

CAPITALISM'S SOCIAL RELATIONS AND THE
HISTORICAL ARCHAEOLOGY OF LOWER CITY

MANUSCRIPT SERIES OF THE RESEARCH DEPARTMENT

American Indian Archaeological Institute

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Spring 1984

Report prepared under a contractual agreement between the American
Indian Archaeological Institute and the Connecticut Historical
Commission, Hartford, Connecticut.

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II. INTRODUCTION AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Since 1978 the research program at the American Indian Archaeological Institute (AIAI) has included archaeological and historical studies of the 18th and 19th centuries. Together with a strong and continuing commitment to understand the region's prehistory, these studies help to inform us about the relationships between the past and the present and between an interested public and humanistic inquiry. This report discusses work which was undertaken in 1983 and 1984 by staff and research associates associated with the AIAI. During this period the settlement and social history of a later 19th century industrial complex, Lower City, in the settlement corner of Canaan, was examined. Today this settlement is an archaeological complex which has remained largely intact and free of modern disturbances. As such the remains of more than two dozen residential and industrial sites offered the opportunity to conduct archaeological investigations of the changing relations between workers, their lives, and their employers.

Overview of the Research Problem

The studies at Lower City were similar to several recent historic archaeological projects undertaken in Canaan (Handsman 1981a), Goshen (1980, 1981b, 1982a), