeastern Connecticut.²³ This rapid population growth and increasing levels of cultural diversity gave rise to a new agency of power: a municipal government that could administer and plan scarce urban space and commodify natural elements at new centralities.

²¹ Michael Foucault, 'Of Other Spaces', *Diacritics* (1986): 27.

²² Lefebvre, *Production of Space*, 332.

²³ *Connecticut State Register and Manual*, 1983. The influx of population into the borough of Danielsonville saw Killingly's population rise from 4,543 in 1850 to 7,027 in 1890. Similarly, the growth of Willimantic significantly increased the town of Windham's population in the same period. It rose from 4,503 in 1850 to 10,032 by 1890.

The boroughs became the domain of the emerging technocrats. Arriving from Rhode Island to take advantage of northeastern Connecticut's widely untapped water resources, these textile magnates allied themselves with the ancien regime, and, utilising joint-stock companies to create scarcities of space, took firm control of land and water resources in the expanding mill villages. Borough administration not only facilitated a smooth passage of power amongst the ancien regime, the technocrats, and the bourgeoisie (or, in Williams' terms, the residual, dominant, and emerging groups of elites), but also ensured that the members of all three groups could make vital planning and organisational decisions affecting land allocations, access to waterpower, and building plans.

Land, Water, and the Techne

The establishment of the borough of Danielsonville, a woollen manufacturing community at Dayville, and the Willimantic waterworks provide not only examples of the process of dialectical centrality in action, but also of how the tripartite elite interacted to gain control of land and water resources through the bio-power and governmentality aspects of the techne.

On 14 July 1871, Danielsonville's Quinebaug Cotton Company officially opened a 1,200-foot long canal connecting the Quinebaug and Five Mile Rivers. This mammoth civil engineering project, which provided sufficient hydraulic power to drive 500 extra cotton-weaving looms in a proposed new mill, was the culmination of a long-term capital investment programme that had commenced in 1851. In 1827, Rhode Islander Comfort Tiffany had built a small mill at this point to spin cotton yarn. In 1848, Tiffany's heirs put the mill and village up for sale, along with 130 acres of land on the Quinebaug's west bank in the town of Brooklyn. Providence's Lippitt family purchased the property, and in 1851 brothers Amos Deforest Lockwood and Moses Brown Lockwood of Slatersville acquired a controlling interest and incorporated the Quinebaug Cotton Company.

Amos Lockwood's arrival in Killingly from Rhode Island had dramatic long-term economic and social consequences for the entire Quinebaug River Valley. Within months, Lockwood introduced his daughter Sarah to John Weaver Danielson, and the couple married shortly afterwards. This member of Killingly's founding family was the son of Hezekiah Lord Danielson, who owned all the land upon which Killingly's Factory District was built. Hezekiah was the younger brother of George Danielson, who owned Windham County's third cotton company, the Danielson Manufacturing Company, founded by their father James in 1809. John Weaver Danielson extended the family's cotton manufacturing dynasty to a third generation when Lockwood appointed his son-in-law treasurer of the cotton manufacturing company he established in Killingly.²⁴

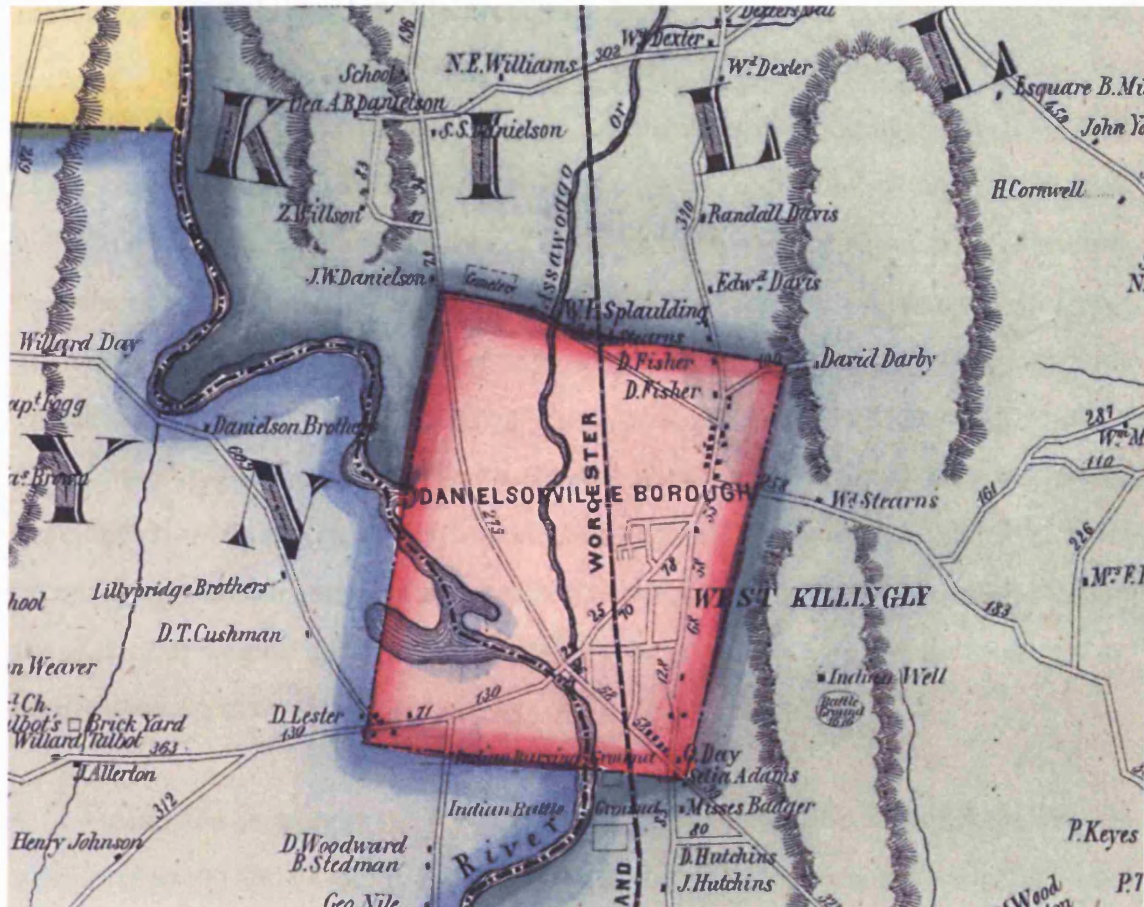
The Danielson family proved useful allies when Amos Lockwood proposed the formation of a county borough form of government to gain the control of land and water resources he needed for further expansion. The boundary survey he sponsored ensured that the new municipal community would include the section of Brooklyn where his company was located. In May 1854 the Connecticut General Assembly granted a borough charter to Danielsonville, named in honour of the Danielson family.²⁵

Dialectical centrality created a new centre located in two towns as political and civic space usurped the natural space represented by the Quinebaug River, once a physical border between Killingly and Brooklyn. Figure 6.3, a detail from an 1856 map of Windham County, graphically illustrates the new borough. It appears as an imposition: an awkwardly drawn, intrusive rectangular shape that scars the natural landscape.

²⁴ RGD, 2:54; *Windham Transcript*, 9 and 16 November 1881; 22 August 1883; Bayles, *Windham County*, 975.

²⁵ Henry Vernon Arnold: *The Making of Danielson: An Outline History of the Borough of Danielson* (Larimore, ND: H. V. Arnold, 1905), 91, 125.

Figure 6.3: Detail from E. M. Woodford, *Map of Windham County, Connecticut*



The borough of Danielsonville was ostensibly created to provide governmental autonomy for Killingly's 'Factory District', but its southeast corner purposely crossed the Quinebaug River and appropriated space in the neighbouring town of Brooklyn. E. M. Woodford, *Map of Windham County, Connecticut From Actual Survey by E. P. Gerrish, W. C. Eaton & D. S. & H. C. Osborn*. (Philadelphia: E. M. Woodford, 1856).

In 1854 Lockwood moved into Comfort Tiffany's old home and put in place a five-year plan to increase production capacity and house the necessary workers. Thanks to nearby brickyards at Brooklyn and Killingly, all worker housing units and tenements were built of brick and supplied with garden plots and piped water. Although the Civil War wreaked havoc on Windham County's cotton industry, Union victories after 1863 raised the demand for textiles to the point that the county's producers were unable to meet it. The manufacturers lodged appeals to the Connecticut General Assembly for the right to purchase suitable land and waterpower rights, but the rural elites dominating Connecticut's General Assembly dismissed

them. Nevertheless, federal trade protection and easy access to natural waterpower resources greatly benefited Lockwood in the postbellum period.

The ceremonial opening of the Quinebaug Cotton Company's canal in 1871 harmonised waterpower with the rural surroundings, and imbued the technological landscape with elite and moral values. Lockwood invited Windham County's leading manufacturers and local mill workers to witness Providence-based company directors Truman Beckwith and Isaac Brown raise the gates of a canal that 'would provide wealth and prosperity for all'. The local press proudly announced that the combined age of these two manufacturing and merchant elites was 172 years. By having two of Providence's wealthiest octogenarians manually release the water into the channel, the company symbolically stressed modernity's multifaceted elements: its continuity with the past, technological achievements, permanence, egalitarianism, and dominance over natural resources.²⁶

After the canal opened, the Quinebaug Company built a new mill, raising its workforce to 600 and its looms to 800. It built an expansive company store in 1877, and in February 1880, Lockwood announced the construction of a new \$60,000 mill and a worker-housing complex consisting of six eight-tenement brick blocks. Completed by the summer of 1881, the new mill added 43 percent to the company's production capacity and 200 extra hands to the workforce.²⁷

Despite rapid urban and industrial growth, elites located at rural power bases in depopulating country towns continued to administer Connecticut throughout the nineteenth century. Since Windham County's textile communities were located in predominantly rural towns, it was inevitable that the elites operating beyond the aegis of the two boroughs would clash with the legislature. Negotiations, settlements and mediation were necessary for the isolated local textile manufacturers to gain full

²⁶ *Windham Transcript*, 20 July 1871; David Nye, *American Technological Sublime* (Cambridge, MA.: MIT Press, 1994).

²⁷ *Windham Transcript*, 13 November 1873; 13 September 1877; *Boston Journal of Commerce*, 20 March, 15 August 1880; 5 and 12 February 1881.

control of land and water issues, so they either worked judiciously behind the scenes or placed themselves on the Republican ticket for election to the Connecticut General Assembly. The activities of the Sayles family illustrates the kind of 'governmentality' elites utilised to lay a solid economic and social foundation for woollen cloth manufacture—and their own power—in the county during and after the Civil War.

Colonel Sabin Lorenzo Sayles, a member of Windham County's technocratic group of elites, was born at Burrillville, Rhode Island, into a leading woollen manufacturing family. At age 21, he crossed the state border into the contiguous town of Thompson and married Susan Joslin, a member of a woollen manufacturing family. This Connecticut connection brought Sayles and his brother Harris C. Sayles to Killingly in 1852 to card local farmers' wool on the town's Whetstone Brook. The young Rhode Islanders made money throughout the 1850s and so were able to ride out the economic crash of 1857.²⁸

The manufacturing manuscript census was an active agent of the *techne*, as it quantified the progress of modernization at the onset of each decade. The 1860 census documented the S. L. & H. C. Sayles woollen company's nascent condition and its use of natural resources. Capitalized at \$40,000, the company had recently built a new mill at Dayville in Killingly, and employed a 55-strong workforce that annually manufactured \$145,000 worth of *satinet*, a cloth woven with a cotton warp and woollen weft that had a satinlike surface.²⁹

Sayles was 'an ardent worker' for Windham County's Republican Party and became Connecticut Governor William A. Buckingham's 'right hand man' during the Civil War. Buckingham appointed Sayles as an army recruiter for Windham County's Third Congressional District, where Sayles signed up volunteers in his Dayville mill's company store. This political network served Sayles well. He was commonly referred

²⁸ Bayles, *Windham County*, 954, 1,186; *RGD*, 1: 63.

²⁹ *Eighth Census of Connecticut Industry* (1860), Connecticut State Library, microfilm, 317.46, M841m Reel 1.

to as the 'boss of the county', and his political connections enabled him to amass land and water resources.³⁰

In December 1861 the S. L. & H. C. Sayles Company won an initial \$16,000 order to supply shoddy for Union Army uniforms. The following year the company constructed an extensive dam at Dayville to increase hydraulic power. Further expansion at Dayville was impossible, as the Sayles brothers merely leased the land from Captain John Day, so looking farther afield, they acquired a controlling interest in a woollen mill at Mechanicsville, Thompson, in early 1863.

The enterprising Sayles brothers doubtlessly had Governor Buckingham's ear, and along with other textile manufacturers they impressed upon him that because of the exigencies of war, eastern Connecticut's cotton and woollen industries required easier access and control of natural waterpower resources. Moreover, as an eastern Connecticut native, Buckingham was aware of the plight of the region's textile industry. Under pressure from the governor, in 1864 the Connecticut Assembly passed the Flowage Law, which gave the state's textile manufacturers the right and power to purchase the private property they deemed necessary to increase their waterpower and thus raise production outputs.³¹

With the help of a restrictive tariff on imported textiles, the Flowage Law further cemented the Sayles's power. In early 1865, Sabin Sayles purchased Captain John Day's entire estate at Dayville for just under \$4,000 and commenced a planned expansion in the mill and village. By 1867 he was employing 150 workers and manufacturing weekly 13,000 yards of 'fancy cassimeres', a plain or twilled woollen cloth that was rapidly consumed by New York City's expanding ready-made clothing industry. By 1870 the Sayles's Dayville mill had more than tripled in size. Capitalized at \$150,000, it employed 185 hands manufacturing \$400,000 worth of suit cloth annually.

³⁰ *Willimantic Chronicle*, 31 December 1891.

³¹ *Connecticut Public Acts*, (1864), 40–42.

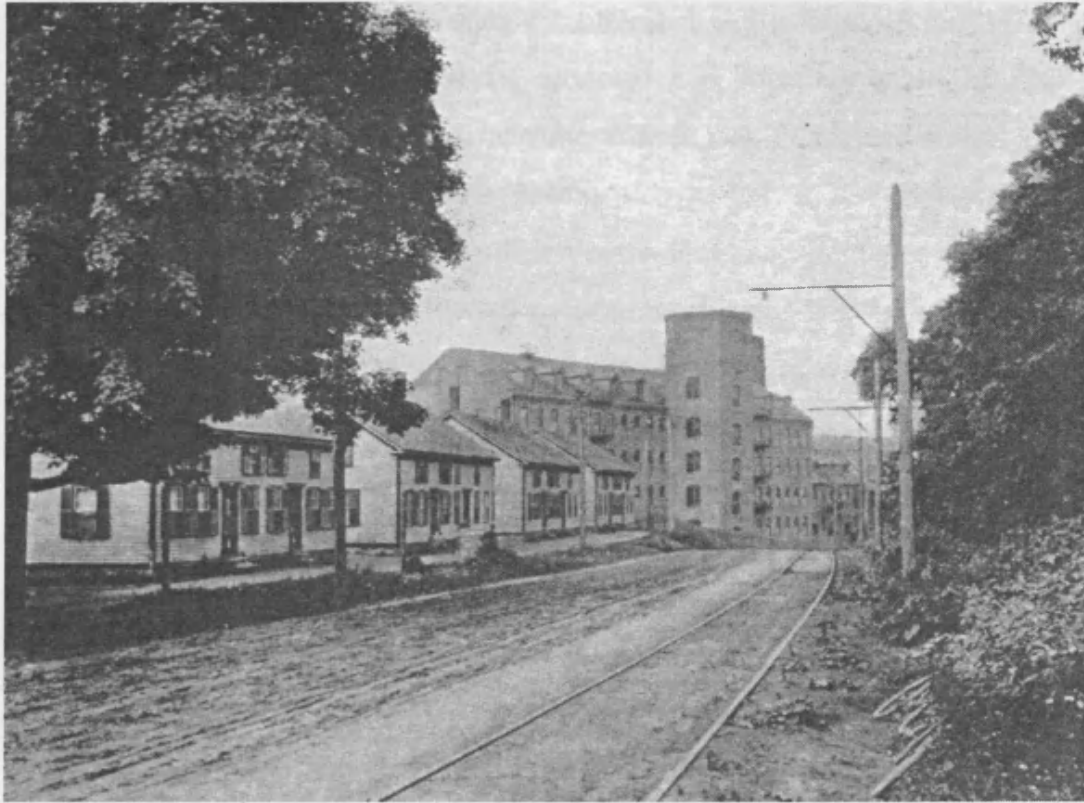
In October 1870 Sayles expanded his empire by purchasing an old cotton mill at Sprague in neighbouring New London County. Later known as the Versailles Woollen Mill, it was ideally located adjacent to the Hartford and Providence Railroad. The Sayles mills at Killingly, Thompson, and Sprague became the largest single purchasers of wool from the Boston woollen market and produced more woollen cloth than any other woollen manufacturer in the United States.³² The economic downturn of 1877 badly hurt the Sayles's concerns, but by the mid-1880s the reorganised and rationalised Sabin L. Sayles Woollen Manufacturing Company had recovered its losses.

In 1883, Sabin Sayles invited more than two hundred people to the official opening of Dayville's new woollen mill. Distinguished Speakers, including the Wauregan Company's James Atwood and the Willimantic Linen Company's William Barrows, regaled the crowd with accounts of Yankee technological ingenuity and superiority. Sayles' son-in-law Charles Addison Russell, previously a journalist in nearby Worcester, Massachusetts, was partner in this enterprise, and he wrote and prepared a history of the Sayles' company, which he presented to each individual in the 'notable gathering'. In 'documenting 25 years of change and growth' Russell's souvenir pamphlet constructed favourable perceptions of this modernising landscape by combining rural resources with technological achievements. It highlighted the Sayles' development of natural waterpower sites on the Whetstone Brook and Five Mile River, and stressed the new mill's pragmatic physical form, in its 'modern plain and substantial architecture' (Figure 6.4). Despite the 'striking absence of ornamentation', each part of the new mill was adapted to a specific use, particularly the 'sixty-six inch Risdon turbine' that powered the new mill. Moreover, 'a new and modernly arranged plant of tenement houses' was being erected adjacent to the new mill'. Reporting for the *Windham Transcript*, one observer wrote: 'It was stimulating to sluggish blood to look into the faces and listen to the talk of gentlemen who plan and

³² *Windham Transcript*, 25 February 1865, 7 November 1867, 20 October 1870; *Willimantic Journal*, 7 February 1879; *Ninth Census of Connecticut Industry* (1870).

undertake the great enterprises that have made our intelligent and prosperous New England the sharp rival of Old England for the trade of the whole world'³³

Figure 6.4: A 1907 Postcard View of the 1883 Sayles Mill and Worker Tenements



The vast expenditure on the new mill elicited inquiries to Sayles' financial standing, and the responses were highly favourable. He was reported to be without debt, the owner of the entire Dayville mill community, and in control of all flowage rights in Killingly and of the flowage and reservoir rights at Mechanicsville in Thompson.³⁴ He made money throughout the 1880s, and the extent of his empire became apparent shortly after his death in 1891. Inventoried at \$1,013,608.25, his estate

³³ *Windham Transcript*, 14 March 1883.

³⁴ RGD, 2:551, 571.

included mill and farm property across Windham County and Rhode Island and stock in banks at Putnam and Killingly.³⁵

Amidst all his acquisitions, Sayles judiciously maintained his political connections. He was delegate to the Republican National Conventions in 1868 and 1872 and remained active in the state Republican Party throughout the 1870s and 1880s. As he advanced in age, Sayles groomed a political surrogate. In 1880 his daughter Ella married his company treasurer, Yale-educated Charles Addison Russell. Russell had no experience in textiles, having been editor of several Massachusetts newspapers. No matter. Sayles introduced his son-in-law to Connecticut governor Hobart Bigelow, who appointed Russell an aide-de-camp on his gubernatorial staff. In 1883 'Colonel' Russell represented Killingly in the state legislature, where he was chairman of the Committee on Cities and Boroughs. His progress was rapid. In 1885 he was appointed secretary of state of Connecticut, and 1886 he was elected to the United States Congress, where he served eight consecutive terms.³⁶

Sabin Sayles did not have to seek political office to maintain his power base. In order to build America's largest woollen manufacturing empire, he effectively pulled the strings of 'governmentality' from behind the scenes at the town, county, state, and national level in order for his company to enjoy the same kind of autonomy Lockwood had enjoyed once he had created the borough of Danielsonville.

Since the borough of Danielsonville had been conceived to gain control over water resources in another town, it did not experience 'normal' linear urban growth and infilling between once discrete mill villages. In 1889 Lockwood's French Canadian workers, who made up about 75 percent of his workforce, were housed in an 1880 worker-housing complex that became known as 'Quebec Village'.³⁷ The difference

³⁵ RGD, 2:551, 571; Killingly Probate District Records, entries 1515–19, Reel 370, Connecticut State Library Archives.

³⁶ CBR, 183.

³⁷ Bayles, *Windham County*, 976.

between Danielson and Willimantic is graphically illustrated in two circa 1910 postcard views of Quebec Village and a section of Willimantic known as 'Kerry Hill' because of its predominantly Irish-born inhabitants (Figures 6.5 and 6.6). Unlike Danielsonville, where Quebec Village had an interior square of garden plots and overlooked a vista of farmland and forest, Willimantic was physically confined within a distinct valley, and consequently its tenements and housing were tightly packed.

Roderick Davison, a member of the bourgeoisie group of elites who arrived in Willimantic from Maine in 1854, built the tenements at Kerry Hill. Although unconcerned with bio-power, Davison made full use of governmentality. He became borough tax assessor in 1857 and thus became closely acquainted with the borough's wealth and resources. Between 1860 and 1876, he purchased 13 plots of land and built tenements that he rented to Irish and Quebecois immigrant mill workers.³⁸

The local press pejoratively referred to the residents of what was known variously as 'Kerry Hill', 'Cork Alley', and 'French Town', as 'Fenians and Canucks'.³⁹ Enjoying little or no spatial flexibility, the immigrants recreated their traditional agrarian culture amongst Davison's tenement-lined alleys and squares. Goats, sheep, and pigs shared this lived space, and there was no running water, save that pumped and collected from springs.⁴⁰

³⁸ Windham Land Records, 42: 31, 425, 437, 477; 45: 425; Lincoln, *Windham County*, 1: 131–33.

³⁹ *Willimantic Journal*, 14 February 1867.

⁴⁰ Lincoln, *Windham County*, 1: 131–33.

Figure 6.5: 'Quebec Village', Danielsonville, Killingly (c. 1907)



Quinebaug Mills. Danielson, Conn.

The rural, spatial setting and ordered housing units stand in stark comparison to the Kerry Hill section of Willimantic depicted below.

Figure 6.6: Northeast View of Willimantic (c. 1905)



The Kerry Hill tenement houses featured in the foreground are crowded, unplanned, and haphazard in form.

The growth of the workforce at this centre with scarce urban space soon led to unprecedented threats to public health. In 1863 the borough authorities were inundated with complaints regarding 'foul odours' emanating from Kerry Hill's pig pens, and the piles of 'slops and garbage' thrown from its houses.⁴¹ It was little surprise that the Willimantic borough burgesses ignored the sanitation problems. In 1863, Roderick Davison was borough warden, borough tax assessor, and Windham County's deputy sheriff. Davison and his colleagues were more concerned with business and property interests than with the looming health problems. In the belief that the owners of company mill housing and private tenements should provide their tenants with clean water, the burgesses abdicated responsibility for maintaining sanitary conditions in Willimantic's working-class neighbourhoods.

As in other cases where the local government was unwilling to address potential public health issues, manufacturers stepped into the gap to protect their labour pool. In 1864 the Willimantic Linen Company built company housing adjacent to Davison's 'eyesore' and piped fresh spring water to it. Nevertheless, more living space was still required. The borough's newspaper noted in 1866 'there was a great scarcity of tenements in the village and the prices are as high as the people are able to pay'.⁴² This scarcity benefited private speculators such as Davison, who continued to acquire land and build tenements not supplied with water. Consequently, the burden fell once more on local manufacturers. Jane Holland, the proprietor of Willimantic's major silk manufacturing company, knew the necessity of maintaining a healthy workforce. Locals congratulated her in 1872 for having 'an eye to the welfare and comfort of operatives' for piping drinking water to her silk mills from the fresh water spring that fed her house.⁴³

Despite their differences, the fire that destroyed the business district of Boston, Massachusetts, on 11 November 1872, united the technocrats and the bourgeoisie.

⁴¹ *Willimantic Journal*, 19 June 1863.

⁴² *Willimantic Journal*, 29 April 1864; 29 March 1866.

⁴³ *Willimantic Journal*, 21 June 1872.

Thanks to the Boston, Hartford, and Erie Railroad, which directly connected Willimantic to Boston, personal accounts of the conflagration quickly spread around the borough. The bourgeoisie elite that sat on the Board of Burgesses quickly abandoned any thoughts of supplying Willimantic's immigrant districts with piped water, and they entered into a partnership with the borough's three major cotton manufacturers to lay a water main along Main Street at a cost of \$12,000.

It came as little surprise to critics of project that every one of the six borough officers owned businesses along Main Street.⁴⁴ They included tin and stove merchant Thomas R. Congdon, and physician and drugstore proprietor Dr. Fred Rogers. Typically, they were related to the technocrats and had been attracted to the borough by its increasing professional and commercial opportunities. Thomas Congdon had come to Willimantic from Jamestown, Rhode Island, in 1860 and established a retail business on the back of his wife's considerable fortune.⁴⁵ Rogers was a member of a substantial Norwich family and 'an educated physician of the regular school' who had come to Willimantic in 1863 to practise medicine.⁴⁶ Despite his medical background, burgess Rogers did not seem concerned about the borough's overcrowded, unsanitary, tenement district.

In 1874 the board introduced a byelaw that forbade the keeping of swine or the setting up of pigsties, privies, barns, stables, hog pens, slaughterhouses, or enclosures of filth, manure, offal, dirty water, or brine in yards close to major thoroughfares.⁴⁷ However, the borough authorities did not uphold the law, and outbreaks of cholera and dysentery continued to hit the borough every summer. When a spate of deaths occurred in a notorious worker housing complex known as 'stone row', in the summer of 1881, the Smithville Manufacturing Company owner Whiting Hayden responded by extracting 'malarial gases' from the houses and building aqueducts to transport 'the

⁴⁴ *Willimantic Journal*, 15 and 22 November 1872.

⁴⁵ RGD, 362, 407.

⁴⁶ *Willimantic Chronicle*, 1 June 1917.

⁴⁷ *Willimantic Journal*, 16 February 1874.

seething mass of corruption' directly into the Willimantic River. 'Had people with sensitive natures taken the trouble to examine the premises', the *Willimantic Chronicle* editorialised, 'they would have cried out in holy wrath against the board of health that allowed such a state of things to exist'.⁴⁸

It took the high death toll of the summers of 1881 and 1882 to convince the burgesses to introduce an amendment to the borough charter empowering them to build a waterworks to supply water for public and private use. In November 1882, the Willimantic borough made its first tentative steps into the realm of 'gas and water socialism'. It convened a special borough meeting to discuss the proposed amendment. Locals fully expected a 'clashing of forces of more than usual severity'. However, other than the odd 'chronic grumbler', a substantial majority passed the amendment, and the burgesses compiled a petition and sent it to Hartford.⁴⁹ A generation after the ancien regime and technocratic elites interacted to gain control of land and water resources through the governmentality aspect of the techne, the bourgeoisie elites allied with them to apply the bio-power function of the techne in the Willimantic borough when sanitation problems threatened their power.

In the spring of 1883, the General Assembly gave the Willimantic Water Works permission to raise funds to provide the borough with an 'adequate supply of pure and wholesome water for domestic and other purposes'. However, the borough's three major cotton-manufacturing companies objected to paying a water tax because they had previously piped fresh water to their workers' houses at their own expense. The ultimately reached an amicable agreement with the borough, which agreed to pump water into the company housing's existing pipes.⁵⁰

At the outset of 1884, a newly created board of water commissioners fixed bonds at \$500 each and hired a civil engineer to make plans for and supervise the

⁴⁸ *Willimantic Chronicle*, 27 August 1881.

⁴⁹ *Willimantic Chronicle*, 15 November 1882.

⁵⁰ *Willimantic Chronicle*, 3 January, August 8, September 5, 1883.

buildings of roads, bridges, dams, aqueducts, and sewers. The waterworks' dam and pumping house were located in the neighbouring town of Mansfield on the Natchaug River, so the borough purchased and annexed the necessary land. When construction of the dam began in October 1884, it flooded the old turnpike road that had connected the Windham centre village with Mansfield. The Willimantic waterworks went into operation in November 1885, pumping water from the Natchaug River into a holding reservoir built on the height of the southern prominence of the river valley that hemmed in the borough.⁵¹

Just as the passing of the Willimantic Waterworks Act and its subsequent construction show how bio-power and governmentality interacted within the techne to conceive social space, so the biographies of those who built the waterworks reveal where wider social and economic power lay in the borough. Together, biography and obituary—still widely considered marginal tools of analysis—demonstrate the inaccuracy of elite displacement theory.

Willimantic's most significant civil engineering feat was not planned, implemented, and built by the technocrats or the bourgeoisie, but by members of the ancien regime group who ensured that their names were on the ballots when board members were nominated. In the best traditions of deferential democracy, their subsequent unopposed election was reminiscent of the type the Taintor family had enjoyed some fifty years earlier.

The technocrats were marginalized, and the bourgeoisie's grip on scarce space was loosened. The ancien regime put the techne in action by utilising its expertise in law, hydraulic engineering, politics, and finance—skills more often attributed to the self-made 'bootstrap' elites, the technocrats and bourgeoisie, who had supposedly displaced the ancien regime. However, members of the same elite families who had

⁵¹ Lincoln, *Windham County*, 1: 126; *Willimantic Chronicle*, 6, 13 February; 30 April; 9, 16 July; 6, 20 August; 10, 17 September; 31 December 1884; 16 September 1885.

spearheaded the formation of the Windham Aqueduct Company in 1805 helped bring the Willimantic waterworks to fruition eighty years later.

Of the six members of the Willimantic water board, three were from the sample elite. Elliott B. Sumner was an estate lawyer and member of a blueblood Yankee family; Edwin E. Burnham and George W. Burnham were cousins whose family had settled Windham village in the early eighteenth century. Of the other members, board treasurer John H. Moulton's family had farmed Windham since the eighteenth century; board secretary Henry N. Wales was a civil engineer and member of one of the oldest families of Windham; and Edwin A. Buck, a state senator and Connecticut's state treasurer and bank examiner, was also from old Windham County stock.⁵²

Biography can also be synthesised with material culture to discover the processes behind the production of hegemonic spaces. Deetz argues that researchers should spend more time analysing the artefacts left behind, because the physical environment—space, in Lefebvrian terms—is modified through culturally determined behaviour. Material culture is therefore an objective historical source, because artefacts have *technomic* functions that produce space and *sociotechnic* functions that, whilst imposing structure and order, also reflect social relations.⁵³

The architectural elements of textile mills, their materials, texture, colour, mass, and space were often designed to meld with the surrounding rural environment, making them appear to be in harmony with not only nature, but also with the 'natural' social order.⁵⁴ Urban spaces are soaked in memories and meanings made legible through the ordering of artefacts within a mental framework that isolates specific nodes, paths, or districts—recognisable places defined by landmarks and edges.

⁵² Lincoln, *Windham County*, 1: 138; 2: 1,175; *Willimantic Chronicle*, 13 May 1905; Bayles, *Windham County*, 1,060.

⁵³ James Deetz, *In Small Things Forgotten: The Archaeology of Early American Life* (Garden City: N.Y: Anchor Press/Doubleday, 1977), 24, 160.

⁵⁴ William Pierson Jr, *American Buildings and Their Architects: Technology and the Picturesque; The Corporate and Early Gothic Styles* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1978), 37.

Consequently, churches, theatres, public buildings, and classical and neo-gothic textile mills are signposts in urban representation, framed or edged by natural space. A mixture of uniformity and classicism, industrial and public architecture provided the county's working class residents with a particular ordered mental representation of their urban spatial environment.⁵⁵ Just as individual structures reflect culturally determined behaviour, their multiple representations in city views also offer clues to cultural and class behaviour.

Bird's-Eye Views

Windham County's rapid postbellum growth resulted in an outburst of civic pride that cried out for artistic renderings of the Last Green Valley's most densely populated districts in the period before photography became widely available. These symbolic representations of urban landscapes fall within the wider domain of urban planning and the techne. In stressing technological advances, order, beauty, and organisation, they highlight the location and architectural design of mills, churches, and theatres and imbue them with hegemonic meaning.

Between 1825 and 1925 more than 5,000 bird's-eye-views were produced, resulting in at least one each of 2,400 separate urban places in the United States. The illustrator sketched each community's building onto a perspective grid and then displayed the completed rendering at a prominent downtown location. He noted criticisms and omissions, made corrections, canvassed for advanced orders, and sent the drawing to a lithographer.⁵⁶ The arrival of a bird's-eye view illustrator on the streets of a small industrial town was indicative of that community's advancing level of urban and commercial development.

⁵⁵ Kevin Lynch, *The Image of the City* (Boston, MA: MIT Press, 1960).

⁵⁶ John Reps, *Views and Viewmakers of Urban America* (Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press, 1984).

In reworking Marx's theory of alienation, Debord argues that modern capitalist society reduces life to one of 'spectacular' commodity consumption wherein ruling elites employ the 'spectacle' to paralyse memory and suppress history based on change through time. Crary contends that spectacularization and modernity developed together, and that by the second half of the nineteenth century 'social, urban, psychic and industrial fields' were 'increasingly saturated with sensory impact' through amusement parks, periodicals, photography, and the theatre. For Lefebvre, however, spectacularization was more a function of the predominance of the visual in abstract space. He argues that semiological analyses of the urban 'code of space' embedded in bird's-eye views result in illusions of transparency. Such urban representations are examples of 'abstraction in action' that deflect attention from the social power shaping and controlling urban space.⁵⁷

Whilst agreeing that simple visual practises provide an incomplete understanding of social space, Balshaw and Kennedy contend that the mutual interaction of space and vision can produce partial perceptions of urban life. Therefore, critical analyses and spatial readings of urban representations transcend mere visibility to reveal the political and ideological impulses behind the making of urban space. The force of representation renders the relationship between physical and mental space opaque as well as transparent, so the 'code of space' can be interpreted to reveal more than what is transparently represented.⁵⁸

To expose the cultural work implicit in bird's-eye views, this section synthesises Lefebvre's theory of abstract space and the spatial/visual analytical approaches preferred by proponents of urban representation through a reading of two bird's-eye views: Oscar Hoopes Bailey's *View of Putnam, Conn., 1877* (Figure 6.7) and William Porter's *Willimantic, Conn., 1882: From Blake Mountain* (Figure 6.9). It reads

⁵⁷ Guy Debord, *The Society of the Spectacle* (New York: Zone Books, 1994), 158; Jonathan Crary, *Suspensions of Perception: Attention, Spectacle, and Modern Culture* (London and Cambridge: MIT Press, 1999) 17; Lefebvre, *Production of Space*, 75.

⁵⁸ Maria Balshaw and Liam Kennedy, eds., *Urban Space and Representations* (London: Pluto Press, 2000), 3–5; Lefebvre, *Production of Space*, 268–69, 51.

Bailey's view of Putnam and Porter's prospect of Willimantic in light of three interactive 'formants' of abstract space—the geometric, the visual-spectacular, and the phallic—which imply and conceal one another in the process of transforming physical space into mental space.⁵⁹ This synthetic approach moves beyond a merely reflective model of culture in urban representation to demonstrate how local elites produced social spaces for hegemonic purposes.

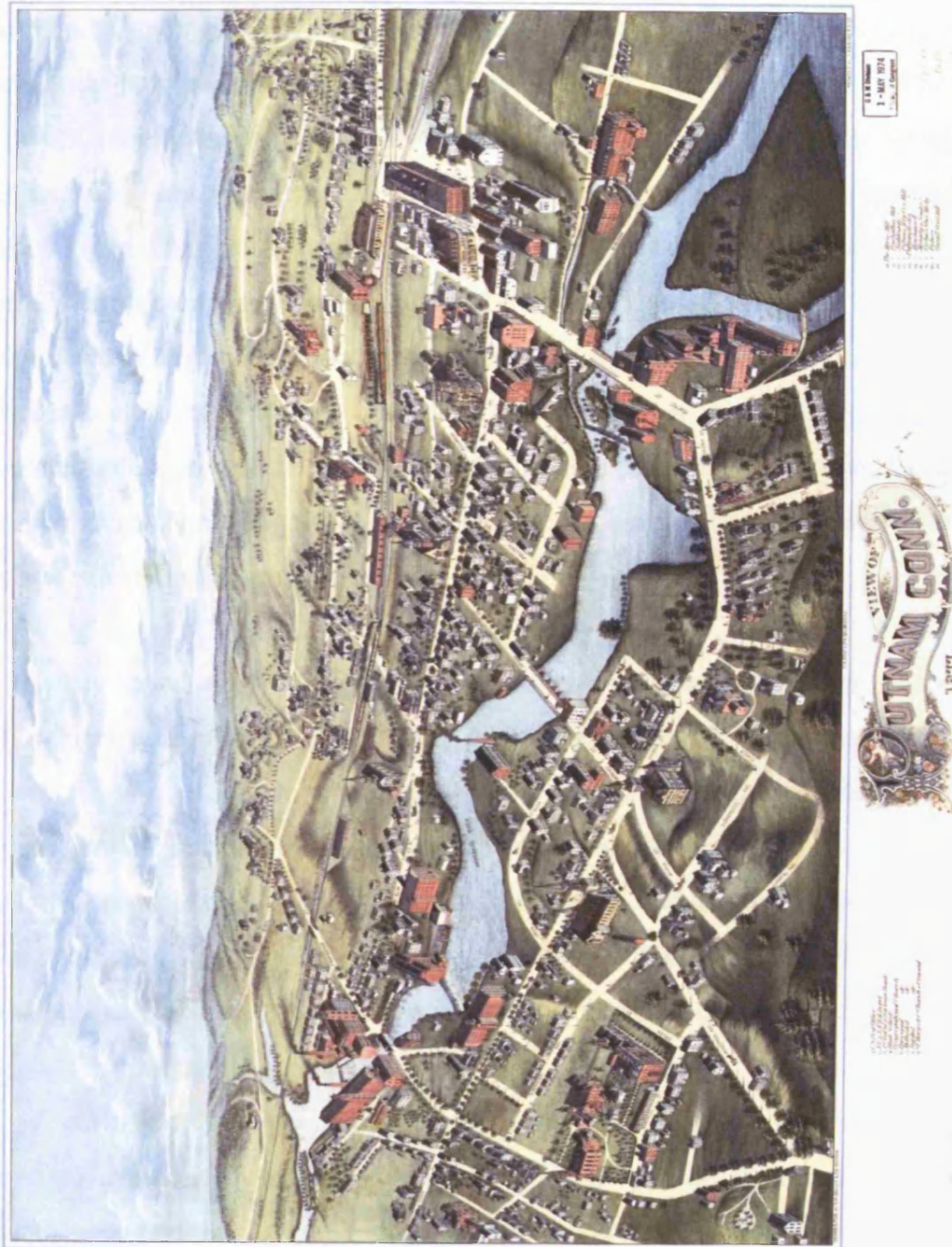
Bailey, a prolific Boston-based practitioner of the art, had produced the first ever bird's-eye-view of a northeastern Connecticut mill town when he depicted Willimantic in 1876. As he did subsequently at Putnam, Bailey blended map and landscape painting to provide commercial and civic information and couched modernity in comforting, pastoral terms.

Bailey's legible, or transparent, view of Putnam is illustrative of the geometric formant, which reduces the Euclidean space of straight lines, right angles, symmetrical shapes, and rectilinear perspectives to a two-dimensional space. It alters scale and perception to fit in as much descriptive information of Putnam as possible, providing an ideal example of how bird's-eye views fulfil a dual role as map and landscape. A trick of perspective vertically elongates Putnam's buildings to ensure that the industrial and commercial core fits wholly into the frame. To prevent confusion, a variety of signposts and landmarks guide the viewer around the town. Bailey engraved the names of main thoroughfares upon the streets and numbered and keyed major buildings. He maintained accuracy to the point that Putnam is still recognizable 125 years later, despite two major fires that destroyed its business centre.⁶⁰

⁵⁹ Lefebvre, *Production of Space*, 285–91; Debord, *Society of the Spectacle*.

⁶⁰ The first fire occurred shortly after Bailey had completed the view, and the second razed the business district in 1882. *New York Times*, 1 October 1877; *Willimantic Chronicle*, 31 May 1882.

Figure 6.7: Oscar Hoopes Bailey, *View of Putnam, Conn., 1877*



O. H. Bailey and Company, Boston, C. H. Vogt, Lithographer, Milwaukee. Printed by J. Knauber and Company.

The visual-spectacular formant reduces Putnam to line, colour, and light—a passive visual space where social spaces and life are purportedly overlooked in semiological readings. However, the adept application of chromolithography demonstrates how perceived urban space slips between the obscure and legible. On one hand, colour conceals modernity by producing a visual-spectacular image of urban and rural homogeneity. Laid out across a swath of greenery, an azure river traverses Putnam's urban grid against a backdrop of blue sky and emerald hills. On the other hand, colour reproduction enabled the artist or engraver, either consciously or unconsciously, to depict not only lived spaces, but also productive and sacred space. Residential buildings are white; industrial, civic, and commercial buildings are reddish brown; and churches are a shade of yellow. Although depicting all lived space in neutral white partly masks social hierarchies, a direct reading of the key to the view's major structures unveils social space.

Bailey keyed nineteen principal buildings and structures, or conceived spaces, and his choice and ordering is revealing. Numbers one through four are the town's post office, railroad depot, bank, and high school; five through nine are the Congregational, Episcopal, Methodist, Baptist, and Catholic churches; and ten through nineteen are seven textile mills, two shoe manufactories, and a gristmill. In this keyed, representational hierarchy of authority, churches, the sole occupants of the intermediate part of the list, introduce a phallic aspect into abstract, visual space.

According to Lefebvre, such space can never be filled by images or cryptic signs, so it is symbolically and metaphorically filled by a phallic, erect element, usually a structure or building representing masculine power. Although church spires reaching to heaven had been a metaphor for power since the Middle Ages, they became effective symbols in the period of modernity, as both architectural design and technological progress played crucial roles in the maintenance of hegemony.⁶¹ Foucault contends that with the development of railways, technicians and engineers displaced

⁶¹ Michael Foucault, 'Practises and Knowledge', in *Foucault Reader*, 243–44.

architects as the 'masters of space', a trend exemplified by Putnam, where a family of technocrats, the Morses, shaped the spaces of the centre.

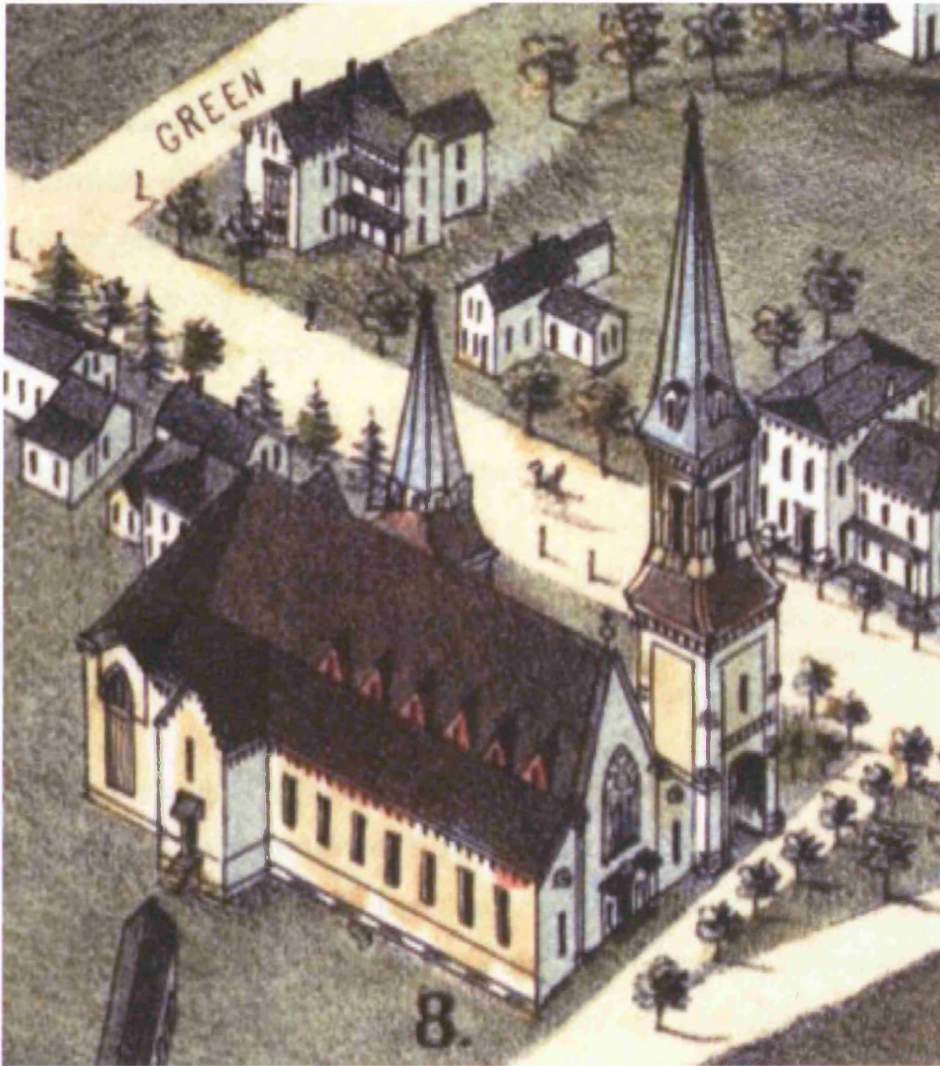
The Morse family constituted a three-generational dynasty in the mill town. After the construction of the Norwich and Worcester railroad, Milton Stratton Morse came to Putnam from Rhode Island and began to manufacture cotton goods. He returned to Providence in 1854 and sent his son, George Milton Morse, to supervise operations. When Milton died in 1877, locals estimated that he was worth a million, while his son was worth at least \$100,000. George expanded his operation at Putnam, and after he retired, his son, Augustus I. Morse, took over the reins. The Morses' power is represented not only in the first three cotton mills featured in the final section of Bailey's keyed list, but also in his depiction of the First Baptist Church. George Morse affiliated with this church shortly after his arrival in Putnam in 1854 and it served as one of the bases of the Morse family's influence and power for more than half a century.

Morse's religious activity seemed boundless. In 1880 he became a deacon at the Baptist church and conducted special meetings there on Thursdays and Sundays to convert unbelievers and dissuade his workers from consuming alcohol. His biographer said that he was a 'very liberal giver' to the cause of Christianity and that he had 'neither taste nor leisure for matters of a political character', even though he represented Putnam in the General Assembly for two terms between 1890 until 1894.⁶² He established two more churches in Putnam, creating sacred spaces for those of the Nazarene and Pentecostal faith, and built a Baptist camp meeting ground north of the town. When the First Baptist Church of Putnam celebrated its fiftieth anniversary in 1897, he pledged \$1,000 to its missionary union. He also came to the rescue in 1904, when another fire destroyed the church edifice featured in Bailey's lithograph.⁶³

⁶² CBR, 515.

⁶³ Lincoln, *Windham County* 1:603; *Putnam Patriot*, 14 February 1913.

Figure 6.8: The Putnam Baptist Church (Detail from Bailey, *View of Putnam, Conn.*, 1877)



The visual and spectacular aspects of abstract space is readable at Putnam primarily through the church edifice in Bailey's 1877 bird's-eye view, which George Morse had built after fire destroyed the original structure in 1873. The church in which Morse was intimately involved was one of the mill town's tallest structures (Figure 6.8). In Lefebvrian terms, it fills perpendicular space with the 'altitude and verticality' that invests it with knowledge, authority, duty, and power.⁶⁴ On a secondary level, the

⁶⁴ Lefebvre, *Production of Space*, 236.

spectacle provided by the religious rituals, which the Morse family encouraged, implied such attributes.

Bailey's views were representative of bird's-eye views that depicted towns still small enough to fit comfortably into the frame without obscuring individual structures. However, when larger cities were illustrated, the viewing elevations became higher and detail was lost. To compensate, artists placed engravings of the city's most prominent buildings in the frame. In May 1882 the *Willimantic Chronicle* noted that a New York artist had just completed a pencil sketch of the town 'for the purpose of engraving a bird's-eye view of the village'. It promised to be an improvement over Bailey's 1876 rendition:

It will differ from the one already in existence by representing a perfect draft of each house and by being more extensive and elaborate. Some of the principle buildings will be engraved separately and printed in the margin of the picture. It will be ready for distribution about the 1st of July.⁶⁵

The artist, Englishman William Porter, had trained as a landscape painter and porcelain engraver at London's Science and Art museum at South Kensington.⁶⁶ He maintained aspects of his traditional training and, abandoning the commercially successful, high-angled perspective and projection techniques employed by Bailey, he sketched Willimantic from a distant viewpoint and low angle, making it impossible to feature a 'draft of each house' as promised. Because of the almost flat viewpoint and the number of trees, the only distinguishable structures are smoking chimneys and towering spires. The map aspect of the view is lost, and urban space slips between the transparent and the obscure.

In *Willimantic, Conn., 1882: From Blake Mountain*, Porter abandoned Bailey's painstaking perspective style and turned to aesthetics instead. Whereas Bailey had employed a conventional, easily readable, and popular format, Porter's view of

⁶⁵ *Willimantic Chronicle*, 10 May 1882.

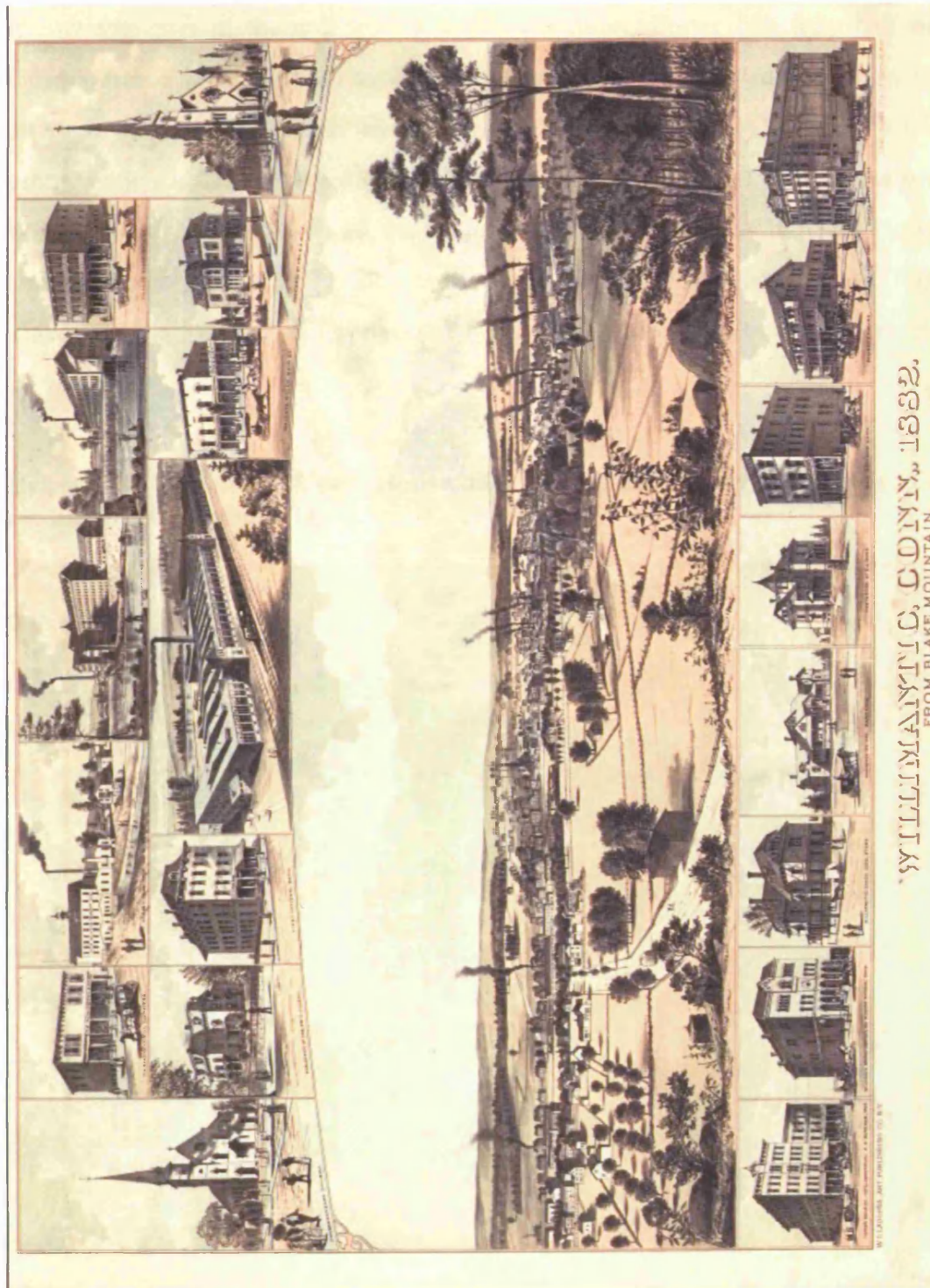
⁶⁶ *Who's Who in Art* (Washington DC: American Federation of Art, 1910) 8: 400.

Willimantic was vague and difficult to decipher. And it was unpopular. Disgruntled subscribers returned the 'worthless portrait' to the publisher, demanding a refund of the three-dollar fee. One purchaser doubted its validity, observing acerbically that this 'dubious' picture could just as well be a rendering of Halifax, Nova Scotia.⁶⁷

Compared to Bailey's colourful view of Putnam, the visual-spectacular aspect of Porter's Willimantic view is more opaque and subdued. The use of colour is limited to a light brown tint and pale blue, which further renders the view opaque at the mapping level. Nevertheless, this is far from being a passive visual space. Porter's aesthetic approach may have introduced a level of opacity, but he made little attempt to disguise the impact of industry. Notwithstanding the rural nature of the dominant foreground, nine smoking chimneys scar the distant urban view. A reductive semiological reading cannot disguise social life in this conceived and perceived space, nor can the view's opaqueness hide social space. Implicit in the belching chimneys that represent capital and power are the dominated lived spaces of the Irish and French Canadian immigrants working 60 hours a week in atrocious conditions in the mills and factories.

⁶⁷ *Willimantic Chronicle*, 5 July 1882.

Figure 6.9: William Porter, *Willimantic, Conn., 1882: From Blake Mountain*



W.O. Laughna, Art Publishing Company, New York. Printed by Charles Hart, Lithographer.

The central panoramic portion of the view is at once opaque and purely 'unoccupied' visual space, but the view slides back to transparency at the margins. In twenty vignettes of the mill town's major structures, Porter fills fully half of the illusory frame with spaces of power. Whereas Bailey's is a listed hierarchy, Porter offers a visual, architectural hierarchy. Unlike Bailey's view, Porter's vignettes prominently display conceived and lived spaces. The two largest of these feature the Willimantic Congregational and the St. Joseph Roman Catholic Churches. However, looking beyond the phallic symbolism of church spires, the visual-spectacular formant draws attention to one of Connecticut's largest theatres, the Loomer Opera House (Figure 6.10).

Figure 6.10: The Loomer Opera House, 1882 (Detail from Porter *Willimantic, Conn., 1882: From Blake Mountain*)



Silas F. Loomer was a typical member of the bourgeoisie group of elites. He was born in the neighbouring town of Columbia, the son of a prominent landowner. Privately educated, he taught school as a young man, but he abandoned the profession

as the Hartford, Providence, and Fishkill Railroad built its line across northeastern Connecticut in 1854. Loomer hired teams to cut down lumber on his father's land and supplied the railroad with chestnut telegraph poles and oak sleepers. In 1859 he embarked upon a political career, representing his hometown in the General Assembly. Two years later he stepped down to move to Willimantic and set up a lumber and coal business.

Thanks to Willimantic's central position on the railroad network, Loomer was able to deal effectively with the numerous railroad companies whose lines traversed Willimantic. In 1872 he became a director of the Airline Railroad and 'built an extensive trade' supplying fuel and building materials to all the railroads until 1878. He filled numerous political posts in the town of Windham, served on three bank boards, and established eastern Connecticut's largest insurance agency.⁶⁸

Inherited wealth, the growth of the railroads and mills, and political involvement enabled Loomer to perceive and conceive regional spaces. After selling his lucrative coal and lumber business in 1878, he embarked upon the most ambitious urban project ever conceived in northeastern Connecticut when he built a theatre and office block on Willimantic's Main Street. Records fail to indicate his motive for doing so, but it is assessable.

Urban rivalry certainly played a part, as Danielsonville had built a Music Hall Block on its Main Street in 1876. With a seating capacity of 800, it had cost \$38,000, an amount raised by shares sold by a joint-stock company organised by the local urban elites.⁶⁹ Loomer's opera house seated 1,100, and he himself footed the entire \$60,000 bill. Moreover, whereas the Danielsonville Music Hall's joint-stock company had employed local designers, Loomer hired a nationally known architect and a renowned artist to design and decorate his conceived and perceived space. He made sure that the

⁶⁸ *Willimantic Chronicle*, 12 December 1899; *Willimantic Journal*, 15 December 1899; Trustees Hartford Providence, and Fishkill RR to S. F. Loomer, 10 June 1874, White family private papers, Columbia, CT.

⁶⁹ *Windham Transcript*, 8 June, 3 August 1876, 8 March 1877.

architect carved 'Loomer Opera House' clearly on the front pediment of this testimonial to his influence and power.

Loomer engaged noted architect Francis H. Kimball, who had designed several notable Broadway theatres in New York City, and was one of America's leading proponents of architectural terra cotta.⁷⁰ Kimball decorated the Loomer Opera House with three levels of terra cotta facades between stories. It dwarfed the theatre at Danielsonville and towered above every other structure on Willimantic's Main Street. Its impressive horseshoe-shaped, two-level auditorium was widely known for its excellent acoustics and for its fine view of the stage from any seat. In addition to being eastern Connecticut's leading theatre, the opera house housed several social, civic, and business functions. It had a wide variety of interior spaces, including society halls, a billiard hall and bar room, a music store, and law and insurance offices.⁷¹

Francis H. Kimball's architectural renderer was Hughson Hawley, a master of urban representations who produced city views and architectural renderings that visualised leading nineteenth-century architects' designs.⁷² Hawley painted the opera house's permanent scenery, a collection of wood landscapes, gardens, prisons, streets, walks, garden walls, cottages, and rowboats. One observer noted that his painting of an extensive mural on the act drops depicting Roscius, a famed Roman actor, now made the wait between acts less 'tiresome and monotonous'.⁷³

⁷⁰ Montgomery Schuyler, 'The Works of Francis H. Kimball and Kimball & Thompson', *Architectural Record* 7 (1898): 479–518. During a long career, Kimball designed Trinity College's noted Gothic-style campus buildings at Hartford, Connecticut, a variety of churches and private homes, several major Broadway theatres, and many of New York City's earliest skyscrapers.

⁷¹ Bayles, *Windham County*, 361.

⁷² Janet Parks and Frederic Scharf, *New York on the Rise: Architectural Renderings by Hughson Hawley 1880–1931* (New York: Lund Humphries, 1998); 'Hughson Hawley: Scenic Artist and Architectural Painter', *Pencil Points* 9 (1928): 760–74. Hawley regularly worked for McKim, Mead, and White, York and Sawyer, and Cass Gilbert, and his convincing perspective representations of buildings that did not yet exist set the standard for all future illustrators.

⁷³ *Willimantic Chronicle*, 10 November 1880.

Kimball had often worked with Hawley, and their collaboration on a project in this small Connecticut mill town was significant inasmuch as it reflected not only Loomer's influence and wealth, but also the hegemonic processes that attempted both to control the working classes and to uplift them through the imposition of elite culture. However, Loomer slightly modified his cultural and hegemonic ambitions. The opening night's performance at the Loomer Opera House, on 3 November 1880, was an Italian opera. When it flopped, Loomer engaged vaudeville and burlesque acts. After that his opera house was an unbounded success. In 1889 it was reported that Loomer was 'constantly adding to his means', and in 1892 'youths' and 'bald headed men fought for front row seats' when a visit from London's Gaiety Girls packed the Loomer Opera House to its seams.⁷⁴ Loomer's gargantuan theatre deflected attention from spatial practise by exploiting the power of the spectacle externally through its size and grand architectural style, and internally through its performances and artistic décor.

When considering the visuality and spectacularity implicit in bird's-eye views, it is apparent that spectacle and the visual are inseparable. As Crary puts it, the distractions caused by the visual-spectacular during the period of industrialisation and urbanisation did not disrupt the 'stable or natural kinds of sustained, value-laden perception that had existed for centuries, but was an *effect*, and in many ways a constituent element of the many attempts to produce attentiveness in human subjects'.⁷⁵ The reproduction technologies, marketing techniques, and relatively low costs of urban bird's-eye views enabled the successful dissemination of an integrated and spectacular vision of the urban milieu to a wide audience. Urban representations evoked a strong and powerful image in observers, simultaneously sparking feelings of comfort, familiarity, reverence, and deference that lent themselves to the persistence of elite dominance.

⁷⁴ RGD, 1:358; *Willimantic Chronicle*, 7 March 1892.

⁷⁵ Crary, *Suspensions of Perception*, 49.

The central tenet of the Rhode Island/Waltham dichotomy is that modernity, progress, and power are ultimately concentrated in monolithic industrial cities. Due to its persistent resource-dependent rurality and moveable urban centres—the multiplicity of towns, boroughs, and villages utilised as social space by a persistently dominant elite—Windham County did not fit this pattern, and so its towns became irrelevant communities unworthy of investigation.

Lefebvre provides the tools that expose the Rhode Island/Waltham dichotomy as a deception that masks the production and reproduction of social space and power in northeastern Connecticut. The competing elites of Windham County's tripartite geography of power understood, in their terms, that 'points of decision-making' could be easily relocated. Shifts in centrality—in the county's towns as well as its urban centres—enabled the northeastern Connecticut elite to produce and reproduce its power base as each elite group exploited the expertise and ideas of the others. Striving to maintain its power base, the ancien regime elite appropriated, absorbed, or abandoned members of the technocratic and bourgeoisie groups of elites, thus ensuring a continuity of power throughout the nineteenth century.⁷⁶

⁷⁶ Raymond Williams, *Marxism and Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), 121–27.

Chapter Seven

Les Lieux de Mémoire

Symbolic power is that invisible power which can be exercised only with the complicity of those who do not want to know that they are subject to it, or even that they themselves exercise it.¹

In one sense this structure of feeling is the culture of a period: it is the particular living result of all the elements in the general organization. And it is in this respect that the arts of a period, taking these to include characteristic approaches and tones, are of major importance. For here, if anywhere, this characteristic is likely to be expressed; often not consciously, but by the fact that here, in the only examples we have of recorded communication that outlives its bearers, the actual living sense, the deep community that makes the communication possible, is naturally drawn upon.²

In 1848 a Virginian hiking the 22 miles separating Windham and Killingly observed a landscape of contrasts. He was impressed by the sight of 'many a boldly swelling hill', 'verdant woods', and stone walls coursing through valleys, framing fields of corn, rye, oats, potatoes, and mulberry bushes. The Southerner was, however, appalled by conditions in the milltowns. He was shocked to see young children amongst the Willimantic mill hands 'trooping to their prisons', where they worked 12 hours a day. Here was a 'degraded population', with no access to schooling, lyceums, libraries, or improvement associations, and every evening they crowded in and around taverns. The situation was little better at Danielsonville, where the visitor was greeted by the 'bland words and uncourteous answers' of surly Yankees and by vivid tales of the moral depravities practised by the female mill hands.³

When the Virginian toured northeastern Connecticut in the late 1840s, the region was approaching its second and more intense stage of economic growth, fired by significant capital investment from neighbouring Rhode Island. Once textile manufacturing waterpower sites were exhausted in Rhode Island, the state's bankers,

¹ Pierre Bourdieu, *Language and Symbolic Power* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1991), 164.

² Raymond Williams, *The Long Revolution* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1961), 48.

³ 'One Day of a Foot Tour in Connecticut', *Southern Literary Messenger* 14 (1848): 384–86.

industrialists, and entrepreneurs transferred surplus profits to northeastern Connecticut's underdeveloped landscape. As a part of this wider economic process, William and Edwin Robinson of Providence acquired Captain Asa Alexander's Valley Mill at Killingly in 1845. The brothers made significant investments and increased output to provide cotton goods for the Providence and Boston markets.⁴ By 1868 an idyllic landscape had absorbed all the degradations and depravities the visitor from Virginia had noted in such mill villages twenty years earlier:

The Valley Mill, owned and operated by William A. Robinson of Providence, is situated in a beautiful valley on the banks of the Whitestone. On both sides of the stream edge, steep hills crowd nearly to the water's edge, and the village stretches in a long line of white houses along the south side, seeming to cling to them as if liable, at any moment, to be shaken off into the pond. Sheltered from all sides from rough winds, with neat grassy yards, cosy little flowerbeds, white fences, and facing the broad smooth millpond, it affords one pleasant summers day one of the prettiest landscape views to be found in the County.⁵

The pastoral transformation of Robinsons' acquisition resulted from cultural and memory work. According to Massey and Soja, extralocal economic activity like that of the Rhode Island investors embeds capitalist power and modernity in the landscape. However, that power is challenged over time during periodic economic and social crises. Harvey suggests that such upheavals compress time and space, causing cultural waves that reshape language, art, history, and memory. This process culminates in the creation of a 'memory industry' that preserves and commemorates the rapidly disappearing past in 'symbolic and functional' places. History and meaning is crystallized in archives, museums, and memorials and widely disseminated by an expanding mass media. Whilst preserving the past, these places of memory also alter that past. For Nora, *les lieux de mémoire* exist only because of 'their

⁴ Richard C. Adams, *Mills Along the Whetstone Brook* (Killingly, CT: Killingly Historical Society, 1984), 7–8.

⁵ *Windham Transcript*, 23 January 1868.

capacity for metamorphosis, or an endless recycling of their meaning and an unpredictable proliferation of their ramifications'.⁶

The concept of northeastern Connecticut as *place* is rich in interpretive possibilities, despite the fact that until recently place has been devalued in American social science. The *gemeinschaft-gesellschaft* metaphor for progressive social change devalues place because of its association with community; modernization theory replaces traditional place-based community with modern placeless, or national, society; and, locally, the Rhode Island/Waltham theory further diminishes the concept by its insistence that large manufacturing towns are economically and socially superior to small industrial hamlets. In these dichotomous interpretations, place is conceived as parochial and local, unsuitable as a 'structuring or mediating context for social relations'.⁷

However, if place is regarded as a cognitive representation, a humanised space created over time by memory, language, and meaning inferred from the surrounding environment, it follows that its physical milieu is constituted by landscape, which is a socially determined spatial structure. The material landscape bears evidence of human habitation and political, cultural, and economic activity, and when *lieu* (place) is linked with *paysage* (landscape), the social relations marginalized by modernity's devaluation of place can be read in the codes embedded in the landscape.⁸

⁶ Doreen Massey, *Divisions of Labour: Social Structures and the Geography of Production* (New York: Routledge, 1995); Edward W. Soja, *Postmodern Geographies: The Reassertion of Space in Critical Social Theory* (London: Verso, 1989); David Harvey, *The Conditions of Postmodernity: An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change* (Cambridge: Basil Blackwell, 1989); Michael Kammen, *Mystic Chords of Memory: The Transformation of Tradition in American Culture* (New York: Vintage Books, 1993); John B. Jackson, *The Necessity for Ruins, and Other Topics* (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 1980); David Lowenthal, 'Past Time, Present Place: Landscape and Memory', *Geographical Review* 65 (1976): 1–36; Pierre Nora, 'Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire', *Representations* 26 (1989): 19.

⁷ John A. Agnew, 'The Devaluation of Place in Social Science', in John A. Agnew and James S. Duncan, *The Power of Place: Bringing Together Geographical and Sociological Imaginations* (Boston, MA: Unwin Hyman, 1989), 9–29.

⁸ Yi Fu Tuan, *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1977); Edward Relph, *Place and Placelessness* (London: Pion, 1976), 30–31;

This chapter demonstrates how, at critical points in regional development in the nineteenth century, elites employed a constructed concept of place—*les lieux de memoire*—to anchor themselves in a changing world and to inscribe their visions of social order on the modernising northeastern Connecticut landscape. The first part examines the language that shaped the identity and historical memory of northeastern Connecticut's landscape as revealed in changing place names, historiography, and promotional and fictional literature. Part two explores antebellum topographical landscape paintings and woodcuts depicting building morphology and architecture at the onset of industrialization. The third part demonstrates how private associations endowed the region's most urbanised areas with pastoral landscape features in the shape of parks, cemeteries and religious campgrounds, following the reluctance of postbellum town and borough authorities to provide public open spaces. The final part looks at how impressionist and commercial art represented the thoroughly modernised and industrialised northeastern Connecticut landscape at the end of the nineteenth century.

The Language of Landscape

Memory work commenced in northeastern Connecticut as soon as the first manufacturing hamlets appeared in the landscape. Bourdieu contends that language is employed to hide and disguise power, and that proper names, places, and pieces of land are objects of permanent conflict, so the very act of place naming, and name changing are politically charged feats. Language played an important part in social control as modernity transformed northeastern Connecticut's traditional landscape, and the words employed in landscape discourse shaped the perception and memory of it.⁹

Vincent Berdoulay, 'Place, Meaning, and Discourse in French Language Geography', in Agnew and Duncan, eds., *Power of Place*, 124–36.

⁹ Pierre Bourdieu, *In Other Words: Essays Towards a Reflexive Sociology*, trans. Matthew Adamson (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1990), 95–96, 100–10; Tim Bonyhady and Tom Griffiths, eds., *Words for Country: Landscape and Language in Australia* (Sydney: New South Wales University Press Ltd, 2002).

The politics of place naming got underway with the naming of the industrial hamlets that sprang up in northeastern Connecticut's river valleys after 1805. The usual pattern was to add the suffix *ville*, meaning 'community' or 'village' to the surname of the founding elite. The French suffix celebrated American identity, freedom, and democracy, commemorating both the march of Le Comte de Rochambeau's French army across Connecticut prior to and following the British surrender at Yorktown in 1781 and the Marquis de Lafayette's highly celebrated 14-month, 182-town tour of the United States in 1824/25.¹⁰ Thus, Almyville (Plainfield), Ballouville (Killingly), and Danielsonville (Killingly), which were named for mill owners, carried connotations of both personal power and nationalism. Occasionally the suffix was appended to the name of a location, a tree, an occupation, or a company, as at the five mill villages of Centerville (Plainfield), Elmville (Killingly), Mechanicsville (Thompson), Pineville (Killingly), and Unionville (Plainfield). Of the 32 industrial communities or mill villages located in the five towns in this study, 20 either end or used to end in *ville*.

The suffix *ville* began to lose its popularity as an appellation for small manufacturing communities at midcentury. Coinciding with the establishment of railroads in the region during the 1840s, name changing cloaked modernity in pastoral prose. By 1866, the decision to change the name of the Thompson mill village *Masonville* to *Grosvenordale* was met with widespread approval. The name *Masonville* had conjured up visions of grimy industrialism, whereas affixing the suffix *dale* to the new mill owner's name perceivably transformed it into a rural hamlet. A local correspondent wrote of Grosvenordale that 'we are thankful that somebody has changed the name from the 'universal ville'.'¹¹ Similarly, Plainfield's cotton community *Centerville* became *Central Village*. 'Dales' and 'villages' were subtexts for traditional Yankee communities traceable to seventeenth- and eighteenth-century settlement. Representing a premodern, communal ideal, the new names stood in stark contrast to the conflicted, commercial society resulting from extralocal investment.

¹⁰ A. H. Hughes, 'Connecticut Place Names Ending in *Ville*', *Connecticut Historical Society Bulletin* 35 (1970): 40–64.

¹¹ *Windham Transcript*, 5 April 1866.

Whilst the names of the settlements that followed on the heels of Pomfret's Factory Village after 1806 had patriotic and nationalistic connotations, by midcentury jingoism had given way to pastoralism in the naming of new industrial communities. The Providence-based owners of northeastern Connecticut's new cotton companies dipped deeper into the well of traditionalism as the size and scale of their textile manufacturing companies grew. They looked back to pre-European settlement and chose indigenous Algonquian Indians place names that mirrored the region's preindustrial environment and pastoralism.

In 1851 Providence-based brothers Amos and Moses Lockwood named their new company at Danielsonville *Quinebaug*, which meant a 'long, watery open place'. In 1853 the Lockwoods repeated the process in neighbouring Plainfield and called their new company and mill village *Wauregan*, meaning 'a good thing' or a 'pleasant thing'. In 1859 investors from Norwich, Connecticut, applied the Indian place name *Attawaugan*, translated as a knoll, a hill, or a height of land, to a new cotton company at North Killingly.¹² Windham's borough of Willimantic had always carried an Indian name. *Willimantic* meant 'fair, full-watered stream', and as the first direct rail link between New York City and Boston was built directly through the centre of Willimantic in 1876, the *Willimantic Journal* stressed to its readers the local sense of Indian settlement and traditional pastoralism implicit in the community's name. It editorialised that, 'in keeping with the romantic situation and Arcadian ideal, the place is not inflicted with any such unclassical name as Humphreyville or Lewistown'.¹³ The region's recycled industrial place names contributed to the perception of northeastern Connecticut as a rural backwater, despite the fact that commencing in the 1850s the Quinebaug Manufacturing Company (1851), the Wauregan Cotton Company (1853) and the Willimantic Linen Company (1854) began to pose a serious threat to Massachusetts' economic ascendancy.

¹² John Huden, *Indian Place Names of New England* (New York: Heye Foundation, 1962).

¹³ *Willimantic Journal*, 17 March 1876.

Emerging in the modernising nineteenth century, linguistic dichotomies such as community/society, modern/traditional, Rhode Island/Waltham, and urban/rural also recycled a bucolic image of an increasingly industrialised region. In 1863 Samuel Batchelder, a leading investor and proponent of textile production at Waltham and Lowell, asserted that New England's textile industry consisted of two 'schools' of manufacturing: the modern, integrated mills of Massachusetts and traditional mills elsewhere.¹⁴ Batchelder thus planted the seeds of the Rhode Island/Waltham dichotomy, a misleading duality that has passed virtually unchallenged through several generations of writers and historians.

It is significant that northeastern Connecticut's 'traditional' cotton companies never challenged this perception. As Terdiman suggests, binary opposites subject the collective memory to a dialectic process of reproduction and representation, creating usable pasts for those over whom elites ultimately exercised political power.¹⁵ In other words, the opposites on which the Rhode Island/Waltham dichotomy is based are social, political, and linguistic constructions—employable fictions that in any historical context are institutionalised to maintain power relationships. It allowed the elites to don the cloak of anonymity to sustain their social and economic power, and the relatively small amount of national writing on the region at the height of modernity made no attempt to remove that shroud of obscurity.

In 1890 the *New England Magazine* stressed the vital importance of cotton textiles to America's economy. Focussing upon Massachusetts, it devoted but one sentence to northeast Connecticut's extensive cotton industry.¹⁶ In 1902, William Countryman, a Connecticut native based in Washington, DC, celebrated his home state's diverse range of manufacturing skills, noting that his desk's lock and key, his crockery, clock, pen, envelope, eraser, and his friend's watch, hat, and pocketknife

¹⁴ Samuel Batchelder, *Introduction and Early Progress of the Cotton Manufacture in the United States* (Boston, MA: Little, Brown and Company, 1863).

¹⁵ Richard Terdiman, *Present Past: Modernity and the Memory Crisis* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1993), 37–43, 59–60.

¹⁶ George Rich, 'The Cotton Industry of New England', *New England Magazine* 3 (1890): 167–91.

were all manufactured in Connecticut. Furthermore, machetes, ammunition, axes, rifles, pistols hammers, augers, builder's hardware, cottons, woollens, worsteds, rubber goods, buttons, automobiles, bicycles, tyres, typewriters, phonographs, and doorbells manufactured at New Haven, Bridgeport, Waterbury, and Hartford were on sale in Washington, DC, stores. The state's expansive textile manufacturing industry was barely mentioned.¹⁷

These lapses in memory are all the more surprising in light of a 1915 study that noted northeastern Connecticut's superior economic growth rates in comparison to the state's other regions.¹⁸ Nevertheless, forgetfulness persisted. In 1935 Clive Day, a Yale-based economic historian, explored the rapid rise of manufacturing in Connecticut between 1820 and 1850. Arguing that it was a response to agricultural decline and depopulation, Day ignored northeastern Connecticut's textile industries other than to affirm that 'from the original germ of American cotton manufacture in Pawtucket the spirit of progress spread to Waltham and Lowell; and Connecticut remained an imitator rather than an innovator'.¹⁹

By the end of the twentieth century the amnesia had taken its full toll. In 1992, Ellsworth Grant's history of manufacturing in Connecticut dismissed Windham County's textile industries and towns entirely, claiming that they 'contributed almost nothing to [the state's] industrial progress'.²⁰ The study focused instead on hackneyed Connecticut staples such as Danbury's hat industry, Bridgeport's machine tool industry, and the brass and rubber industries in the Naugatuck Valley. Influenced by the Rhode Island/Waltham binary, the articles compiled by Countryman, Day, and

¹⁷ William Countryman, 'Connecticut's Position in the Manufacturing World', *Connecticut Magazine* 7 (1902): 323–27.

¹⁸ Grace Fuller, *An Introduction to the History of Connecticut as a Manufacturing State* (Northampton, MA: Smith College, 1915).

¹⁹ Clive Day, *The Rise of Manufacturing in Connecticut, 1820–1850* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1935).

²⁰ Ellsworth Grant, *The Miracle of Connecticut* (Hartford, CT: Connecticut Historical Society, 1992), 197.

Ellsworth shaped the collective memory of northeastern Connecticut. To most historians even today, Bridgeport, New Haven, and Waterbury symbolize the state's progress, whilst Windham, Putnam, and Killingly represent a bygone era.

Masking railroad-inspired economic growth in bucolic language that cemented their power, the elites created a 'place of memory' with wide capacity for metamorphosis, one in which pastoral meaning was easily recycled once the textile industry began to relocate to the South. As mono-industrial modernity peaked and then declined in the region, the pastoral imagery disguising industrial progress and power relationships was quickly recycled to promote the former. The Putnam Businessmen's Association was formed in April 1884, its members having awakened to 'the conviction that the business of the town was not sufficiently diversified; was too much limited to the cotton factory interest'.²¹ Similarly, the Danielsonville Board of Trade was organised on 1 January 1887,²² and Willimantic, not wanting to be outdone by their rival borough, formed the Willimantic Board of Trade just three weeks later.²³ Between 1887 and 1914 these associations published a plethora of promotional material that couched modernities in terms of countryside rather than cotton.

The *Illustrated Review of Northeast Connecticut* (1891) described Windham County as a panorama of pleasant valleys, rivers, and rugged hills that 'occasionally rise into mountains [to] enthuse every admirer of the beautiful and good in nature'. Danielsonville was attractively 'situated among the quiet green hills of northeast Connecticut', whilst Willimantic provided 'free views and attractive scenery not surpassed by any place in the state'. Putnam combined 'the elements of a thriving commercial town with the retirement and beauty of suburban districts'. *Picturesque & Industrial Eastern Connecticut* (1914) did at least concede the existence of cotton mills at Thompson—the 'finest textile plants in the Union'— but described it in more length as

²¹ Richard Bayles, *History of Windham County, Connecticut* (New York: Preston, 1889), 797–98.

²² *Commemorative Biographical Record of Tolland and Windham Counties, Connecticut* [henceforth, CBR] (Chicago, IL: J. H. Beers, 1903), 654.

²³ *Willimantic Chronicle*, 2 February 1887.

a 'charming hilltop town' that boasted 'several country estates of millionaires'. 'Fine farming country' and creameries surrounded Willimantic. Putnam was at the centre of beautiful hills and valleys, amid fertile fruit and vegetable farms. Plainfield, a 'sturdy and rugged New England town' possessed the region's 'best dairying farms', and located amongst noble hills and rolling countryside, it provided a 'healthy summer resort' for city dwellers.²⁴

The absorption of the urban-industrial into the pastoral-rural also appeared in nineteenth-century fictional literature, as exemplified by the work of Josiah Gilbert Holland (1819–81). Holland, known as America's Dickens, was a poet, essayist and novelist with a huge following. He was also the elder brother of James and Goodrich Holland, the founders of Willimantic's Holland Silk Manufacturing Company. As children, the Holland brothers lived in a variety of milltowns in southern New England, where their father installed and repaired silk machinery. Holland wrote a series of short stories based on his mill-town experiences. First serialized and then published as a novel, *The Story of Sevenoaks* became a bestseller.²⁵

The novel's protagonist, Jim Fenton, is a backwoodsman and hunter who leaves the forested hills surrounding Sevenoaks to challenge the antagonist, mill owner Robert Belcher, who has stolen and profited from a workman's manufacturing idea. Because of Belcher's power in the town, he commits the worker to the poorhouse and

²⁴ *Illustrated Review of Northeastern Connecticut* (New York: Sovereign Publishing and Engraving Company, 1891); *Picturesque & Industrial Eastern Connecticut* (Norwich, CT.: Eastern Connecticut Development Committee, 1914); *Borough of Willimantic: Its Advantages as a Manufacturing Point* (Willimantic, CT.: Willimantic Board of Trade, 1887); *Leading Manufacturers and Merchants of Connecticut* (New York: International Pub. Co., 1887); *Illustrated Souvenir Album* (Moosup, CT.: Charles F. Burgess, Publisher; Journal and Press, 1899); *Leading Businessmen of Willimantic and Colchester* (Boston, MA.: Mercantile Publishing Company, 1890); H. F. Donlan, *Willimantic Journal: Souvenir Edition* (Willimantic, CT.: Willimantic Journal, 1894); *Plainfield Souvenir* (Moosup, CT.: Charles F. Burgess, 1895); *Why Don't You Locate in Willimantic? This Means You* (Willimantic, CT.: Willimantic Board of Trade, 1906).

²⁵ Joshua G. Holland, 'The Story of Sevenoaks', *Scribner's Monthly* 9 (1875): 312–39; 'Josiah Gilbert Holland', *Century Magazine* 23 (1881): 160–67; Harry H. Peckham, *Josiah Gilbert Holland in Relation to his Times* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1940). Holland was close friend of Emily Dickinson and cofounder of *Scribner's Magazine*.

labels him a lunatic. Tiring of life in Sevenoaks, Belcher seeks fortune in New York City. But Fenton follows Belcher to the big city, where he befriends the wealthy and sophisticated Mrs. Bellingham. Between them, they expose and ruin the unscrupulous Belcher.

Holland transforms the modern milltown Sevenoaks, which closely resembles Willimantic, into a traditional community, a place of social values and mores superior to those of the discredited Belcher. His construction of this particular place as a rural backwater milltown further fixed modernity into a traditional context in the collective memory. Yet in reality, Willimantic/Sevenoaks was not a traditional, rural place. Holland's brothers and his sister-in-law, Jane Holland, developed Willimantic's Holland Manufacturing Company into one of the nation's leading silk thread manufacturers. Its main office and salesroom were located at 435 Broadway, New York, and in 1876 the company won prizes at the nation's celebration of modernity, Philadelphia's Centennial Exhibition.²⁶

Despite its modernities, northeastern Connecticut was constantly reshaped and recycled as a traditional place. The Rhode Island/Waltham dichotomy, whilst promoting New England modernity, masked power relationships and helped perpetuate them as it marginalized northeastern Connecticut as a traditional and anti-modern place. This interaction of memory and history overcame the evidence through the creation of endlessly repeating objects, or *mises en abîme*, notions and ideas that succeeded in legitimising, consciously or unconsciously, the existing social order.²⁷ Along with language, particular images repeatedly appeared in the Last Green Valley. Such images can be even more efficient than language as a medium of cultural transformation, because 'the eye sends impressions home to the soul more readily, more forcibly, and more permanently, than any other of the senses'.²⁸

²⁶ Linus P. Brockett, *The Silk Industry in America: A History Prepared for the Centennial Exposition* (New York: The Silk Association of America, 1876), 79, 125, 213.

²⁷ Nora, 'Between Memory and History', 20.

²⁸ Chauncey C. Nash, *John Warner Barber and His Books* (Milton, MA.: [s.n.], 1934), 37.

Mises en Abîme

William Hoskins, who initiated the study of landscape history, believed that everything he looked at in the landscape was speaking to him in a kind of language or code'.²⁹ Attempts to interpret that code have crossed several disciplines, culminating in readings not only of the physical landscape itself, but also of its representations in architecture, engravings, drawings, and paintings. When landscapes are placed in historical context and interpreted over time, the social and subjective identities formed by cultural processes can be detected. Representations of landscape provide *les lieux de memoire* that metamorphose and reuse certain images that naturalise, signify, and symbolize power relationships. They can be iconographically analysed to provide a 'landscape way of seeing' the 'underlying principles that reveal the basic attitude of a nation, a period, a class, a religious or philosophical persuasion—unconsciously qualified by one personality and condensed into one work'.³⁰

In *The County and the City* (1973), Raymond Williams noted that whilst promoting pastoralism in art and literature, a country-house elite was destroying the English landscape it was sponsoring to represent and transforming it into a highly contested political terrain. Consequently, British art historians began to explore the ideology behind eighteenth- and nineteenth-century landscape painting. In contrast, the social and political aspects of American landscape painting were long overlooked, marginalized in favour of patriotic and nationalistic interpretations. Only recently has it been subjected to ideological analyses, resulting in studies that reveal how American painting shaped collective memory, indicated class identity, and was subject to

²⁹ William Hoskins, *English Landscapes* (London: British Broadcasting Corporation, 1973), 5, quoted in D. W. Meinig, 'Reading the Landscape', in D. W. Meinig et al., eds., *The Interpretation of Ordinary Landscapes* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979), 198; *The Making of the English Landscape* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1955).

³⁰ Erwin Panofsky, *Meaning in the Visual Arts* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1970), 51, quoted in Dennis Cosgrove and Stephen Daniels, eds., *The Iconography of Landscape: Essays on the Symbolic Representation, Design and Use of Past Environments* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 2. W. J. T. Mitchell, ed., *Landscape and Power* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1994).

institutionalised social processes wherein 'the picturesque was the pictorial expression of social containment'.³¹

Topographical paintings lend themselves to this kind of ideological analysis. Before the advent of photography, elites often commissioned topographical, artistic images to showcase their status, property, and landholdings. Rather than conveying an artist's subjective interpretation of a scene, 'topographical literalism' provided basic visual information that characterized a specific place, such as the accurate, shape, form, location, and perspective of buildings. The genre also depicted scenes of rural labour, which was commonly excluded from the more nationalistic, aesthetic paintings of the period.³² Two topographical paintings by Killingly's Francis Alexander (1800–80) indicate how the local elite inscribed social order in the vernacular architectural landscape in northeastern Connecticut.

Although commonly described as a poor farmer's boy who had to be satisfied with drawing on rocks and barn doors, Alexander was born into Killingly's most prominent family and was the younger brother of Colonel William Alexander and an uncle to Luther Alexander, two members of the sample elite.³³ His topographical paintings of *Ralph Wheelock's Farm* and the *Globe Manufacturing Company*, both composed in 1822, depict a farm and Rhode Island-style mill village at Southbridge, Massachusetts, located 14 miles north of Killingly up the Quinebaug River valley. At the time, farm paintings were relatively common, but other than a handful of

³¹ John Berger, *Ways of Seeing* (London: Penguin, 1972); John Barrell, *The Dark Side of the Landscape* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980); Michael Kammen, *Meadows of Memory: Images of Time and Tradition in American Art* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1992); Angela Miller, 'Landscape Taste as an Indicator of Class Identity in Antebellum America', in Andrew Hemingway and William Vaughan, eds., *Art in Bourgeois Society, 1790–1850* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 340–61; *Empire of the Eye: Landscape Representation and American Cultural Politics, 1825–75* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1996), 11.

³² Miller, 'Landscape Taste as an Indicator of Class Identity', 348.

³³ *American National Biography* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 266–67: Alexander trained with leading American artists Gilbert Stuart and John Trumbull in Boston and with Thomas Cole in Italy. Although he is best known for his portraits of Noah Webster, President Andrew Johnson, and Charles Dickens, before Alexander left the region for Boston in 1823, he painted two landscapes located close to the family's Killingly estates.

promotional engravings, oil paintings of mill villages by professionally trained artists were not, so Alexander's two paintings provide a rare opportunity for comparison and analysis.³⁴

In both paintings, white signifies prosperity, yellow stands for modernity, red represents traditionalism, and green depicts ubiquitous pastoralism. White paint represented early America's republican and neoclassical roots and was widely associated with stability. Moreover, white paint was expensive to manufacture, and the more it was applied, the more it signified status and wealth. Yellow was commonly used on buildings across the modernising region. A history of antebellum Danielsonville recalled that the 'better class' of buildings were painted white and the oldest houses were painted red. In 1847 local elites established the West Killingly Academy at Danielsonville to educate the sons of leading citizens. This wooden structure, which boasted neo-classical Corinthian pillars and a dome shaped cupola, was painted entirely white. In comparison, the village's cotton mills and tenements were painted yellow. Dirty, they took on a 'dreary appearance'. During the construction of a cotton mill at Willimantic in 1863, it was recalled that the new factory was being erected upon the site of the 'old yellow machine ship'.³⁵

Ralph Wheelock's Farm (Figure 7.1) is a nostalgic representation of the region's hill farms and agrarian culture that depicts an orderly, secure world, represented by a hierarchy of building forms in the farm and its attendant village. Flanked by red and grey barns, the white-painted farmhouse on the peak of the hill dominates the scene. Less expensive red and grey paints weatherproofed the farm buildings and less salubrious residences adjacent to the farm.

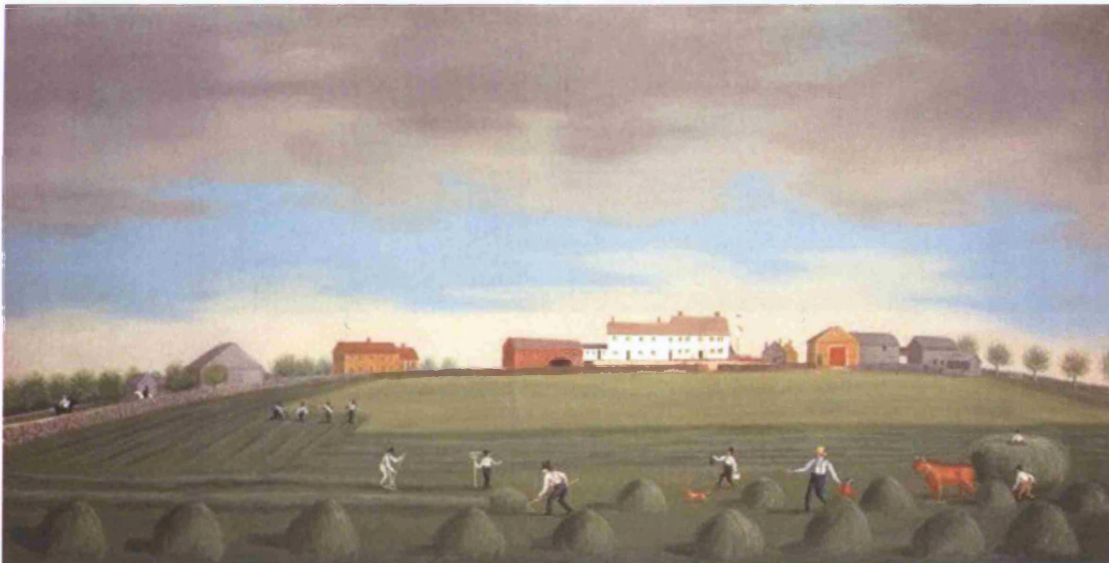
People provide scale and perspective to the image but also fit into a social hierarchy. The farmer and an overseer, located in the left vertical plane, sit on

³⁴ Richard Candee, 'The Early New England Textile Village in Art', *Antiques* 98 (1970): 910–15.

³⁵ Henry Vernon Arnold, *The Making of Danielson: An Outline History of the Borough of Danielson, Connecticut* (Larimore, ND: H. V Arnold, 1905), 75, 170, 176; *Willimantic Journal*, 5 June 1863.

horseback behind the substantial stone wall lining the hayfield. They observe farm workers systematically scything a field containing neatly lined bales. Orderly rows of fruit trees hug the skyline in the right vertical plane. However, the blue sky recedes, and storm clouds loom over this comforting view of the structured orderliness of preindustrial life, as workers seem to be racing to beat the weather. When the painting is read temporally, such transitional weather patterns can be interpreted as indicating what would follow, or what had passed, thus carrying a narrative significance with ideological overtones.³⁶ Francis Alexander was obviously aware of the impact of industrialisation in his own town of Killingly, and he may have been commenting on the impending changes represented in his painting of a mill village near Wheelock's farm.

Figure 7.1: Francis Alexander, *Ralph Wheelock's Farm* (1822)



The *Globe Manufacturing Company* (Figure 7.2) is set in an agricultural landscape that represents the nascent cotton industry in a neutral if not positive light. There are signs, however, of changing social relations. A figure, identical to one of the observers

³⁶ James Heffernan, 'The Temporalization of Space in Wordsworth, Turner and Constable', in James Heffernan, ed., *Space, Time, Image, Sign: Essays on Literature and the Visual Arts* (New York: Peter Lang, 1987).

of Wheelock's farm labourers, sits upon a white horse next to the cotton mill, looking across the bridge spanning the Quinebaug River toward a company store. Such establishments signified the changing social and economic relationships introduced by the nascent industrial economy. The mill owners often owned the only provisions store within miles, leaving the employees with few options other than to be paid in supplies or by tokens redeemable only at the store.

Figure 7.2: Francis Alexander, *Globe Manufacturing Company* (1822)



A comparison of these two paintings suggests little or no change between the farm and mill village, but upon closer inspection, there are subtle signs of long-term transformations. Stone walls are featured in both representations. The hill behind the cotton mill is lined with them, but they also dominate and frame the landscape within the mill village itself, depicting not only the interdependence between industry and agriculture, but also the mill workers' proscribed lives. There are a wider variety of buildings and structures in the mill village than in Wheelock's farm and village. However, there are no white buildings in the Globe Village, perhaps reflecting absentee ownership and power. The Rhode Island and Massachusetts investors commonly hired a resident agent to run the company in their absence. The numerous

yellow-painted tenement houses and the company store overpower the red and grey agricultural buildings. The yellow cotton mill, complete with cupola, towers over all surrounding structures.

Although present-day printing, reproduction, and communication technologies enable the wide reproduction and circulation of paintings and photographs, Alexander's paintings had a limited audience, and could not provide a 'simultaneous collective experience, as it was possible for architecture at all times, for the epic poem in the past, and for the movie today'.³⁷ The introduction of steam-powered cylinder printing presses in the 1820s made the artwork available to a much wider audience, but any traditional or ritual value was lost once they were mechanically reproduced. Speaking of painting, Benjamin notes that 'the instant the criterion of authenticity ceases to be applicable to artistic production, the total function of art is reversed. Instead of being based on ritual, it begins to be based on another practice—politics'.³⁸

Francis Alexander had little idea that his paintings would be mass-produced, but in the 1830s an engraver and artist specifically produced artworks of Connecticut places for mechanical reproduction, thus adding that ideological dimension. Although John Warner Barber's *Historical Collections of Connecticut* (1836) provides rare views of northeastern Connecticut's nascent manufacturing towns during the early modern period, the majority of its 200 prints of scenes in every Connecticut town present a stereotypical images of communities with a tall, white-spined Congregational church, a finely groomed town green, white picket fences, and neat lines of shade trees. Geertz and Williams note that despite radical changes in the landscape, all societies maintain certain attachments to place and territory and to particular images of the rural and the urban.³⁹ One of the images Connecticut is fixated upon is that of the traditional New

³⁷ Walter Benjamin, 'The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction', in Hannah Arendt, ed., *Illuminations: Walter Benjamin* (New York: Schocken Books, 1985), 217–52.

³⁸ Benjamin, 'The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction', 223.

³⁹ Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Culture* (New York: Basic Books), 259; Raymond Williams, *The Country and the City* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973), 289.

England centre village, and this image has persisted, rivalling those of 'Main Street' and 'Suburbia' as model settings for American communities.⁴⁰

Barber was a meticulous draftsman who testified that he had visited every town in the state so he could accurately represent each community in his drawings. His *Historical Collections of Connecticut* includes six views from the five towns featured in this study. The six views include three prospects of Windham (the centre village, the Willimantic mill village, and the scene of a local folk tale in the town) and one each of Killingly, Thompson, and Plainfield. Barber ignored Killingly's centre village, depicting instead its industrial mill village, Danielsonville, but he looked past the expanding textile industries at Thompson and Plainfield and included illustrations of their centre villages.

The depictions of Danielsonville (Figure 7.3) and Willimantic (Figure 7.4) in *Historical Collections* recall the pastoral image captured by Alexander at Southbridge some 14 years earlier. Each community is placed within a picturesque valley, encircling a bridge over the river powering the mills. Young saplings appear in the Danielsonville view, depicting an attempt to beautify the village, which was built around the mill constructed by the Danielson family and Providence-based investors in 1809. Similarly, in the Willimantic view, the mills of the Windham Manufacturing Company, built by Mathew Watson and the Tingley brothers in 1823, were financed by capital from Providence. Consequently, their architectural styles mirrored those of the English vernacular methods Samuel Slater introduced to Rhode Island in the 1790s.

⁴⁰ Donald W. Meinig, 'Symbolic Landscapes: Models of American Community', in D. W. Meinig, ed., *The Interpretation of Ordinary Landscapes*, 164–92.

Figure 7.3: John Warner Barber, Danielsonville Mill Village, Killingly (1835)

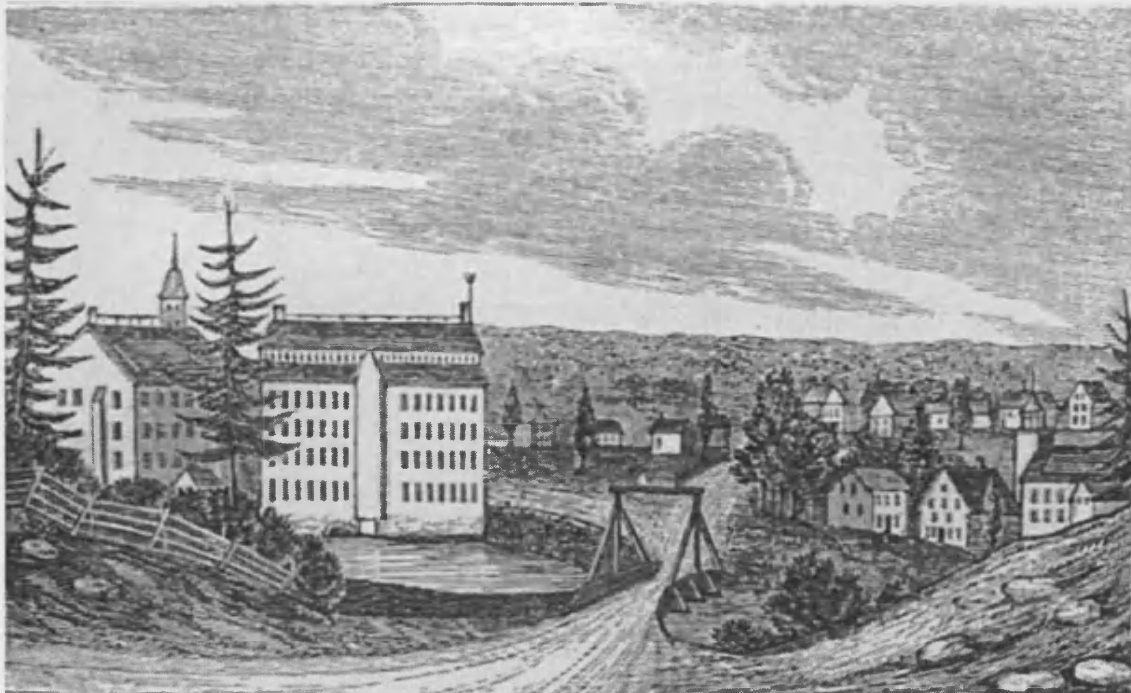


The Danielsonville and Willimantic mills have distinctive rows of windows in the roof. Known as clerestory monitor windows, they provided extra interior lighting and are reminiscent of clerestory windows in England's medieval churches. The distinctive mill towers had functional roles, containing toilets and a water tank for fire safety and allowing transportation between stories so interior spaces were left free for machinery. But function and style effectively interacted. Barber pointedly described the Danielsonville cotton factory as 'the four story building with a steeple'.⁴¹ A symbolic image of churches, meetinghouses, and schoolhouses emerges. The bell in the 'steeple' called congregations to worship, students to study, citizens to debate, and workers to their tasks, thus equating the economic power represented by the cotton mill with political and religious power.⁴²

⁴¹ John Warner Barber, *Historical Collections of Connecticut* (New Haven, CT: Durrie and Peck and J. W. Barber, 1836), 432–33.

⁴² William H. Pierson, Jr., *American Buildings and Their Architects: Technology and the Picturesque; The Corporate and Early Gothic Styles* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1978), 33, 43–44.

Figure 7.4: John Warner Barber, Willimantic Mill Village, Windham (1835)



Plainfield's Quinebaug and Moosup Rivers had spawned several industrial villages by 1835, but in typical fashion, Barber ignored them and focussed upon the historic centre, settled at the end of the seventeenth century (Figure 7.5).

When Timothy Dwight passed through Plainfield in 1805, he noted that it 'made a pleasant appearance on the eye'. He returned in 1807, the year the first cotton mill was built in town, and commented on Plainfield's new, repaired, and beautified buildings. Dwight was impressed that its prosperous educational academy was regularly sending out scholars to the New England colleges.⁴³

⁴³ Timothy Dwight, *Travels in New England and New York* (New Haven, CT: Dwight, 1821), 2:22.

Figure 7.5: John Warner Barber, Plainfield (1835)



Barber's view, like Dwight's comments, avoids modernity and features a landscape dominated by the Plainfield Academy and the ubiquitous Congregational church. It is a scene of continuity and stability. Well-ordered, rectangular agricultural fields, reminiscent of Alexander's *Ralph Wheelock's Farm*, stand in the foreground. The framing stone walls depict a high degree of social order, and the ancient cemetery suggests permanence and historicity. The view is panoramic in comparison to those of the mill villages, which are featured in relatively restricted terrains, with minimal depths of field.

Such contrasts provide signs of economic and social power, the close connection between art and politics, and the interdependency of a 'republic of taste' and the 'political republic'. Wide landscape views are representative of those with political and economic power, usually men of independent means who are able to fully participate in government. Plainfield's broader vista points to those of high rank and education and capable of producing abstract ideas, as represented by the centrality of

the Plainfield Academy. The more compact and restricted mill village views, on the other hand, represent those with minimal prospects in life.⁴⁴

Barber's woodcut of the Thompson central village, like that of Plainfield, represents a wide prospect. In this case, however, the foreground is the town common or green instead of enclosed agricultural fields (Figure 7.6). An affluent, well-dressed family provides both perspective and social status. Order and prosperity are represented by the church, white picket fences, and planted trees. A turnpike, lined with a wide variety of commercial, public, and residential buildings, provides further visual depth and presents a further image of affluence and permanence, but, as at Plainfield, restricts any view or signs of nearby modernity.

Ellsworth Grant called upon this image of the small centre village to buttress his Rhode Island/Waltham critique of northeastern Connecticut's 'drab and grimy' cotton mill villages, where mill owners packed workers into repetitive rows of housing, exploited child labour, and paid adults minimal wages. In contrast, Grant asserted, by applying the moral and reform traditions of their Puritan ancestors, the Waltham mill owners employed 'intelligent girls from good farm families' and ushered in a 'Golden Age' of widespread prosperity and 'a zenith of development' approaching 'grandeur'. Even so, these factory villages were sadly devoid of 'graceful church spires' and stood in stark contrast to 'the charming village greens in New England'.⁴⁵ This widespread confusion between Rhode Island, Waltham, and traditional villages is the result of an engineered convergence of the three community types, a process that commenced as soon as the first cotton mills entered the landscape.

⁴⁴ John Barrell, 'The Public Prospect and the Private View: The Politics of Taste in Eighteenth Century Britain', in Simon Pugh, ed., *Reading Landscape, County, City, Capital*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990), 19-40.

⁴⁵ Ellsworth. S. Grant, 'Nineteenth Century Factory Villages in Connecticut', *Connecticut Historical Society Bulletin* (35) 1970: 36-39.

Figure 7.6: John Warner Barber, Thompson Green (1835)



Although Barber's view of Thompson indicates antiquity, in 1836 this hill-top community had existed for little more than a generation, having developed after two turnpikes intersected in the town in the early nineteenth century. The pastoral New England centre village did not precede industrialism; it developed in lockstep with it. In his notes accompanying the Thompson view, Barber comments that there were six or seven cotton mills and two or three woollen factories in the town and that Masonville, Thompson's largest textile manufacturing village, was only one and a half miles from the green.⁴⁶

The Thompson village elite, well aware of the increasing number of industrial hamlets encircling their community, organised a village improvement society in 1845. William Chandler, a member of the sample elite, attended one of its lectures and was so enthused that he financed the extensive planting of elm, maple, and ash trees bordering the town green. Shortly thereafter on the south side of the green, Thompson

⁴⁶ Barber, *Historical Collections of Connecticut*, 441–42.

mill owner William H. Mason built a Gothic Revival house seemingly lifted straight from the pages of Andrew Jackson Downing's *Cottage Residences* (1842), the book credited with launching village improvement societies and the back to nature movement (Figure 7.7). Within a generation many more trees lined Thompson's green.⁴⁷

Rural village beautification was a passion for Donald G. Mitchell (1822–1908). This writer of romantic rural essays, agronomist, arbourist, landscape designer, and early ecologist was born and raised in industrialising eastern Connecticut. He had connections with two members of the sample elite, being a

classmate and close friend of William Swift, the son of Windham cotton mill owner Justin Swift. Mitchell published a series of influential books on the charms of country life, wrote of rural escapes in *Harpers*, developed New Haven's Edgewood Park, and influenced the City Beautiful Movement. He was also a judge of industrial art at the Centennial Exposition of 1876 and a United States Commissioner to the Paris Exposition of 1878. No one was more qualified to ascertain a landscape, and particularly the rural and industrial communities of his youth that were located upon it. He considered the small, rural New England villages terrible places. Writing in the 1870s he noted their dreary landscapes and complained of their 'detestably narrow and muddy streets' and the 'wild common over which the November winds swept'.⁴⁸

⁴⁷ Bayles, *Windham County*, 708.

⁴⁸ Waldo. H. Dunn, *The Life of Donald G. Mitchell: Ike Marvel* (New York: Scribners, 1922); *Willimantic Journal*, 14 April 1905.

Figure 7.7: William Mason House, built c. 1845, Thompson Green (2002)



Mitchell's 'wild commons' were more common than Grant's 'charming village greens'. The traditional New England village was the result of cultural and memory work undertaken during the first quarter of the nineteenth century. In response to regional decline caused by Western migration, Revolutionary republican politics, the War of 1812, increasing industrialisation, and the collapse of the Federalist Party, New England simply reinvented itself in the image of its small towns. Two influential Connecticut Federalists, Timothy Dwight, the president of Yale, and Jedidiah Morse, 'the father of American geography' inspired a legion of New England writers and artists to imagine the Northeast as a distinctive and representative 'American' place based upon Puritan values, material and spiritual wealth, republican politics, but above all, small, pastoral communities established, as Dwight asserted, in the English 'village manner'.⁴⁹ This idealistic image long dominated the study of early American

⁴⁹ Joseph S. Wood, 'Village and Community in Early Colonial New England', *Journal of Historical Geography* 8 (1982): 334–46; 'Build Therefore, Your Own World: The New England Village as

history, culminating in a theory of 'declension', which argued that communitarian town life disappeared as soon as modernity intruded and explained how quiet, orderly villages founded by God-fearing Puritans had declined into grasping, acquisitive Yankee towns.⁵⁰

The imagined community of the peaceful New England village was responsible for further institutionalising the Rhode Island/Waltham dichotomy into the academic canon. A study of Samuel Slater, the founder of the American textile industry and the maligned Rhode Island system, explained that the predominance of the Waltham system resulted from Slater's traditionalist, antimodern outlook, which resulted in his small manufacturing villages being based upon 'the traditional New England village'.⁵¹ Slater was an immigrant English mechanic, and from his limited American experiences, he would have had little understanding of what traditional New England village life actually was. Moreover, the small, 'traditional' seventeenth century New England town, based upon English manorial open and enclosed field principles, consisted of numerous small, primitive communities without church or meetinghouse, which were widely dispersed across expansive geographical townships. And rather than being communal, or 'traditional', they have been more recently interpreted as being hierarchical, commercial, and contentious places.⁵²

Settlement Ideal', *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 81 (1991): 32–50; Stephen Nissenbaum, 'New England as Region and Nation', in Edward L. Ayers et al., *All Over the Map: Rethinking American Regions* (Baltimore, MD: John Hopkins University Press, 1996), 38–61; Joseph A. Conforti, *Imagining New England* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2001).

⁵⁰ Perry Miller, *The New England Mind: From Colony to Province* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1953); Kenneth A. Lockridge, *A New England Town: The First Hundred Years; Dedham, Massachusetts, 1636–1736* (New York, Norton, 1970).

⁵¹ Barbara Tucker, *Samuel Slater and the Origins of the American Textile Industry, 1790–1860* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1984), 123–24.

⁵² Martin J. Bowden, 'Culture and Place: English Sub-Cultural Regions in New England in the Seventeenth Century', *Connecticut History* 35 (1994): 68–146; Stephen Innes, *Creating the Commonwealth: The Economic Culture of Puritan New England* (New York: Norton, 1995); John F. Martin, *Profits in the Wilderness: Entrepreneurship and the Founding of New England Towns in the Seventeenth Century* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991).

Alexander and Barber's antebellum representations mask any indications of social stratification and competition as they amalgamate the images of the traditional centre village and the early modern mill village. Northeastern Connecticut's *ancien regime*, its older agrarian elite, decorated and rebuilt centre villages as bulwarks against modernity and as seats of cultural and political power. Simultaneously, northeastern Connecticut's absentee industrial elite cloaked modernity in the imagery of the centre village as they expanded production, a process that extended well into the second half of the century.

In 1859 two wealthy merchants from Norwich, Connecticut, Henry Norton and Lorenzo Blackstone organised the Attawaugan Cotton Company at Killingly and built a Rhode Island-style mill and village of the type supposedly eclipsed by the Waltham system. In 1863 it was reported that the company had banned its employees from consuming alcohol and had ordered all families living in Attawaugan to strictly observe the Sabbath.⁵³ The closely controlled community was described in 1867:

Attawaugan is beyond question one of the neatest, most quiet, orderly and moral factory villages in New England. If any suppose that mill life necessarily dwarfs the intellect or blunts moral perceptions, an acquaintance with the operatives of this village will undeceive them. The present village consists of 33 tenements, mostly new, and with the neat picket fences enclosing them are as white as paint can make them. The yards and streets are unscrupulously clean, giving the place an inviting appearance, as unusual as commendable.⁵⁴

Village greens and church spires lurked in the subconscious mind of the writer who penned those observations. They were certainly in the mind of Ellen Larned when she noted that Willimantic's modernities had shorn the Windham Green centre village of its 'ancient honours' and prosperity. Nevertheless, by 1876 she considered it to be 'a well preserved and attractive village, a pleasant home for public-spirited citizens, and a favourite summer resort for many of its wandering children who enjoy its pure air and historic associations'.⁵⁵ The centre villages became imagined receptacles for history

⁵³ *Windham Transcript*, 17 May 1860; 23 October 1863.

⁵⁴ *Windham Transcript*, 21 November 1867.

⁵⁵ Larned, *Windham County*, 2:569.

and memory, *des lieux des memoires*. More concrete receptacles of history and memory appeared in the region as the pace of industrialisation increased in the second half of the nineteenth century.

Parks, Cemeteries and Campgrounds

In exploring the disparities in employment structures across regions, Doreen Massey stresses how differing economic spaces are the product of an economy's intersecting social relations, and how they influence the way in which we conceptualise individual places. Such an approach clearly reveals geographies of power, and exposes the symbols and significations that underpin social relations.⁵⁶ The Rhode-Island Waltham theoretical dichotomy of American industrial development provides an ideal example of how Windham County's five major industrial towns have been symbolically marginalised.

Whilst dismissing northeastern Connecticut's milltowns as unmodern and anachronistic, this binary overlooks the region's diverse spaces and subtle gradations of symbolic power. For example, the fact that much of the textile industry upon which the five towns in this study relied upon was absentee-owned, explains how private action often usurped the actions of local government. The boroughs and town councils were limited in power because a great deal of day-to-day fiscal control lay with extra-local conglomerates. This greatly empowered local elites who bypassed the political system, and exploited the symbolic, spiritual, memorial and spatial aspects of community life, as expressed in parks, cemeteries, and religious campgrounds, in order to gird their power base.

In 1867 a letter in the *Willimantic Journal* complained that the only place to walk in Willimantic was along treeless streets without sidewalks. The writer suggested that the borough authorities should provide a park or a common that would not only afford a 'nice place for a quite stroll' for the wives and children of local mechanics, but

⁵⁶ Massey, *Divisions of Labour*, 3.

also greatly add to the village's appearance.⁵⁷ The borough burgesses remained silent on the subject, and no one broached it again until 1872 when the will of Thomas W. Cunningham, a member of the sample elite, proposed that if the borough burgesses agreed to develop 10 acres of his land as a public park, he would reduce its \$10,000 asking price by \$1,000. Shortly afterwards another member of the local elite, farmer Charles Young, offered eight acres of his farmland for a park free-of-charge on the condition that the borough agreed to build streets and a bridge to connect it to Willimantic's commercial centre. The borough authorities welcomed both offers, and formed a parks committee to prepare a report.⁵⁸

The 'park question' sparked off a keen local debate regarding whether the borough should acquire both lots, just one, or reject them both. The local newspaper saw no necessity in making a great outlay for a park when 'a five minute drive in any direction will take us out to as much rural scenery and simplicity as the most ardent lover of nature could desire'. Nevertheless, because of rising land and property prices fired by the imminent arrival of the New York-Boston Air Line railroad, it urged the borough to acquire both lots and to develop Cunningham's more centrally located parcel as a public square.⁵⁹ However, the proposals had many opponents:

In this place we need no park. Who is going to benefit by it, or occupy it? Our population is not large enough to demand it, nor is country air inaccessible. We need other things much more for the prosperity of our village. What! Lay out money for a park when the town does not have a building to call its own, but the poorhouse, and where the town and borough meetings are held in the vestry of a church. If we are going to put on city airs, let us begin at the rudiments.⁶⁰

The parks committee reported its findings at a specially convened borough meeting and suggested that Willimantic should accept both proposals. However, local

⁵⁷ *Willimantic Journal*, 17 January 1867.

⁵⁸ Windham Probate Records, 23:226; *Willimantic Journal*, 27 September 1872.

⁵⁹ *Willimantic Journal*, 1 November 1872.

⁶⁰ *Willimantic Journal*, 29 November 1872.

taxpayers firmly rejected its recommendations.⁶¹ Shortly afterwards Willimantic's lack of 'decent sidewalks, public squares, parks, fountains, shade trees and pure water' was not blamed upon the burgesses or conservative taxpayers, but on the fact that the borough's major manufacturers were absentee owners: 'It is a curse to our borough that so very few of our heavy manufacturers live among us. If they did we would have all these public improvements and many more'.⁶²

In 1883 William Barrows, the paternalistic superintendent of one of the absentee Willimantic mill owners, the New York City and Manchester, England-owned Willimantic Linen Company, built a park and fairgrounds on 200 acres of company land on the borough's outskirts, replete with a baseball diamond, grandstand, and trotting track. Barrows provided it free of charge to the Willimantic Agricultural Association to hold an annual country fair in order to build better relationships with local farmers who supplied produce to the company store. Again, private action filled the gap left by the inability of local government to provide an urban park. Even so, Barrows' efforts were not fully appreciated in Willimantic: 'The general opinion about here is that Barrows has spent more money for beauty than for practicability . . . and we think the Linen company needs a manager less revolutionary in his ideas'.⁶³

Killingly's John Quincy Adams Stone, the *Windham Transcript* newspaper's owner and editor had observed the Willimantic public park debate with interest. He strongly criticised Willimantic's failure to develop an urban park. In his opinion, they were 'one of the inevitable necessities of the age' and no place with more than 1,000 inhabitants could afford to be without one.⁶⁴ However, Stone's repeated editorials calling upon businessmen and the Danielsonville borough burgesses to donate land

⁶¹ *Willimantic Journal*, 22 December 1872.

⁶² *Willimantic Journal*, 26 September 1873.

⁶³ *Willimantic Chronicle*, 3 October, 10 October 1883; Barrows' 'revolutionary ideas' came to the attention of Chicago railway car manufacturer George Pullman, and in 1883 he hired Barrows to take charge of developing his company town at Pullman, Illinois.

⁶⁴ *Windham Transcript*, 19 December 1872.

for a park were fruitless. Even the manufacturers refused to provide a park. However, the patriotism generated by the centennial celebrations of 1876 provided a way forward.

The wives of Killingly's leading citizens met in the vestry of the Westfield Congregational Church in June 1876, and organised a Civil War monument association. They raised \$3,000, secured a site at the intersection of Danielsonville's major thoroughfares, and purchased a granite and bronze monument, which was dedicated on site on Memorial Day 1880.⁶⁵ Stone vigorously campaigned for a park to be located around the statue of the Union soldier, but it was not until 1889 that Edwin W. Davis, a Killingly born Iowa-based banker purchased a two-acre plot encircling the statue, and awarded it to the town on the proviso it was named in honour of his late parents. The local elite formed the Davis Park Association in 1890, planted trees, built a bandstand provided seats, laid paths and installed a fountain on the site.⁶⁶

Davis Park became a favourite venue for concerts and meetings, but it was located in Danielsonville's most elite space, surrounded by ostentatious Victorian mansions. Once more, private action had achieved what town government could not. The development of similar symbolic, memorial spaces in the region's most urbanised areas repeated the process wherein local government intransigence provided repeated opportunities for private action in the creation and development of symbolic, pastoral spaces of power.

In representing a community's most conservative traits, cemeteries, or 'gravespaces', offer insights into conflicts and tensions between social groups and symbolically reflect which cultural aspects a society retains and which are transformed. With the metamorphic landscaping of burial grounds into picturesque parks, cemeteries became recyclable places of memory, a process that not only coincided with urban growth, but also with major economic downturns in 1857 and

⁶⁵ *Windham Transcript*, 3 June 1880.

⁶⁶ CBR, 72, 165.

1877. Similarly, the sudden appearance of camp meeting grounds in the region can be attributed to conservative cultural impulses emanating from a religious revival sparked by an economic recession at midcentury.⁶⁷ Local elites played a pivotal role in landscaping cemeteries and establishing religious campgrounds in the region's most densely populated urban and industrial areas.

America's original burial grounds were typically located in churchyards in the centres of towns, but disease and urban overcrowding led to the establishment of cemeteries outside city limits. The first in America was built at a rural location on the outskirts of New Haven, Connecticut, in 1794/95 following an outbreak of yellow fever in the city. The burial plots were located in a grid fashion, reflecting the pattern of city streets. However, this utilitarian design was abandoned with the arrival of the cemetery park movement. Landscaped cemeteries, inspired by English Picturesque design, were a response to rapid urban and industrial growth and reflected the cultural values of an expanding urban middle class based upon families, the church, history, philanthropy, and volunteer associations. The first rural cemetery, Mount Auburn, was built at Boston in 1831, four miles west of the city. Throughout the nineteenth century these *lieux de mémoire*, referred to as 'museums of memories', 'gardens of graves', and 'cities of the dead', were established in every major urban area, where they represented and reproduced meaning within the industrial landscape.⁶⁸

Reflecting these national trends, Windham County's antebellum burial grounds took on a new lease of life. The development of the Willimantic cemetery

⁶⁷ Richard E. Meyer, ed., *Cemeteries and Gravemarkers: Voices of American Culture* (Logan, UT: Utah State University Press, 1992); Richard V. Francaviglia, 'The Cemetery as an Evolving Cultural Landscape', *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*, 61 (1971), 501-09; Daniel Walker Howe, 'The Evangelical Movement and Political Culture in the North during the Second Party System', *Journal of American History* 77 (1991): 1216-29.

⁶⁸ Blanche Linden-Ward, *Silent City on a Hill: Landscapes of Memory and Boston's Mount Auburn Cemetery* (Columbus, OH: Ohio State University, 1989); David Charles Sloane, ed., *The Last Great Necessity: Cemeteries in American History* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995).

from an antebellum burial ground located on the outskirts of the industrial borough into a rural, landscaped postbellum park replete with fountains, lakes and shaded walkways reveals how the local elite embedded hierarchical social relationships in the landscape.

Established in 1829 as a private, two-acre burying plot by the Willimantic school society, the graveyard grew at a rate commensurate with the new borough. Between 1830 and 1860 Windham's overall population increased from 2,182 to 4,261 creating a demand for a larger burial ground. The Windham town selectmen acquired the graveyard from the school society, and in 1858 they voted to enlarge it by 10 acres.⁶⁹

From this point onwards, Greek revival mausoleums, classical monuments, towering brownstone, granite and polished marble obelisks, and immense monoliths capped with ornamental statues, began to dwarf and marginalise traditional rectangular shaped tombstone slabs. Without recourse to biography, the placement, styles and height of these ostentatious grave memorials signposts the local elites, and indicate how they vied with each other for prestigious, posthumous space to commemorate themselves and their social values.

In 1875 the family of the late Willimantic mill owner and 'village magnate', John Tracy, erected a 25-foot tall marble obelisk in the borough cemetery at a cost of \$2,500. Soaring above the other memorials, its size and height drew much comment and admiration.⁷⁰ Tracy began a trend, and similar ornate symbols of power quickly sprouted across the cemetery, and reached further into the heavens than Tracy's impressive cenotaph. These towering and elaborate grave markers clearly illustrate how deceased generations transmitted specific structures of feeling into the present and future.

⁶⁹ Windham Town Records, 9 February 1858, 144.

⁷⁰ *Windham Transcript*, 26 August 1875.

Competition for the best locations became keener, and demanded the cemetery's expansion. The Windham town selectman balked at the idea of funding it, and in 1876 they handed over the Willimantic cemetery to a private association. Following the lead of cemetery boards elsewhere, it charged fees for plots to finance expansion, and to pay for sextons, secretaries, and treasurers. Accordingly, those with the most resources were able to claim the prime locations in the cemetery, on hillocks and next to picturesque landscape features.

The association's three inaugural officers, real estate developer Allen Lincoln and two cotton manufacturers, Horace Hall and Whiting Hayden, were members of the sample elite. In 1877 they set about expanding the milltown's memorial landscape, and purchasing 70 acres of adjacent land for \$8,000 undertook a landscaping project that planted a wide variety of foreign and domestic trees and created curvilinear avenues, an artificial pond, and a granite fountain, further permeating the cemetery with the meanings and symbolism of power, and with pastoral imagery.⁷¹

The new fountain 'flowed on untiringly through the summer, conveying the life of nature within the city of the dead', and the 'many fine monuments and stones showed the appreciation of the dead by the living'. Elites no longer resident in the town, and planning interment elsewhere, were keen to exploit memorial opportunities in this newly landscaped cemetery. In 1880 the association gratefully accepted the donation of an 'elegant and substantial fence' worth \$10,000 from the son of an early Willimantic mill owner, George H. Chase. The association's board members considered it 'a monument to his patriotic affection to his native town, his noble public spirit and princely generosity'.⁷²

Commencing in the early 1880s, modernity impinged on the classical means of commemoration, as granite and marble grave markers gave way to ornately moulded

⁷¹ Windham Town Records, 12 May, 19 July 1877.

⁷² Willimantic City Directory (New Haven, CT: Price and Lee, 1877), 37; *Willimantic Chronicle*, 13 October 1880.

zinc alloy or 'white bronze' shrines. Perhaps as an allegory for the passing of modernity, the gargantuan white bronze monument marking the last resting place of Windham elite Dr. David Card is today collapsing under its own weight, causing it to list as its base cracks and settles.

Card had known that space was at a premium in the cemetery, so he had purchased his prime position at the intersection of two of the cemetery's most picturesque, curvilinear avenues. An aerial view of the Willimantic cemetery reveals its original grid design, and the post-1877 expansion and the romantic-inspired landscaping to the west (Figure 7.8). The nomenclature of the cemetery's walkways and avenues also stress its pastoral ambience, named for trees planted along them, and the curvilinear avenues in the picturesque section, such as Mount Auburn Avenue and Greenwood Avenue, were named for the nation's most acclaimed rural cemeteries.⁷³

The local elites crystallized history and meaning in the cemetery 'memory parks', utilising religion and pastoralism to sustain their social position. This landscape of commemoration was memory work at its most effective, addressing the structure of power in society at every level. Beneath its rustic veneer, the cemetery was a highly contested arena. In this microcosm of social stratification, fenced plots spatially separated the cemetery residents, and social status was identified not only by the shape and by size of the monuments, but also by the amount of biographical information carved upon them.⁷⁴

⁷³ Windham Town Records, Willimantic Cemetery Plat Book (1878).

⁷⁴ John R. Gillis, 'Memory and Identity: The History of a Relationship', in J. R. Gillis, ed., *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996), 4.

Figure 7.8: Aerial View, Willimantic Cemetery, 2002



The commencement of landscaping and the building of monuments in the cemeteries coincided with the economic downturns of 1857 and 1877 respectively, simultaneously representing and reflecting a longing for a pastoral past and the commemoration of those landowners who had lived in those simpler times. These economic crises also brought religion and rurality to the milltowns, but in a different form: that of the revivalist camp meeting ground.

In response to the increasing secularism and commercialism of the late eighteenth century, a nationwide religious revival commonly referred to as the Second Great Awakening sparked a renewed interest in spiritual conversion. Commencing in New England in the 1790s, it was distinguished by a wave of social activism and reformism that culminated in Methodist and Baptist missionary societies organizing

circuit riders to evangelise and educate populations in remote regions.⁷⁵ When the circuit riders reached the Appalachians in 1800, they introduced a new form of religious expression: meeting encampments, where potential convertees underwent intense spiritual exercises over several days. During the 1830s, Connecticut-born Presbyterian preacher and educator Charles Grandison Finney (1792–1875) introduced this ethos to New England's urbanising centres in the form of 'protracted meetings'. Lasting two to three weeks, and conducted but once a year in order not to disrupt commercial and industrial life, these meetings became established in northeastern Connecticut during the 1850s.

The duration of the Second Great Awakening and its impact on modernising nineteenth-century America has generated a great deal of scholarship and a number of conflicting interpretations.⁷⁶ The evidence emerging from the establishment of Methodist, Baptist, and Spiritualist camp meeting grounds in northeastern Connecticut, whilst revealing evangelicalism's grass roots appeal, also suggests that local elites were 'didactic would be civilisers' practising bourgeois social control.⁷⁷

The elite involvement in these meeting grounds suggests that this particular aspect of revivalism was not the result of democratic, pluralistic impulses. Sparked by the serious economic downturn of 1857, urban revivalism introduced the camp meeting ethos in northeastern Connecticut, a region with evangelical roots that long predated industrialism. Between 1857 and 1860, in a revival described as 'revivalism without social reform' that favoured businessmen, America's Protestant churches won

⁷⁵ Timothy L. Smith, *Revivalism and Social Reform in Mid-Nineteenth Century America* (New York: Harper and Row, 1957).

⁷⁶ Charles C. Cole Jr., *The Social Ideas of the Northern Evangelists, 1820–1860* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1954); Nathan O. Hatch, *The Democratization of American Christianity* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991); Donald G. Matthews, 'The Second Great Awakening as an Organizing Process, 1780–1830', *American Quarterly* 21 (1969): 23–43; George M. Thomas, *Revivalism and Cultural Change: Christianity, Nation Building, and the Market in the Nineteenth-Century United States* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989).

⁷⁷ Kathryn Teresa Long, *The Revival of 1857–58: Interpreting an American Religious Awakening* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 11.

500,000 new members.⁷⁸ The campgrounds built by the northeastern Connecticut elite coincided with this new strand of evangelicalism, suggesting that it was part of a wider hegemonic process to preserve their political and cultural power.

The arrival of George Roberts, a Welsh-born Methodist, at Thompson in 1795 led to the conversion of a significant number of the town's leading families, including that of Jonathan Nichols, who had organised the building of the Hartford and Providence turnpike through Thompson and was the town's largest landowner. Shortly after his conversion, Nichols and his sons organised a team of circuit riders, and on 19 September 1796, Connecticut's inaugural Methodist Conference was held at the Nichols' home. Nichols' grandson Schuyler Nichols and great-grandson George Harrison Nichols, two of the sample elite, were also prominent Methodists in the town, and Nichols' granddaughter Emeline Nichols married the Reverend Hezekiah Ramsdell, also a member of the sample elite, and a leading circuit rider who preached in the West. However, the appearance of manufacturing hamlets in town meant that Ramsdell's evangelical efforts were needed closer to home.

Thompson's first two mills and villages, Masonville and Reedsville were organised in 1811 around the 'Swamp Factory and the 'Brick Factory'. In 1814 the *Baptist Magazine* noted that much good work had been carried out at the Swamp Factory Village, where Satan reigned with 'sovereign and despotic sway'. Vice and immorality were rife, and every night the violin and dancing were preludes to 'greater scenes of revelry'.⁷⁹ Bayles noted Thompson's evangelising spirit, and how it found a 'willing constituency in the neglected valleys where population had slowly gathered around the mill sites'.⁸⁰ The Brick Factory at Reedsville was close to Ramsdell's home, and during the 1830s he went into the village, organised a schoolhouse, and instructed the mill workers' families how to grow flowers and fruit.⁸¹

⁷⁸ Thomas, *Revivalism and Cultural Change*, 37.

⁷⁹ Quoted in Larned, *Windham County*, 2:441.

⁸⁰ Bayles, *Windham County*, 681.

⁸¹ Bayles, *Windham County*, 695.

In 1854, Ramsdell introduced the revivalist camp meeting to northeastern Connecticut at a cramped location adjacent to the Norwich and Worcester Railroad and Quinebaug River. Three years later, the national financial and banking collapse devastated the region's textile industry, and thousands of unemployed mill workers flooded into the Reverend Ramsdell's campground, arriving on special trains from the adjacent mill villages at Thompson, Plainfield, and Putnam. Because of the overcrowded and unsanitary conditions at Danielsonville and the lack of opportunity to expand, in 1859 Ramsdell relocated the campground to Willimantic. In 1860 the Willimantic Methodist Campground Association was established on a hill one mile south of the industrial borough. Donated by Lyman Jordan, the 30-acre site had freshwater springs and was in close proximity to railroads.⁸²

There the evangelical spirit underwent a subtle metamorphosis as its appeal extended beyond unemployed mill workers to embrace the respectable classes.⁸³ Writing in 1919, Lyman Jordan's son, Reverend Dwight Jordan, recalled that shortly after the camp meeting was organised, the 'old type' of meeting quickly faded away:

There was a time when there was two complete circles of society tents and a partially filled third circle, but private cottages began to be built; the people who had before lived in common in the tents through the whole of the week as one happy family, the men sleeping at night in one division of the tent and the women in another, now began to separate into little cottages of their own, and the old time community spirit died away.⁸⁴

By the 1870s a distaste for primitive living conditions and the allure of the pastoral led to the erection of private cottages in place of communal tents. In reconstructing a comforting small town pre-modern milieu on the outskirts of Willimantic, the region's most industrialised and urbanised place, local elites

⁸² CBR, 193; Larned, *Windham County*, 2: 567; Bayles, *Windham County*, 695; Arnold, *The Making of Danielson*, 106.

⁸³ Two of the Windham sample elite, farmer Elias Palmer Brown, who later sold part of his farm for the Willimantic cemetery extension, and English born merchant, Thomas Turner, an early developer of upper class housing in Willimantic's 'hill district', played significant roles in the formation of the Willimantic campground. CBR, 1,263; Lincoln, *Windham County*, 1:567.

⁸⁴ Lincoln, *Windham County*, 1: 572.

competed with each other to build the most ostentatious cottages. Rather than challenging the status quo, postbellum evangelicals responded to modernity by identifying more with capitalist markets and the dominant political culture. The design and spatial layout of the campgrounds they organised, like those of the cemeteries, reflected aspects of power, class, and social position. An application of Foucaultian power theory to campground design suggests that the proximity of cabins and their spacious doors and windows encouraged the act of looking, so that the gaze operated to maintain existing social hierarchies and establish new ones. The position of cottages in relation to the centrally located tabernacle provided preachers with clear 'lines of vision' to view the congregation, the cottages, and the tents.⁸⁵

The religious spirit instigated by the new urban revival was intensified by the serious economic downturn of 1877, and consequently the Willimantic Methodist Campground expanded greatly. By 1881 the association had added a tabernacle, a dining hall, and a boarding house. That year a visitor counted 275 cottages and tents, and more than 5,000 people a day visited the grounds during the meeting. Beyond its spiritual appeal the place had a pastoral setting as attractive as any New England village or rural cemetery:

The reason why the Willimantic Campground is popular as a resort is evident. Its high location, commanding a clear view of the lively borough of Willimantic and the surrounding hills, the cool breezes from the winding river below, its perfect quiet and freedom from all disturbance, and, more than all, the comfortable, tasty cottages so cosily sheltered by the broad branches of the large chestnut grove.⁸⁶

Willimantic's annual camp meetings continued to grow in popularity throughout the 1880s, resulting in the building of many more 'tasty cottages'. This surge in activity reflected urban and industrial growth not only in nearby Willimantic, but across northeastern Connecticut. The campground provided a temporary antidote

⁸⁵ Anna Vemer Andrzejewski, 'The Gazes of Hierarchy at Religious Camp Meetings, 1850–1925, in Sally McMurry and Annmarie Adams, eds., *People, Power, Places: Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture* (Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press, 2000), 138–57.

⁸⁶ *Willimantic Chronicle*, 26 August 1881.

for and escape from encroaching modernity, where urban-based individuals recover their spirituality in a conveniently placed rural wilderness. The Willimantic Campground Association's 1887 report noted that several prominent preachers believed that the year's gathering had excelled in spirituality and conversions, surpassing even the great camp meetings west of the Allegheny Mountains.⁸⁷

Spiritualists in Windham were well aware of the impact of the Willimantic Methodist campground. Windham's George Washington Burnham had founded the Connecticut Spiritualist Association in 1857, the same year as the national financial panic, and the movement was influential amongst Windham's leading citizens. Religious affiliation was traced for 67 percent of the entire 310 elite samples, and of those, 14 (seven percent) were Spiritualists, ten of whom were members of the Windham elite.⁸⁸ In 1869 this elite group financed the building of a Spiritualist church, Excelsior Hall, in downtown Willimantic, and famed abolitionist and equal rights activist, Plainfield born and educated Charles C. Burleigh, preached the dedicatory ceremony.

Burnham and his associates planned to build a campground at Willimantic in order to avoid the long journey to the New England Spiritualist Camp Meeting Association grounds at Montague, Massachusetts, but by the late 1870s the Willimantic association had declined in numbers as 'wealthy and influential members' passed away or moved on.⁸⁹ Instead, in 1881 the Windham elite extensively invested in a campground built by Connecticut's Spiritualists at Niantic, 30 miles south of Windham in a secluded cove on the Long Island Sound.⁹⁰

⁸⁷ Bayles, *Windham County*, 340.

⁸⁸ The majority were involved in temperance, antislavery, and other reform movements. Lucian H. Clark, for example, was a staunch abolitionist who financed Frederic Douglass' antislavery lecture at Willimantic in 1863. *Willimantic Journal*, 6 March 1863.

⁸⁹ *Willimantic Enterprise*, 19 August 1879.

⁹⁰ CBR, 750; *Willimantic Journal*, 14 January 1907; Lincoln, *Windham County*, 1:661-66.

A Willimantic building firm won contracts to build cottages at the new campground, including one for local merchant Amos W. Bill. In May 1885 credit reporters cautioned those trading with Bill that he had financial problems and was neglecting his business by spending far too much time at the Spiritualist campground at Niantic.⁹¹ James Hayden, who had inherited his father's cotton manufacturing fortune, had no such financial restrictions. He was the treasurer of the Connecticut Spiritualist Association and owned 51 lots and a cottage at the camp.⁹²

Money was also not a problem for Putnam's cotton mill magnate, George Milton Morse, a passionate Baptist. Morse was a nationally known figure in Baptist circles and the president of the National Camp Meeting Association for the Promotion of Holiness. Although formed by Methodists in 1867, the association embraced Baptists and other Protestant sects who believed in the transforming power of grace within pastoral settings.⁹³ However, there was neither sufficient space nor a beautiful enough location to build a Baptist campground in his milltown, so in 1875 Morse developed a site located fifteen miles north of Putnam on the banks of picturesque Lake Manchaug in Douglass, Massachusetts. Thanks to Morse, the Baptist campground's sixth annual meeting in 1881 was considered a great success:

The ground on which the meeting was held is owned by George Morse of Putnam; and has been run for six years at his expense; costing thousands of dollars for buildings and fitting up the ground. This year, for the first time, a collection was taken at the request of Rev. Mr. Macdonald, of Philadelphia, saying it was too much for one man to bear all the expense.⁹⁴

Emerging from the establishment of urban revivalism in the 1850s and fed by northeastern Connecticut's long tradition of revivalism, the rural cemeteries developed in the milltowns, along with the Methodist, Spiritualist, and Baptist campgrounds represented effective nineteenth-century 'memory work'. Examples of constructed

⁹¹ *Willimantic Chronicle*, 10 August 1881; *RGD*, 2: 455, 518, 633; Windham Probate Records, 26:541; *Willimantic Chronicle*, 18 November 1892.

⁹² Windham Probate Records, 29:57.

⁹³ *Putnam Patriot*, 21 February 1913.

⁹⁴ *Willimantic Chronicle*, 17 August 1881.

concepts of place recycled in popular culture, their pastoral settings masked their social meaning and didactic intent. Early American impressionist art further relayed this structure of feeling in northeastern Connecticut by hiding the worst aspects of milltowns under a rustic, premodern cloak.

Modern Yet Curiously Medieval

A number of scholars of American studies suggest that American art resisted all cultural aspects of modernism. Michael Leja, however, concerned that postmodernism has marginalized considerations of modernist art as an analytical tool, argues that closer historical study of the genre's early history in America provides an antidote to the 'binarization of the past'. In exploring changes brought about by modernism, Leja traced its connections to traditional, academic art and to social experience. He argues that the first manifestation of modernist art in America was 'distorted' rather than resisted. In the fear that it would promote social fragmentation, it was initially watered down as part of a complex process by which Americans selectively appropriated and reconstituted European modernisms.⁹⁵

The impressionist imagery produced by renowned American artist Julian Alden Weir (1852–1919) supports Leja's theory. In his work, Weir produced a series of paintings depicting industrial Willimantic in the 1890s, and firmly placed the machine in Windham County's garden with a minimum of social disruption. However, despite Weir's international reputation as one of the founders of American impressionist art, these striking images have been widely overlooked, partly because the Rhode Island/Waltham dichotomy has pigeonholed and dismissed northeastern Connecticut as a parochial and local place. Nevertheless, by resurrecting Willimantic as *lieu*, and linking it with Weir's rural-industrial *paysage* it becomes possible to articulate and

⁹⁵ George Cotkin, *Reluctant Modernism: American Thought and Culture, 1880–1900* (Boston, MA: Twayne Publishers, 1992); Kathleen Pyne, 'Resisting Modernism: American Paintings in the Culture of Conflict', in Thomas W. Gaehtgens and Heinz Ickstadt, eds., *American Icons: Transatlantic Perspectives on Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century American Art* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1992); Michael Leja, 'Modernism's Subjects in the United States', *Art Journal* 55 (1996): 65–73.

interpret, as Yi Fu Tuan asserts, the subtle human experiences embedded therein that reshape history and memory.⁹⁶

Whilst artist Francis Alexander had been born into the Windham County elite, Julian Weir married into it. He was born in New York City, the son of Robert Weir, an influential member of the Hudson River School, and at age 21 he was sent to study art in France. Upon returning to the United States, Julian was invited to meet his father's friend, Windham's Captain Charles Taintor Baker (1820–81), a military tactics instructor at the West Point Military Academy during Robert Weir's tenure there as art instructor. After Julian married Captain Baker's daughter Anna Dwight Baker in 1883, his mother-in-law, Anna B. Baker, a member of the sample elite, invited the couple to make the Baker estates at Windham their summer home. Anna Dwight Baker died in childbirth in 1892, but Weir later married her sister Ella Baker and continued to spend summers in Windham. There, Weir produced some of his most acclaimed works. The nuances of Windham's summer colour and light were considered essential to his landscape art, and during Weir's 37 summers at Windham he produced an extensive catalogue of local landscapes and portraiture considered to be amongst the best of early American modern art.⁹⁷

Weir had studied at the National Academy of Design in New York City and then at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts in Paris, where he had fallen under the spell of Edouard Manet and Camille Pissarro. He ultimately became a member of the 'American Ten', a group of impressionist artists who rejected the formalism and conservatism of American art. They resigned en masse from the Society of American Artists in 1898 and set up an independent exhibiting organisation through which Weir widely exhibited his industrial and rural landscapes of Windham County, which bear more than a passing resemblance to Pissarro's impressionistic depictions of small industrial towns and rural workers. Weir's subject matter was also influenced by the

⁹⁶ Yi Fu Tuan, *Space and Place*, 6-7.

⁹⁷ Hildegard Cummings, 'J. Alden Weir and the Spirit of Place', in Hildegard Cummings et al., *J. Alden Weir: A Place of his Own* (Storrs, CT: William Benton Museum of Art, 1991), 17.

fact that his brother, John F. Weir, was a renowned painter of impressionistic industrial scenes.⁹⁸

Julian Alden Weir, who came of age during America's rapid urbanisation and industrialisation, was a proponent of the back-to-nature movement. His painting combined complex urban and rural scenes that provided a link between the classic portraiture and landscapes of the early republic and the realist, modernist, urban painters of the Ashcan School. However, unlike the Ashcan artists, who portrayed more sordid views of urban life, Weir's subtle gradations of light and tone merged the urban and the natural themes to produce a unique, modernist view of industrial life that did not dissolve shape and form in complex brush strokes as the French impressionists did. As the views of Willimantic attest, American impressionism combined solid shapes and forms and structured composition with an impressionistic colour and light that disguised the negative impacts of modernity.

When Weir arrived in Windham, he discovered at Willimantic a duplicate of France's rural and industrial landscape. The Greek Revival and Romanesque style of Willimantic's cotton mills particularly impressed him. His biographer contends that 'of the landscapes done in his impressionist period, Weir's series of Willimantic paintings are among the most accomplished'.⁹⁹ Weir's daughter remembered her father loading up the wagon with canvas and painting equipment to make the three-mile trip from Windham to Willimantic. 'Pa loved those mills'.¹⁰⁰ It was a fondness that in its skilful synthesis of the traditional and modern reflected Francis Alexander's treatment of the landscape three generations earlier.

Weir's representation of Willimantic's most potent industrial symbol, the giant chimney or smokestack, varies from painting to painting. In *U.S. Thread Company Mills*,

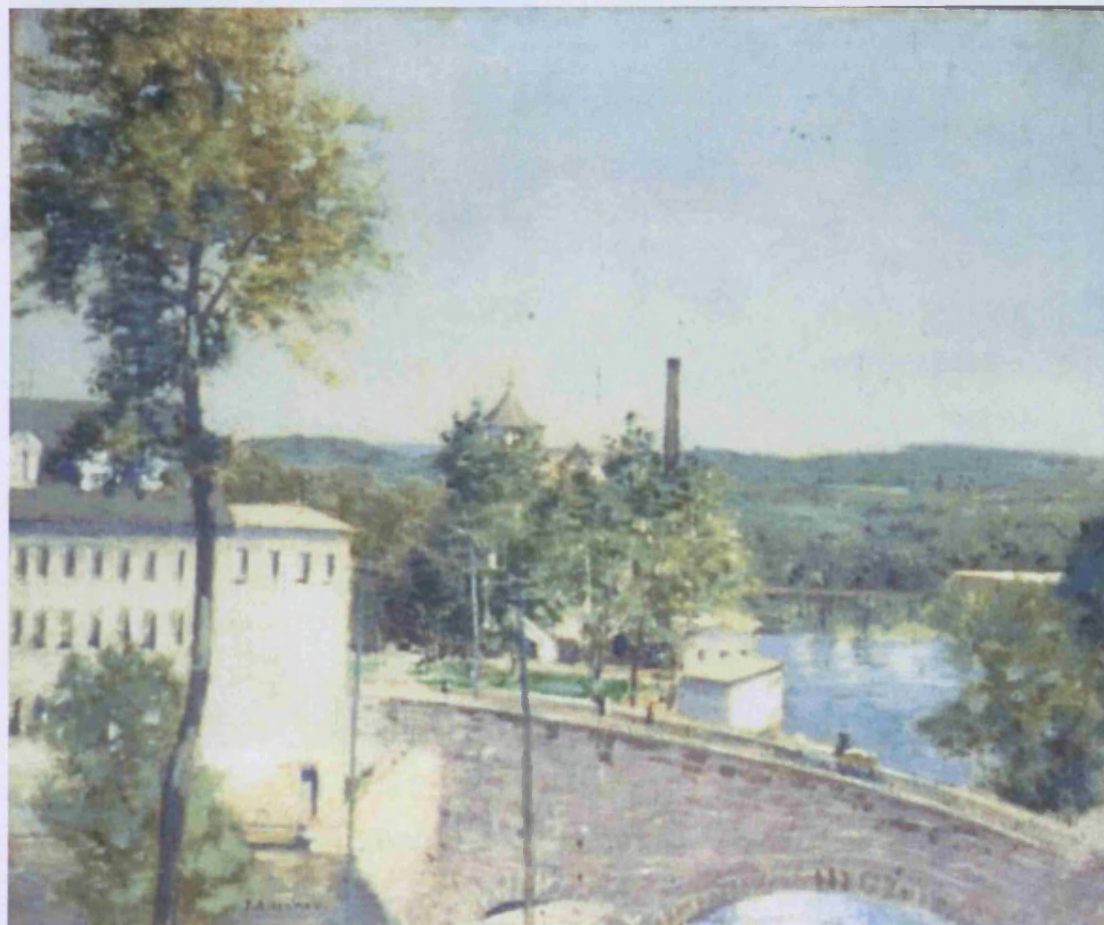
⁹⁸ Betsy Fahlman, 'John F. Weir: Painters of Romantic and Industrial Icons', *Archives of American Art Journal* 20 (1980), 2-9.

⁹⁹ Doreen B. Burke, *J. Alden Weir: an American Impressionist* (Newark, DE: University of Delaware Press, 1983), 217.

¹⁰⁰ Cummings, 'J. Alden Weir and the Spirit of Place', 34.

Willimantic, Connecticut ca. 1893 (Figure 7.9) it balances the mill's gothic-style tower to its left. Viewed from the west, the tower emerges from the treetops, complementing the medieval-style curving stone arch bridge beneath it. The painting draws heavily upon both the work of fellow American impressionist Theodore Robinson and Japanese prints, influences evident in the scene's vertical composition, linear emphasis, and decorative patterning of the leaves against the sky.

Figure 7.9: Julian Alden Weir, *U.S. Thread Company Mills, Willimantic, Connecticut* (c. 1893)



The chimney reappears in Weir's *Willimantic Thread Factory* c.1894 (Figure 7.10), but in this painting it is virtually absorbed by the background townscape, and its top can just be detected emerging from the skyline to the left of the church spire. Painting the mill from the south, Weir also melded the mill's gothic tower into the townscape.

Viewed across an expansive grassy meadow, the mill and the milltown appear almost as an afterthought. The grey of the mill's granite stone stands in stark contrast to the green of the meadow and gives the mill building an almost medieval castlelike appearance, whilst the roof's dormer windows take on the appearance of battlements. To increase the impact of the illusion, Weir painted out the New London Northern Railroad, which actually crosses the centre of the meadow.

Figure 7.10: Julian Alden Weir, *Willimantic Thread Factory* (c. 1894)



Theodore Robinson, Weir's fellow impressionist and friend, was alive to the medieval connotation in his friend's industrial scenes, and he described Weir's acclaimed 1894 composition, *The Factory Village* (Figure 7.11) as 'modern yet curiously medieval'.¹⁰¹ It is also a highly pastoral image. Tree branches obscure the tall chimney

¹⁰¹ Helen K. Fusscas, 'The Mystery of a New Path: The Art of J. Alden Weir', in Hildegard Cummings et al., *J. Alden Weir: A Place of his Own* (Storrs, CT: William Benton Museum of Art, 1991), 40.

top, which takes on the appearance of a tree trunk. The mill at the centre of the picture resembles those captured in John Warner Barber's 1836 woodcuts and takes on the appearance of a meetinghouse, schoolhouse, or small church. To complete this comforting small-town image, Weir depicts the houses of the local elite looking down from the distant hill over a reassuring scene in the valley. In her analysis of the picture, Helen Fusscas notes how 'subtle distortions' abstractly symbolise Weir's intent. The 'dominating verticals' in the scene are a smoking chimney, a mill tower, and a tree. 'By equating the smoke to the cloud, and the chimney to the tree', she writes, 'Weir reiterated his philosophy of the compatibility of nature and industry'.¹⁰²

Weir's philosophy however, overlooked the suffering in the milltown he was painting. As he composed the Willimantic landscapes, the United States was undergoing a massive economic recession, the result of a worldwide financial crisis. The shock reverberated from Wall Street and hit urban and industrial areas in 1893. Willimantic was particularly hard hit. The local mills dismissed workers en masse, and on 28 April 1894 the city's largest textile machine manufacturing company collapsed. On the same day, a branch of Jacob Coxey's 'army of the unemployed' arrived in Willimantic, en route to Washington, DC, from Providence, Rhode Island, to demand government support. They witnessed a community in dire distress, suffering from 'acute destitution'. The unemployed cotton workers had neither food nor fuel, and Willimantic's plight was compared to that of the deprived tenement districts of New York City.¹⁰³ However, these facts did not change Weir's treatment of his subject. The elite response to the sufferings caused by the market failures of industrial capitalism was not only one of denial, but also one that matched its responses to the financial crises of 1857 and 1877. By cloaking modernity with rusticity, the power brokers rendered it more benign than it actually was.

¹⁰² Fusscas, 'The Mystery of a New Path', 42.

¹⁰³ *Willimantic Journal*, 22 December 1893; *Willimantic Chronicle* 28 April 1894.

Figure 7.11: Julian Alden Weir, *The Factory Village* (1894)



Weir's most unifying image of urban and rural themes is one of his most impressionistic. It appears in his *View of Willimantic* ca. 1895, which depicts a country road leading into a forested valley containing church spires, mills, and the ubiquitous chimney (Figure 7.12). Without close inspection, the chimney could be mistaken for a church spire. A large tree and a winding country lane signpost the way into the milltown, located at the base of the Willimantic River valley, but the view provides few indications of the urban and industrial density and enduring poverty below. It is a harmonious blending of nature and industry, suggesting how industrial capitalism and green valleys can so easily blend. It also reveals why modernist art, despite its democratic, anti-establishment reputation, appealed to the elites.

Figure 7.12: Julian Alden Weir, *View of Willimantic* (c. 1895)



The company operating the mills that so intrigued Weir produced its own representational art in the form of advertising trade cards. Talented graphic artists in New York, employing the latest in chromolithography colour printing technology, produced a series of trade cards that similarly combined the traditional and the modern. In 1877, Hartford, Connecticut, became the home of the world's first telephone exchange. Located 27 miles to the east, the Willimantic Linen Company quickly exploited the fact in a trade card (Figure 7.13). At the same time, the company combined the modern with the traditional and mythical in its trade cards. A card published in 1880 draws upon Shakespearean imagery, depicting Puck from *A Midsummer's Night Dream* circling the earth and wrapping it with Willimantic cotton thread (Figure 7.14).

Figure 7.13: 'Telephone' Trade Card, Willimantic Linen Company (1878)



Figure 7.14: 'Puck' Trade Card, Willimantic Linen Company (1880)



In 1880 the Willimantic Linen Company built what was then the world's largest cotton mill and powered it with a massive 1,500-horse power Corliss steam engine. To coincide with the official opening of the Brooklyn Bridge in 1883, the company published a trade card comparing the world's largest suspension bridge with the world's largest cotton mill (Figure 7.15). The new mill floats above the Brooklyn Bridge, whose stone abutments are cotton-thread packing boxes and whose suspension wires are strings of cotton bobbins. The card also depicts transportation technology. Boxes of cotton thread are loaded from the quayside onto steamships, and a hot air balloon floats between the bridge and the mill. The sailing ships on the East River are readable as a nostalgic tribute to the demise of an older, simpler age. To keep the nostalgia from being too invasive, however, an antidote appears above Brooklyn, where smoke emanating from an industrial chimney spells out the Willimantic Linen Company's most celebrated product.

Figure 7.15: 'Brooklyn Bridge' Trade Card, Willimantic Linen Company (1883)



In the same year that Windham and New York City highlighted their comparative modernities, Windham's Natchaug School, a private academy for the sons and daughters of the local elite, dedicated a 'memorial grove' of trees. Adjacent lots were now crowded with Irish and French Canadian tenement houses, and a Roman Catholic Church had recently been built next door. So, despite the academy's financially 'prosperous condition', its governors, including William C. Jillson and Hyde Kingsley, decided to close the school after the class of 1883 graduated.

On the evening of 27 June 1883 the memorial grove was ceremonially dedicated by planting a linden tree for the school's principal James Welch, adding to the trees that had been planted for every graduating class between 1872 until 1883. The verse upon the accompanying plaque read:

Growing, remembered memorial tree
May'st thou never lack the power
To kindle thoughts in any hour.
Historic, honoured, hallowed tree
As we gaze upon your leafy bows
Thou dost the thoughts of bygone days arouse.
Let us ne'er from memory blot
The scenes that cling around this sacred spot.

Since its establishment in 1868, the Natchaug School had graduated 58 students, and all were present on the evening, including 21-year-old Wilber L. Cross, class of '80, who was destined to become Connecticut's governor between 1931 and 1939. Cross enjoyed the music provided by the Willimantic band as the Windham elite dedicated this *lieux de memoire*, a place virtually unrecognisable from 15 years earlier. The trees reconfigured the public memory, but they could detract only temporarily from impinging modernity.¹⁰⁴

In exploring northeastern Connecticut as place, it is clear that it functioned both as a source of meaning and as a form of social regulation. As the memory crisis

¹⁰⁴ *A Memorial Pamphlet Containing the Presentation Address, Ode, Oration and History Delivered at the Memorial Grove Celebration, Natchaug School, June 27, 1883* (Willimantic, CT: Hall and Bill, 1883); *Willimantic Chronicle*, 13 June; 27 June; 3 July 1883.

sparked by modernity flattened the public consciousness and blurred the differences between past and present, milltown elites abandoned industrial nomenclature for names reflecting a pastoral, aboriginal past; historians formulated the language now embedded in the Rhode Island/Waltham binary; and boosters overlooked the cotton and chaos to describe the region in rural, non-industrial, non-threatening ways. Despite the changes wrought by industrialisation and urbanisation, idealistic New England villages persisted in perpetuity.

The advent of railroads speeded the pastoralisation process, enabling the region's traditional rural landscape to mask the modern urban landscape and its attendant social structure. Novels, woodcuts, and paintings represented the region as a pastoral Arcadian backwater. Despite the fact that the region moved into a more intensive, productive stage of economic development after mid-century, the populace at large was convinced that nothing had changed.

Increasing modernity could not be entirely disguised, however, and the 'technologically sublime' was skilfully represented in chromolithographed trade cards, reinvesting the modernizing landscape with 'transcendent significance' and imbued technology and modernity with moral values, reflecting the subtle process engendered in the development of rustic cemeteries and campgrounds.¹⁰⁵ Nevertheless, the trade cards still employed 'traditional' imagery, invoking Julian Alden Weir's sense of premodern medievalism. In a process described as 'technological landscape guilt', the industrial landscape was concealed and romanticized, portraying the scenes of capitalist exploitation in a romantic, rustic light that exonerated the system that created it and concealed the perpetuation of power relations of the past.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁵ David Nye, *American Technological Sublime* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1994); Leo Marx, *The Machine in the Garden; Technology and the Pastoral Ideal in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964).

¹⁰⁶ Peter. J. Schmitt, *Back to Nature: The Arcadian Myth in Urban America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1969); Robert L. Thayer, Jr. 'Pragmatism in Paradise: Technology and the American Landscape', *Landscape* 30 (1990): 1-11.

In the same fashion that commerce and goods are moved and transformed in their circulation, 'memories are displaced and transformed with the passage of time or in the course of an increasingly dense and highly organized process of information exchange'.¹⁰⁷ During the past 150 years, memory work has repeatedly recycled northeastern Connecticut's landscape in rustic, anti-modern representations. In the nineteenth century, tradition was invented in the form of rural villages, romantic cemeteries, pastoral campgrounds, and bucolic cotton mills, symbolizing social cohesion and creating a regional collective identity. This cultural process legitimised institutions and socialised people within specific social contexts as northeastern Connecticut modernised.

Now stripped of its textile-manufacturing legacy, the region has assumed the role of the Northeast's 'Last Green Valley', a name employed to describe the *Quinebaug and Shetucket Rivers Valley National Heritage Corridor* (QSRHNC). The QSRHNC touts traditional New England centre villages as 'characteristic' of the Last Green Valley; *Ralph Wheelock's Farm* is a popular Yankee folk image widely circulated in poster art; and recently, the *Globe Manufacturing Company* was reproduced in a National Park Service brochure promoting the QSRHNC, along with an aerial photograph of Thompson's North Grosvenordale mill village (Figure 7.16). In language, art, and promotional literature, the pastoral imagery is still being recycled.

The QSRHNC snakes through 35 small towns, tying together a whole string of memory places, such as historical sites, scenic highways, rural campgrounds, Indian hiking trails, and museums. This 'Heritage Corridor' has transformed derelict industrial landscapes into 'malleable social spaces of deliberate remembering and forgetting', places in which 'spectres of oppression are transformed into spectacles of consumption'.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁷ Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger, eds., *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 9; Terdiman, *Present Past*, 11.7

¹⁰⁸ James Abrams, 'Lost Frames of Reference: Sightings of History and Memory in Pennsylvania's Documentary Landscape', in Mary Hufford, ed., *Conserving Culture: A New Discourse on Heritage* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1994), 24–38.

Figure 7.16: The Last Green Valley¹⁰⁹



¹⁰⁹ Image reproduced from the NPS brochure promoting the *Quinebaug and Shetucket Rivers Valley National Heritage Corridor* (2001): Courtesy J. L. Sweetman.

Putnam, where Windham County's first cotton mill and village were built in 1806, has metamorphosed into a regional 'antiques capital', selling everything 'from country to kitsch'. Colonial and early American farmhouses have become bed and breakfast establishments enabling visitors to fully consume the Last Green Valley's 'lush pastures', 'woodlands', 'rural small-town life-style' and 'quality of place'.¹¹⁰ Anti-modern meaning has been so naturalised in the northeastern Connecticut landscape that it appears normal, and despite its now rapidly expanding suburban, exurban, and strip mall nature, the 'Last Green Valley' is symbolically perceived as an oasis in the Megalopolis, a rustic retreat recycled by amnesic representations in a burgeoning heritage state park.

¹¹⁰ <http://www.thelastgreenvalley.org>.

Chapter Eight

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(Reduction) often happens when we find certain major forms and images and ideas persisting through periods of great change. Yet if we can see that the persistence depends on the forms and images and ideas being changed, though often subtly, internally and at times unconsciously, we can see also that the persistence indicates some permanent need to which the changing interpretations speak, a need (created) by the processes of a particular history. But if we do not see these processes . . . we fall back on modes of thought which seem able to create the permanence without the history.¹

Modernising landscapes are temporal and spatial sites, palimpsests for past activity that incorporate political action, encompass change, and reflect individual and group identities.² They are also sites of remembrance, connecting collective memories with past perceptions, impressions, habits of mind, customs, and traditions. As such, they are not reducible to theoretical dualisms that restrict analyses of social power. Accordingly, this study has focused upon elite human agency, the structures it populated, the spaces it shaped, and the symbols and forms it employed to sustain social power.

During its first period of industrial growth from 1806 until 1850, northeastern Connecticut's physical landscape was one of farms and forests interspersed with factory villages. Despite improving transportation links and industrial growth, urban expansion was circumscribed, and no major industrial city arose to compete with Hartford or New Haven to the west or with Providence and Worcester to the east and north respectively. Throughout the nineteenth century, the region remained overtly rural in nature.

¹ Raymond Williams, *The Country and the City* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973), 289.

² Barbara Bender, 'Landscape—Meaning and Action', in Barbara Bender, ed. *Landscape: Politics and Perspectives* (Providence and Oxford: Berg, 1993), 1–17.

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American urban history has traditionally treated such subregions as residual places where local folk cultures temporarily survive because of their relative isolation but are ultimately doomed because industrial capitalism and cultural modernisation eventually wipe them out. However, because of the great diversity of regional economies and cultures, it is impossible to assume that industrialisation proceeded in the same way in all areas. Similarly, case studies of single towns have deflected attention from environment and space, flattened regional and local idiosyncrasies, and made cities 'interchangeable settings for predictable dramas'.³

Despite its central role in New England's industrial revolution, Windham County's industrial landscape retains the anonymity from which it suffered even at the height of modernity. In 1876, when a spectacular blaze destroyed one of nineteenth-century Connecticut's largest woollen cloth manufacturing mills at the Plainfield factory village of Moosup, the *New York Times* placed the town in neighbouring Rhode Island.⁴ Windham County's reputation as a rural backwater has endured. Today, processes of eco-tourism have commodified the five towns in this study as insignificant relics of an industrial age in 'the Last Green Valley in the Megalopolis'.⁵ This manufactured space, deemed an enduring outpost of rurality in the highly urbanised Northeast, surrenders the region's distinctive urban/industrial character to the all-pervasive Rhode Island/Waltham binary, which has homogenized modernising towns, buried what is distinctive about place, and overlooked the symbiotic relationship between towns and the rural hinterland initially stressed by Ruskin and disciples such as Geddes, Howard, and Mumford.⁶

³ Andrew Cayton, 'The Importance of Place', *Journal of Urban History* 24 (1997), 79-87; Raymond A. Muhl, 'City and Region: The Missing Dimension in U.S. Urban History', *Journal of Urban History* 25 (1998), 3-21.

⁴ *New York Times*, 17 November 1876. The mill belonged to Sampson Almy.

⁵ <http://www.thelastgreenvalley.org/>

⁶ Michael H. Lang, *Designing Utopia: John Ruskin's Urban Vision for Britain and America* (New York: Black Rose Books, 1999).

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Two intense periods of modernization, one before and one after 1850, shaped the cultural and political landscape in which the rural and urban interacted in northeastern Connecticut. The mill towns and communities depended upon the surrounding rural resources and were the scenes of urban rivalries amongst the industrial towns and of complex settlements and mediations between urban and rural elites. In this milieu, contrary to the Rhode Island/Waltham argument that monolithic textile corporations swept aside the older elite and along with their traditions and practises, elite culture and power not only survived, but thrived as both country and city elites grafted industrialization onto older rustic village communities.

In noting that the new urbanising areas in Victorian Britain were a hybrid growth drawing strains from the rustic environment, the commercial past, and current necessities, H. J. Dyos described the first urban elites as a 'landed squirearchy'. As such, squirearchies provide examples of how life in the city and the village was regularly mediated.⁷ Similar groups of landed gentry were widely spread across industrialising northeastern Connecticut, and they skilfully exploited the advantages of the existing agrarian, protoindustrial, and business-oriented economy as the region industrialised. Squirearchy and modernity combined as improving transportation networks fired urban growth, articulating power architecturally in a number of ways, but particularly through industrial and religious edifices.

Killingly farmer Isaac Ballard, born in 1817, was widely known as 'Squire Ballard'.⁸ His farm was adjacent to the Norwich and Woodstock Turnpike and the fast flowing Five Mile River, a location that inevitably attracted the cotton industry. In the 1830s the Ballard family prospered in what became known as the Ballouville section of Killingly by supplying produce to the populace of three contiguous mill communities: Amesbury's Village, Daniels Village, and Ballouville. The arrival of the Norwich and Worcester Railroad in 1839 further stimulated industrial growth, and twenty years

⁷ H. J. Dyos, 'The Victorian City in Historical Perspective', in *Exploring the Urban Past*, David Cannadine and David Reeder, eds. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 9.

⁸ *Boston Transcript*, 12 July 1926.

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later wealthy industrialists Lorenzo Blackstone and Henry Norton from nearby Norwich, Connecticut, purchased the three mills and water privileges in the Ballouville district and erected modern stone mills and worker housing units in a new manufacturing village they named Attawaugan.⁹ At that point, 'Squire' Ballard entered the local political arena to actively promote the Attawaugan Company's interests. In 1871 he built a church in partnership with the company and, in true squirearchical fashion, bequeathed a part of his substantial estate to support the Attawaugan church's minister.¹⁰

Despite numerous failed attempts to expand Windham County's rail transportation network after the completion of the New York City-Boston Airline in 1873, the five northeastern Connecticut textile-manufacturing towns were conveniently located in the wider New England railroad system, enjoying connections to the Long Island Sound, northern New England and Canada, and to the expanding Western states. The Rhode Island/Waltham binary diverts attention from the fact that the transportation hubs that attracted mills of all types also helped preserve past customs and institutions. Windham County's convenient location within the regional and national rail network not only sustained the region's textile industry, but also reinvigorated sections of the old agrarian economy.

Whilst this is statistically verifiable through economic surveys and censuses, it is also demonstrable through life-history evidence supplied in obituary and biography. John Lee Chapman's obituaries, for example, relate that soon after he graduated from the elite Plainfield Academy, he took over the Plainfield cattle ranch purchased by his father in 1844 and shipped cattle by rail to Wyoming and Colorado. Similarly, Thompson's George H. Nichols who 'bought more cattle on the hoof during his

⁹ *Norwich, the Rose of New England, and its Institutions, Educational and Religious Advantages, Banks, Manufactures and Trade, Officials, Citizens and Homes* (Norwich, CT: C. P. Gillespie, Clewen and Pullen, 1894), 44, 58.

¹⁰ *Putnam Patriot*, 10 December 1909; *Windham Transcript*, 17 May 1860; 13 April 1871; Killingly Probate Records, 5: 149–50.

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lifetime than any other man in the state' also transported cattle to the West thanks to northeastern Connecticut's efficient railroad network.¹¹

In order to overcome perceived biographical unreliability, researchers can check for inconsistencies within the source and crosscheck evidence from related sources to supply the 'meaning, context and evidence' achieved from traditional sources.¹² A closer reading of obituary and biography reveals inconsistencies and contradictions. On one hand, they propose that individualism, integrity, and high morals led to success and prosperity; but on the other hand, they simultaneously highlight the family and career networks that made advancement feasible. For example, George H. Nichols' obituarist described him as 'one of the most successful self-made-men of Windham County', whilst also noting that he had inherited his father's livestock farm, that he was the maternal grandson of Thomas Orlando Alton, and that he had married into one of Thompson's leading families, the Olneys. Comparisons with related sources confirm these contradictions. Credit records verify that Alton was a 'rich farmer and cattle dealer' and reveal the sources of his father-in-law's significant wealth.¹³

Nineteenth-century biography and obituary typically applied the pluralistic idea of progress as both a teleological and linear process. Viewing hard work and riches as morally superior to sloth and rags, they depicted the individual elites as advancing from rags to riches. Through purposeful inclusions and exclusions, the selective tradition exploited published life histories and forged individual and group perceptions of wealth and social status. Detailed genealogical research that revealed English ancestors with implied high social rank and attendant status were included, whilst cases of individual indebtedness, drunkenness, bankruptcy, and poor moral

¹¹ *Moosup Journal*, 31 December 1903; *Putnam Patriot*, 15 November 1910.

¹² Nicole Gagnon, 'On the Analysis of Life Accounts', in Daniel Bertaux, ed., *Biography and Society: The Life History Approach in the Social Sciences* (Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications, 1981), 47-60.

¹³ RGD, 2: 375; RGD, 1: 132.

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behaviour were normally excluded. However, credit records rendered visible those aspects of life history made opaque by the selective tradition.

The perception that individual status progressed throughout the life cycle is critical to the operation of any meritocratic, pluralist system. However, evidence from credit and probate records suggests otherwise. Over time credit report analyses, in which the credit reporter correlated material wealth with character, status, and careers, reveal the labelling processes undertaken in constructing successive structures of feeling and shaping perceptions of status and class. By combining biography with financial data, it was possible to assess material gains and losses over time and to evaluate whether these changes resulted in any increases or reduction in social status. In virtually all cases, proportional gains far outstripped losses across all career and status groups; and bankruptcy, business failures, and poor moral behaviour made little impact on status or individual reputations.

For example, the economic downturn of 1877 hit Putnam tailor Hiram Brown hard. Although he was considered an 'old and respected' citizen, locals became suspicious when he lost his entire stock in a fire, and even more so when he recovered everything through insurance. Brown then took as a partner mill overseer Joseph McKachrie, who, although having 'no knowledge of business', ploughed \$12,000 into the company. Nevertheless, Brown declared bankruptcy soon afterwards, and although McKachrie sued him, the mill overseer lost everything, but Brown retired in 1888 with a 'comfortable competence'.¹⁴

Despite such suspicious circumstances, Brown was perceived as someone who had shaped Putnam's physical shape and moral outlook, and his reputation remained unsullied. Obituary and biography selectively excluded these aspects of Brown's life, stressing instead how the tailor had built the town's first brick business block, his activity in the local temperance movement, his liberal donations to the Congregational

¹⁴ RGD, 2:403; 2:418: *Commemorative Biographical Record of Tolland and Windham Counties Connecticut* (J. H. Beers and Co., Chicago, 1903), 119.

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church, and his concern for the poor reflected through his long tenure on the town's board of relief.¹⁵

Obituary and biography also played a significant role in sustaining deferential attitudes to those of high status. Pluralism and deference are uneasy bedfellows. Accordingly, advocates of civil society dismiss the concept of deferential democracy. However, by juxtaposing the sample elite's careers and political officeholdings, it is apparent that voters deferred to those following the traditional occupations identified with squirearchies. That Connecticut's conservative nineteenth-century culture was a breeding ground of deferential attitudes is further evidenced by the fact that selection committees chose political novices to fight for election to high-status offices.

Along with deference, the spatial-psychosocial aspects of power point to the complex processes that underpinned elite durability. Those members of the sample elite holding elective office acted out democratic or inclusive processes in the front spaces of political activity, in town and legislative meetings, whilst practising real power by negotiating settlements in political back spaces located in private homes and in the meeting rooms of voluntary associations and financial institutions. Political back spaces point to the figurations, family groups, and networks of interdependency that transcended structure/agency barriers. The older elites from higher-status career groups drew those from lower-status occupations into their web when contingencies demanded, but never to the detriment of their own interests.

Although nearly excluded from the higher tiers of power, manufacturers and merchants articulated power at the urban/local level. The manufacturers entered the local political fray to safeguard investments made by absentee owners. The evidence from associational records supports this, as few manufacturers were active in lodges compared to merchants and professionals, who had permanent, lifetime investments in and commitments to the community. The one group that draws a thread through all

¹⁵ *Putnam Patriot*, 26 October 1906.

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processes, from that of biographical contingency to back space settlements, is the agricultural elite. Farmers were prominent at all levels of political activity during both periods of the region's industrial development, and they readily adapted to change by taking on other careers when conditions demanded.

An archaic political structure further aided elite durability. Of the sample elite, 20 served as probate judges in the five towns. Even though most were unqualified for the position, it enabled them to wield a great deal of local influence. In 1895, Connecticut Supreme Court Judge Dwight Loomis gave an insight into the difficulty of reforming Connecticut's long-standing institutions. He noted that of 112 probate judges in the state's towns only 32 were lawyers. The others were 'farmers, cobblers, shopkeepers, mechanics, clerks, real estate agents, painters, and liverymen'. However, these 'incompetent and unlearned men' were difficult to remove: 'The influence of the judges, ex-judges, and those who hope to be judges in their turn has always prevented improvement'.¹⁶

The local elite retained power by convincing voters and wider society that under their leadership everything was improving. For them, at least, it was. Possessing sufficient resources to exploit the opportunities created by modernization, they adapted anachronistic state and local political structures to the demands of the industrial revolution and subsequently provided the lucrative marketing, financial, and professional services necessary for a modernising economy.

Exploiting anachronistic institutions through biopower and governmentality, the elites took control of and shaped space within the region. They transformed natural space into land and water resources, quantified space, and reconstituted power across colonial hill-top hamlets, industrial river-valley communities, and multicentred mill-town boroughs. Through the processes of distancing and dialectical centrality, power constantly resided itself across northeastern Connecticut's industrialising

¹⁶ Dwight Loomis and J. Gilbert Calhoun, eds., *The Judicial and Civil History of Connecticut* (Boston, MA: The Boston History Company, 1895), 154.

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landscape. Accordingly, these sites of administrative power coordinated with elite figurations in regions and communities over the wider region.¹⁷

At the onset of the region's first phase of industrialism, the Windham County elite relocated the seat of power from the town of Windham to the town of Brooklyn, a site more conveniently located to the modernising towns lying along the Quinebaug River Valley. Within a generation, dialectical centrality forged the new town of Putnam and two county boroughs, Willimantic and Danielsonville. A generation later, the three new communities had sufficiently matured to enter into a bitter struggle to wrest the county seat from Brooklyn. A settlement between the local elites ended the urban rivalry, and those at Willimantic and Putnam hosted equal shares of county court sessions.

Putnam's rapid rise from a small factory village to a contender for the county seat illustrates how distanciation and dialectical centrality sustained the elite. Although funded mainly from neighbouring Rhode Island, the area attracted members from some of northeastern Connecticut's oldest colonial families. One was physician Henry Hough. This active participant in the creation of Putnam became a justice of the peace there, administering 'pills and official whippings with equal liberality and alacrity'. In 1897, his obituarist noted that Hough had not been able to adapt to the modern world. The 'habits of mind and bent of character' formed in his youth remained unchanged, and in his final years, he became a 'reproduction in mental ways of the past half century'.¹⁸ Like Hough, the dominant culture reproduced the past from memory, but paradoxically employed it to mask some of modernity's harshest effects and to divert attention from the true nature and base of its power.

Drawing upon the past to create subtle but effective structures of feeling grounded in space, memory, perception, shape, and form, elites constructed 'usable

¹⁷ In the 1870s, these same processes led to a wider resiting of power and to Windham County's eventual economic decline.

¹⁸ *Putnam Patriot*, 19 January 1897.

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pasts' that promoted their values and kept change with prescribed limits, skilfully and subtly shaping nomenclature and imagery in the process. In the same way that biography overlooked immoral or illegal behaviour amongst leading citizens, some memories and traditions were celebrated and some discarded. Along with New England villages, Windham County's industrial hamlets became memory sites, drawing upon conceptions of freedom and independence and a premodern aboriginal heritage. The memory of French regiments marching back and forth across northeastern Connecticut in 1780 and 1781 inspired the name *ville* as a suffix for factory villages, and local industrialists grafted Indian place names onto local manufacturing sites such as Attawaugan. Similarly, cotton companies stylized their largest mills with ostentatious Greek and Roman architecture to stress early democratic institutions.

On one hand, an architectural exploration of institutional, residential, and industrial buildings in northeastern Connecticut's small industrial towns reveals a 'tripartite industrial social class structure'.¹⁹ On the other hand, elites masked modernity by repeated references to rurality and the iconic New England village. They also constructed a 'sense of predisposed continuity' by linking earlier historical periods with the present through art, urban representations, and literature.²⁰ Advances in reproduction technologies, marketing, and distribution resulted in the dissemination of an array of visual representations and promotional materials that, in exteriorising memory, altered the inviolable nature of time. Similarly, the commemoration industry added to the subtle but dynamic transformation of the collective memory over time. This dynamic process sustained fundamental approaches toward daily life, whilst imperceptibly modifying them.²¹

¹⁹ Richard V. Francaviglia, *Main Street Revisited: Time, Space and Image Building in Small-Town America* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1996), 101.

²⁰ Raymond Williams, *Marxism and Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), 115. 'Usable past' is a term coined in Daniel Horowitz, 'The Meaning of City Biographies: New Haven in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries', *Connecticut Historical Society Bulletin* 29 (1964): 65–76.

²¹ Matt K. Masuda, *The Memory of the Modern* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 3–18.

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Iconic representation not only masked power and modernity, but also deflected attention from inequalities not readily identifiable with progress, wealth, and a civil society. For example, Oscar Hoopes Bailey's lithograph of 1877 Putnam represents a bright colourful, prosperous vista of the region's youngest community. However, after visiting a French Canadian family in the town with 15 children, an 1880 census enumerator reported that although he had seen much of the city poor in Boston's North End and New York City's Five Points, he had not witnessed the 'utter and shameful degradation and poverty as found in this hovel on the outskirts of Putnam'.²²

Identifying contingency and the spaces within which individuals produce meaning and work out strategies for their lives enables a biographical approach that transcends the reductive dichotomies that hinder explorations of the nature of social power. The post-structuralist phase of the 'cultural turn', the epistemological focus on language and signs, has opened a space for the rediscovery of individual agency and contingency in processes of self-construction and self-recognition. As in fiction and psychoanalysis, the individual subject provides the basis to make inferences about social structure and to identify a wide range of similarities and differences, particularly in instances of case studies involving socially representative persons.²³

This study has therefore looked to the mentalities of history and has focused on the perceptions of events that underpin the historical record in order to challenge the pluralistic contentions that civil society subsumes class conflict. History as a construct of human impressions is particularly relevant to historical perceptions of status and power in the United States, a nation that bequeaths them to those with the right personal qualifications, particularly at the time of rapid social change. It is too simple to say that modernity cracked the system open and gave 'self-made men' the opportunity to displace previously well-established elites. In reality, rapid population growth and processes of urbanisation and industrialisation cemented the power of entrenched elites. In most cases the cementing of their power was contingent

²² *Windham Transcript*, 8 July 1880.

²³ Norman K. Denzin, *Interpretive Biography* (Newbury Park, CA: Sage, 1989).

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upon membership in elite family networks, participation in traditional institutions and organisations, and involvement in the unsettling events set in motion by modernity.

Appendix

Lifespans, Occupations, Political Posts and Material Resources of Male Sample Elite Charted by Career Categories and Towns

Chart Key

Politics

D= Democratic Party

R = Republican Party

W = Whig Party

U = Unknown/Not Indicated

Range = first and last year of political representation

1= Federal Representation

2= State Representation

3= Town Representation

4= Borough Representation

5= City Representation

Dun = subject of credit record

Census = declared wealth and property in 1870

Probate = Inventoried estate at death

Bold type indicates individuals designated a career.

Manufacturing/Craft

Windham	Occupation	Politics	Range	Dun	Census	Probate
Warren Atwood (1813-37)	Brick mason			X	\$14,400	Insolvent
James Boss (1816-93)	Cotton Mill Overseer	R 3, 4	1853-70		\$12,000	\$ 7,800
Allen Burleson (1816-88)	Cotton Mill Agent	R 2, 4	1870-75		\$34,500	
William Cranston (1814-89)	Weaver	R 4	1874-75	X	\$15,300	\$27,899
Origen Hall (1806-88)	Cotton Thread				\$27,000	
Jonathan Hatch (1817-1905)	Machinist	R 2, 3	1880-90		\$17,000	\$22,784
James Hayden (1830-98)	Cotton Sheets	R 3	1884-98	X	\$23,000	\$150,284
Whiting Hayden (1808-86)	Cotton Sheets	R 2, 3, 4	1848-75	X	\$84,700	
William Jillson (1838-98)	Cotton Sheets	R 2, 3, 4	1871-85		\$90,000	Insolvent
Don Johnson (1819-88)	Carpenter	D 2, 3	1855-79		\$12,900	\$16,314
Charles Smith (1802-92)	Paper Machinery	R 3	1855-65		\$58,800	\$241,541
Guilford Smith (1839-1923)	Paper Machinery	R 2, 3	1878-95	X	\$11,500	\$862,068
Olmstead Smith (1838-81)	Woollens			X	\$12,500	Insolvent
John Tracy (1812-74)	Cotton Sheets	R 2, 3, 4	1863-72		\$27,800	\$111,733
William Swift (1832-1905)	Silk Sheetings	R 2, 3	1858-90	X	\$20,000	\$10,150
Harvey Winchester (1801-84)	Paper Machinery	W 3	1844-48	X	\$95,000	\$215,679

Appendix

Manufacturing/Craft (continued)

Putnam	Occupation	Politics	Range	Dun	Census	Probate
Charles Bliven (1827-1904)	Mill Superintendent	D 2, 4	1867-1904	X	\$19,000	\$15,232
George Buck (1810-1902)	Builder	R 2, 3	1855-80		\$12,500	\$16,637
Samuel Fenn (1823-1908)	Cabinet Maker			X	\$10,000	
George Hawkins (1818-99)	Warp Manufacturer	U 3	1868-72		\$30,000	\$1,789
Augustus Houghton (1822-99)	Warp Manufacturer	R 2, 3	1868-90	X	\$30,000	\$75,802
Michael Moriarty (1833-1907)	Cassimeres	D 5	1890-95	X	\$55,000	\$137
George Morse (1830-1913)	Mill Superintendent	R 2	1890-93	X	\$50,000	\$66,613
Isaac Pettis (1837-81)	Wheelwright			X	\$21,400	
William Polleys (1825-?)	Mill Bookkeeper			X	\$21,000	
Edmnd Whitmore (1828-1913)	Shoe Manufacturer	R 2	1871-73	X	\$10,000	

Thompson	Occupation	Politics	Range	Dun	Census	Probate
Lucius Briggs (1836-1901)	Cotton Sheets	R 2	1867-76	X	\$50,000	
Joel Douglas (1813-93)	Cotton Sheetings				\$14,000	\$26,382
Lucius Harris (1839-70)	Woollens			X	\$53,500	\$41,458
Timothy Hopkins (1835-1924)	Woollens	R 2	1868-98	X	\$30,000	
George Murdock (1846-1933)	Satinet Manufacturer	R 2	1884-85	X	\$50,000	

Plainfield	Occupation	Politics	Range	Dun	Census	Probate
Charles Almy (1842-92)	Cotton Sheets			X	\$15,000	
Samson Almy (1795-1876)	Cotton Sheets	R 3	1850-67	X	\$189,900	
James Atwood (1832-85)	Cotton Sheets	R 2	1862-69		\$83,100	
Arnold Fenner (1794-1871)	Woollen Manufacturer	R 2, 3	1838-68	X	\$100,000	\$48,102
Arnold Fenner Jr. (1843-?)	Cotton Sheets			X	\$15,000	
Charles Tillinghast (1808-97)	Cotton Mill Machinist				\$10,000	\$8,282

Killingly	Occupation	Politics	Range	Dun	Census	Probate
Luther Alexander (1821-79)	Brick Manufacturer	U 3	1860-62	X	\$120,000	\$146,577
Eleazer Baker (1815-?)	Reed Manufacturer			X	\$19,500	
Welcome Bartlett (1815-75)	Cotton Manufacturer				\$11,000	\$12,000
Loren Bates (1824-1901)	Roller Coverer	R 4	1857-82		\$38,500	\$37,182
Alex Blanchard (1808-83)	Carpenter			X	\$11,000	\$8,549
George Danielson (1798-1883)	Cotton Sheetings	R 2, 4	1834-68	X	\$18,000	\$5,794
James Darling (1828-88)	Cotton Mill Machinist	R 4	1870-81	X	\$13,000	\$108,840
John Haines (1811-?)	Cotton Manufacturer				\$65,000	
William Knight (1798-1874)	Cotton Manufacturer	R 3, 4	1844-64		\$12,000	
Alfred Potter (1823-1915)	Woollens			X	\$20,000	\$ 9,906
Warren Potter (1826-96)	Woollens			X	\$29,000	
Harris Sayles (1816-93)	Woollens			X	\$100,000	Insolvent
Sabin Sayles (1827-91)	Woollens	R 2	1860-91	X	\$105,000	\$97,423
Thomas Sayles (1831-94)	Woollens			X	\$137,000	
Daniel Sherman (1806-74)	Cotton Sheetings	R 4	1866-74	X	\$20,000	\$44,173
Abner Young (1818-1907)	Shoe Manufacturer	R 2, 4	1861-75		\$42,000	\$25,899

Appendix

Merchants

Windham	Occupation	Politics	Range	Dun	Census	Probate
Amos Adams (1826 -1917)	Insurance	R 3, 4	1863-85	X	\$11,000	\$1,631
George Alpaugh (1814-96)	Dry Goods	U 3, 4	1870-74	X	\$19,000	
Albert Barrows (1825-1902)	Meat	R 3, 4	1870-90		\$12,900	\$8,857
Amos Bill (1827-92)	Tin and Stoves			X	\$16,300	Bankrupt
Henry Brainard (1795-1884)	Teamster	R 3, 4	1846-74		\$11,200	\$8,000
Abell Brooks (1833-?)	Saloon Keeper				\$26,000	
Edwin Bugbee (1825-1913)	Lumber/Grain	D 2		X	\$27,600	\$94,132
Lewis Burlingham (1822-90)	Confectioner	R 2, 3	1867-78		\$30,000	\$10,133
George Burnham (1818-907)	Furniture	R 2, 3, 4	1848-85		\$21,000	\$42,826
Charles Carpenter (1833-1911)	Dry Goods	R 4	1874-94		\$18,000	
David Clark (1835-86)	Livery Stable	R 2	1879-80		\$12,300	\$4,750
Lucian Clark (1812-91)	Dry Goods	R 3	1862-68		\$10,000	\$3,150
Thomas Congdon (1830-1900)	Crockery	R 4	1872-90	X	\$15,000	
Eleazer Cushman (1819-92)	Furniture	R 4	1862-76		\$16,000	\$31,234
Joab Cushman (1822-94)	Furniture	R 3, 4	1853-75		\$22,000	\$20,818
Roderick Davison (1821-92)	Furniture	R 4, 6	1857-89	X	\$17,500	\$9,781
George Elliot (1838-1903)	Boots and Shoes	R 4	1883-85	X	\$19,000	
Lucius Fuller (1821-96)	Druggist				\$21,000	
Benjamin Grant (1822-84)	Hardware			X	\$35,000	
Horace Hall (1807-82)	Dry Goods	R 2, 3, 4	1834-82		\$22,500	\$20,473
George Hanover (1826-80)	Insurance				\$35,000	\$48,076
John Hickey (1835-1910)	Druggist	D 4	1876-94		\$10,000	\$70,869
Robert Hooper (1817-1906)	Dry Goods	U 4	1852-63	X	\$23,400	\$24,961
Merrick Johnson (1807-95)	Grocer	U 4	1856-62	X	\$10,000	
John Keigwin (1825-97)	Clothing	R 2, 4	1861-96	X	\$21,000	\$32,000
Stephen Kimbel (1804-80)	Shoes				\$12,000	\$11,210
Hyde Kingsley (1830-86)	Lumber/Coal	R 3	1873-77		\$27,000	\$45,124
Alfred Kinne (1813-89)	Dry Goods	R 2, 3	1842-58	X	\$26,000	\$13,465
George Lathrop (1817-1903)	Dry Goods	U 3	1873-75	X	\$16,600	\$43,649
Silas Loomer (1824-99)	Lumber/Coal	R 2, 3	1873-86	X	\$26,000	\$92,891
William Maloney (1840-?)	Dry Goods			X	\$15,000	
Elisha Sharpe (1821-84)	Greengrocer				\$15,500	\$5,776
Abell Starkweather (1823-?)	Lumber				\$21,000	
Justin Swift (1793-84)	General Store	U 2, 3	1832-66	X	\$18,000	
Giles Taintor (1802-82)	Dry Goods			X	\$108,000	\$270,725
Warren Tanner (1808-83)	Livery Stable				\$22,000	\$21,612
David Tucker (1846-?)	Dry Goods			X	\$12,000	
Albert Turner (1842-1900)	Dry Goods			X	\$11,000	\$32,000
Thomas Turner (1819-82)	Dry Goods	U 4	1862-64		\$60,000	\$88,207
James Walden (1825-1916)	Stationary	R 2, 3, 4	1858-78	X	\$68,000	
A. T. Walker (1839-?)	Grain				\$13,500	

Appendix

Merchants (continued)

Putnam	Occupation	Politics	Range	Dun	Census	Probate
Jerome Allton (1835-1901)	Hardware	U 3	1864-66		\$10,500	
Asahel Battey (1826 -1922)	Lumber				\$15,000	\$6,380
Hiram Brown (1812-1906)	Tailor	U 2, 3	1853-80	X	\$15,600	
John Chapman (1828-?)	Lumber	R 3	1871-80		\$10,000	
John Fox (1817-99)	Lumber	R 3	1866-68		\$12,500	\$63,761
Henry Freeman (1817-?)	Horses				\$13,000	
Andrew Leavens (1819-1904)	Furniture				\$12,000	\$3,288
James Manning (1822-1902)	Dry Goods	R 2, 3	1856-99	X	\$20,000	\$18,975
Prescott May (1824-70)	Hotel Keeper	R 5	1857-70		\$14,000	
Henry Thurber (1812-73)	Tailor			X	\$16,250	\$9,840
Mathias Wagner (1827-97)	Tailor			X	\$10,000	\$36,661

Thompson	Occupation	Politics	Range	Dun	Census	Probate
Stephen Crosby (1802 -1884)	Hotel Keeper	R 3	1849-78	X	\$27,000	\$40,283
Talcott Crosby (1797-1870)	General Store		1829-65		\$20,000	
David Hubbard (1802-?)	Merchant				\$10,500	
Alvin Paine (1820-?)	Company Store	R 3	1866-7	X	\$10,000	
John Sherman (1818-1902)	Company Store	R 3	1844-52	X	\$11,000	

Plainfield	Occupation	Politics	Range	Dun	Census	Probate
Isaac Cutler (1805 -1884)	Hotel Keeper	R 2, 3	1866-75	X	\$24,300	
John Dean (1832-1904)	Real Estate	R 3	1882-84		\$15,000	\$8,692
Albert Gordon (1810-84)	Tailor	R 2, 3	1847-54		\$10,600	\$16,024
Henry Hawkins (1828-?)	Dry Goods				\$37,000	
Andrew Kimball (1839-?)	Grocery	R 3, 4	1872-82	X	\$10,000	
George Loring (1830-1904)	Tin and Stoves	R 2, 3	1875-87	X	\$10,000	\$73,142
Benjamin Walker (1812-71)	Grocer			X	\$11,500	

Appendix

Merchants (concluded)

Killingly	Occupation	Politics	Range	Dun	Census	Probate
Anthony Ames (1826-1917)	Dry Goods	R 2, 3	1852-97	X	\$15,000	\$1,207
William Bacon (1799-1877)	Furniture			X	\$10,300	\$14,503
Augustus Bassett (1821-99)	Grain	U 3	1856-58	X	\$10,600	
James Bates (1821-82)	Farm Tools	R 4	1841-71	X	\$107,000	
John Bigelow (1821-88)	Men's Clothes	R 3, 4	1850-67	X	\$12,000	
Ezekiel Burlingame (1832-87)	Groceries	R 3, 4	1862-88		\$15,500	\$21,374
George Butts (1828-1910)	Hotel Keeper			X	\$10,000	\$7,795
Oliver Capron (1808-80)	Cotton Waste	U 4	1857-58	X	\$19,000	\$814
John Chamberlin (1827-71)	Hardware	U 3, 4	1862-76		\$16,000	\$10,680
Edwin Ely (1813-81)	Dry Goods			X	\$40,000	\$12,646
Thomas Evans (1826-89)	Horses	R 3, 4	1855-89	X	\$15,000	\$35,763
Sylas Hyde (1822-1911)	Furniture	R 2, 4	1857-78	X	\$15,500	
Oliver Jacobs (1822-83)	Insurance	R 3, 4	1854-79	X	\$10,000	\$28,790
John Kelley (1821-99)	Lumber	R 2, 3	1854-92		\$10,000	\$2,576
George Leavens (1830-1915)	Dry Goods	R 4	1872-99	X	\$20,000	
Orrin Lewis (1818-83)	Hardware	R 3	1858-69	X	\$10,000	\$9,854
Rockwell Lyon (1845-1901)	Druggist			X	\$10,000	\$23,207
Amos Peckham (1824-87)	Saloon Keeper			X	\$12,000	
John Waldo (1826-1907)	Grocer	R 2	1884-86	X	\$19,000	\$8,823
George Webster (1832-1903)	Lumber			X	\$80,000	
Warren Woodward (1834-1911)	Druggist			X	\$20,000	\$12,169

Appendix

Professional

Windham	Occupation	Politics	Range	Dun	Census	Probate
David Card (1822 -99)	Physician	D 4	1875-77	X	\$20,000	
William Baker (1828-?)	Artist				\$162,700	
Fl. DeBruycker (1832-1903)	Priest	R 4	1875-97	X	\$40,100	\$38,200
John Pierce (1827-?)	Civil Engineer				\$25,000	
M. B. Renslow (1834-?)	Dentist				\$13,000	
Frederick Rogers (1835-1917)	Physician	R 4	1864-95	X	\$10,500	
Elliot Sumner (1834-1900)	Lawyer	R 2, 4	1858-1900		\$15,000	\$35,479
Chester Tilden (1795-1872)	Clergyman	U 3	1872-74		\$18,300	\$30,200

Putnam	Occupation	Politics	Range	Dun	Census	Probate
Henry Hough (1810-97)	Physician	U 3	1846-53		\$10,000	\$13,455
Harrison Johnson (1822-83)	Lawyer	R 2, 3	1858-83		\$52,500	

Thompson	Occupation	Politics	Range	Dun	Census	Probate
Hezekiah Ramsdell (1805 -77)	Clergyman	U 2	1854-56		\$13,000	\$25,000
Alanson Rawson (1802-91)	Clergyman	R 2, 3	1857-80		\$12,000	\$13,000
Isaac Sherman (1817-93)	Clergyman	D 2, 3	1858-72	X	\$11,500	\$2,974
Thomas Tallman (1816-72)	Clergyman	R 2, 3	1866-70		\$55,800	\$52,066

Plainfield	Occupation	Politics	Range	Dun	Census	Probate
Frank Burgess (1827-96)	Physician	D 2	1857-67		\$13,000	\$11,702
William Cogswell (1799-1872)	Physician	R 2	1831-61		\$28,600	\$25,117
William Dyer (1802-75)	Lawyer	R 2, 3	1832-72	X	\$14,000	
Albert Gallup (1804-75)	Physician				\$16,700	
Asher Herrick (1816-1909)	Jeweller	R 2, 3	1871-89		\$13,000	
William Lewis (1829-95)	Physician	R 2, 3	1866-81		\$11,000	\$13,244
John Penrose (1829-99)	Lawyer	D 3	1846-95		\$10,000	\$17,065

Killingly	Occupation	Politics	Range	Dun	Census	Probate
Charles Blackmar (1830-1914)	Federal Post	R 3	1860-74		\$13,000	\$4,500
Lucius Rickard (1824-98)	Lawyer	D 3, 4	1865-94		\$16,000	\$3,911
John Stone (1828-98)	Publisher	R 4		X	\$14,000	\$6,300
Frank Tillinghast (1840-88)	Physician				\$25,000	

Appendix

Politics/Financial

Windham	Occupation	Politics	Range	Dun	Census	Probate
Charles Baker (1820-81)	State Democrats				\$162,700	\$300,275
Samuel Bingham (1818-87)	Bank Cashier	D 2, 3	1853-82	X	\$35,000	Insolvent
Alfred Burnham (1819-79)	Legislator	R 1, 2, 3	1843-75		\$43,500	\$37,168
Allen Lincoln (1817-82)	Town Clerk	R 2, 3	1865-82	X	\$55,000	\$51,191
Norman Melony (1817-96)	Sheriff Deputy	R 2, 6	1857-70	X	\$46,000	\$17,723
Thomas Ramsdell (1807-98)	Stockbroker				\$94,000	\$50,009
Putnam	Occupation	Politics	Range	Dun	Census	Probate
Sanford Boyden (1801-82)	County Comm.	D 6	1864-66		\$13,000	
Richmond Bullock (1810-83)	Bank President	R 2, 3	1855-82		\$10,300	\$9,206
Walter Burlingham (1805-90)	Town Selectman	U 3	1856-69		\$10,200	
John Carpenter (1828-1907)	Bank Cashier	R 3	1860-98		\$23,000	\$14,181
Gilbert Phillips (1828-88)	Bank President	R 2, 3	1857-88		\$20,000	\$23,213
Sanford Boyden (1801-82)	County Comm.	D 6	1864-66		\$13,000	
Thompson	Occupation	Politics	Range	Dun	Census	Probate
Edward Aldrich (1808-74)	Stockbroker	U 2, 3	1840-72	X		\$24,000
Jeremiah Olney (1818-1903)	Assessor	R, 2, 3	1847-81	X	X	\$14,500
Plainfield	Occupation	Politics	Range	Dun	Census	Probate
Session Adams (1854-1956)	Town Selectman	R 2, 3	1882-1921		\$13,000	\$24,974
David Gallup (1808-83)	Probate Judge	R, 2 3	1841-78		\$510,000	\$1,210,000
Daniel Wheeler (1805-71)	Stockbroker	U 3	1830-64		\$15,000	\$16,908
Killingly	Occupation	Politics	Range	Dun	Census	Probate
William Alexander (1787-1875)	Legislator	R 2, 3	1826-58		\$46,000	\$57,296
Henry Hammond (1813-95)	Legislator	R 2, 3	1813-95		\$29,000	\$32,842

Appendix

Agricultural: Multi Career

(Note: political post classed as career)

Windham	Other Career	Politics	Range	Dun	Census	Probate
Alfred Avery (1794-1884)		R 3	1855-75		\$253,000	\$32,592
Elias Brown (1810-90)		R 2, 3	1844-72		\$10,000	\$13,863
Waldo Bingham (1817-1900)		R 2, 3	1854-75		\$15,000	\$26,602
Edwin Burnham (1816-98)	Real Estate	R 2, 3, 4	1848-85	X	\$15,900	\$8,314
John Clark (1805-1881)	Teacher	R 2, 3	1844-74		\$12,300	\$7,342
T. Cunningham (1798-1872)	Real Estate, Saloon	R 4	1833-47		\$73,400	\$50,348.
Elisha Hammond (1805-96)		R 2, 3	1851-78		\$22,000	\$6,284
James Hebard (1815-1882)	Teacher, Railroad				\$26,500	\$9,189
Eli Hewitt (1810-87)		D 3	1855/6		\$28,100	
Elisha Holmes (1799-1886)	Cabinet Maker, Merchant, Manufacturer	D 2	1838-77		\$35,000	\$26,602
George Johnson (1813-78)	Stockbroker	R 3	1854-77		\$33,400	\$30,500
James Johnson (1823-81)		R 2, 3	1873-81		\$38,500	\$26,083
Charles Larrabee (1821-1912)	U. S. Navy	R 2, 3	1861-96		\$30,000	\$20,451
Joseph Lewis (1829-1900)		R 3	1864-66		\$23,500	\$20,615
Sumner Maine (1822-1877)	Brickmaker				\$16,000	\$13,130
James Martin (1832-1906)	Merchant	D 2, 3	1872-92		\$26,000	\$12,543
John Perkins (1809-94)	Druggist	D 3	1836-53		\$15,000	\$5,445
Freeman Spencer (1821-1905)		R 3	1858-83		\$10,100	
Henry Walcott (1813-1871)	Merchant				\$25,000	\$26,950
Thomas Wiggins (1819-1900)	Livery Stable, Grocery	R 4	1868/69		\$20,000	
Albert Whittemore (1834-91)	Real Estate, Hotelkeeper	R 4	1877-78		\$16,500	
Elisha Williams (1792-1879)		D 3	1839-50		\$15,000	\$35,907
Putnam	Other Career	Politics	Range	Dun	Census	Probate
James Allen (1816-83)		R, 3	1866-70		\$13,700	\$9,586
John Greene (1797-1887)	Teacher, Militia Officer	R, 2, 3	1832-88		\$10,300	\$972

Appendix

Agricultural: Multi Career (continued)

Thompson	Other Career	Politics	Range	Dun	Census	Probate
Thomas O. Alton (1830-85)	Real Estate Cattle Dealer			X	\$19,300	\$33,503
Winthrop Ballard (1801-94)	Teacher	R 3	1850-52		\$10,200	\$18,352
William Chandler (1815-88)		R 2, 3	1846-48		\$24,400	\$1,173,623
Reil Converse (1782-1874)	Carpenter	D 3			\$18,000	\$32,904
John Cunningham (1802-?)		R 3	1869-75		\$11,000	
Moses Hoyle (1803-83)		R 2	1856-58		\$20,000	\$17,426
Joseph Jacobs (1816-90)		R 3	1873-75		\$11,000	
George Nichols (1837-1910)	Brick Manufacturer	R 2	1881-83		\$12,800	
Benjamin Phipps (1816-93)		R 3	1859-75		\$13,900	\$18,605
Charles Thayer (1814-95)		D 3	1852-80		\$15,100	\$50,100
Dyer Upham (1795-1885)	Mason, Merchant	R 2, 3	1857-85		\$15,000	
Plainfield	Other Career	Politics	Range	Dun	Census	Probate
Dwight Avery (1828-1907)		R 3	1873-85		\$16,300	
Stephen Bennett (1795-1878)		R 3	1846-78		\$17,000	\$30,312
John Chapman (1825-1903)	Teacher	R 2, 3	1869-93	X	\$14,300	
Aaron Crary (1804-80)		R 3	1846-63		\$13,100	\$22,907
Joseph Cutler (1842-1919)	Lumber/Coal Merchant	R 3, 6	1861-73		\$10,200	
Archibald Fry (1798-1870)		U 2, 3	1846-57		\$12,000	
Edward Perry Hall (1812-91)	CT Militia Officer, Miner, Dry Goods			X	\$26,400	\$35,320
Charles Hinckley (1816-75)		R 2, 3	1848-74		\$14,000	
Joseph Hutchins (1820-99)		R 2, 3	1837-85		\$151,000	
Andrew Kimball (1839-?)	Grocery Store	R 3, 4	1872-78	X	\$10,000	
Andrew Lester (1820-82)	Militia Officer	R 2, 3	1847-68		\$10,000	
William Lester (1816-84))	Surveyor	R 3	1850-77		\$14,600	\$13,207
Walter Palmer (1824-1907)	Real Estate Wool Merchant	R 2, 3	1855-86		\$22,700	
Thomas Tiffany (1820-87)		R 3	1876-87		\$17,500	
Perry Tripp (1823-1905)	Whaling Ship, Dry Goods		1879-82	X	\$15,000	\$7,860

Appendix

Agricultural: Multi Career (concluded)

Killingly	Other Career	Politics	Range	Dun	Census	Probate
Mowry Amesbury (1802-81)	Cotton Manufacturer	R 2, 3	1848-75	X	\$12,600	\$10,633
Isaac Ballard (1817-1909)		R 3	1856-71		\$16,000	\$57,123
Richard Bartlett (1812-86)	Cotton Manufacturer			X	\$15,500	Insolvent
Daniel Basto (1816-98)			1846-80		\$11,400	
Fenn. Burlingame(1823-1920)		R 2, 3	1856-88		\$23,500	
Samuel Chase (1817-?)		R 3	1866-71		\$12,000	
Daniel Daniels (1808-80)	Cotton Manufacturer, Saw Mill, Real Estate Furniture	R 2, 3	1851-4	X	\$25,000	\$15,171
Hezekiah Danielson (1802-81)	manufacturer, Undertaker	R 3	1855-60	X	\$43,600	
Leonard Day (1803-84)	Teacher	R 2, 3	1834-80		\$10,500	
Luther Day (1801-82)	Officer in State Militia	R 2, 3	1837-69		\$33,000	\$27,830
Jonathan Dexter (1798-1872)	Cotton Manufacturer	R 3	1836-51		\$20,000	\$20,910
Marvin Dexter (1816-79)					\$15,000	\$18,034
Sylvanus Gleason (1833-80)	Postmaster, Railroad Depot Master	R 4	1865-72		\$23,000	
Jeremiah Hubbard (1807-83)		R 2, 3	1860-64		\$13,000	\$5,902
Isaac Hutchins (1796-1884)	Teacher	R 3	1832-57		\$16,500	\$11,209
Charles James (1845-1929)				X	\$17,000	\$16,766
William James (1794-1878)		D 2, 3	1847-65		\$21,000	\$30,380
Samuel Reynolds (1792-1882)	Store Keeper, Teaming, Railroad Agent			X	\$18,600	\$8,098
John Spalding (1823-87)	Real Estate	R 2, 3	1865-79	X	\$18,400	
Edwin Tucker (1821-?)		R 3	1854-77		\$16,000	
Anthony Warren (1820-99)	Teacher	R 3	1851-72	X	\$17,500	\$36,750
Edward Warren (1824-92)		D 3	1867-83		\$13,000	
Lysander Warren (1815-1900)	Teacher	R 2, 3	1849-82		\$46,000	\$33,241

Appendix

Agricultural: Single Career

Windham	Census	Probate
Denison Avery (1801-89)	\$11,000	\$7,500
John Baldwin (1801-79)	\$15,600	
Ona Carpenter (1792-1875)	\$14,500	
Samuel Chantin (1811-?)	\$10,800	
Joseph Fry (1819-85)	\$15,000	
Willard Fuller (1801-73)	\$25,700	
William Johnson (1815-81)	\$10,000	Insolvent
Henry Huntington (1823-?)	\$10,000	
Dwight Lincoln (1825-?)	\$10,000	
Charles Young (1848-1915)	\$27,800	\$14,500

Putnam

Stephen Thurston (1811-?)	\$17,000
Frederic Averill (1801-82)	\$17,000

Thompson

Valentine Ballard (1804-95)	\$12,800	\$3,600
Charles Bosworth (1811-73)	\$10,000	
Silas Bowen (1795-1871)	\$11,000	\$12,200
Charles Chandler (1798-1881)	\$11,200	
Dyer Elliot (1798-1893)	\$12,000	
Marcus Loren (1824-?)	\$12,000	
Nathaniel Mills (1804-85)	\$15,000	\$28,300
Schuyler Nichols (1802-79)	\$15,000	\$10,514
Sherman Shumway (1805-71)	\$14,000	\$10,400
Cyrus Tourtelotte (1815-1875)	\$16,000	\$10,300
Jacob Tourtelotte (1794-1878)	\$18,000	
Noadiah Watson (1808-90)	\$58,200	\$30,100

Plainfield

Daniel Angell (1847-?)	\$13,300
David C. Bennet (1839-?)	\$11,000
Erastus Geer (1804-?)	\$18,200
Isaac Parkis (1810-82)	\$35,500

Killingly

Adam Danielson (1796-1872)	\$18,000	\$15,719
Herbert Day (1824-95)	\$11,800	
Charles Hawkins (1818-99)	\$12,000	\$15,800

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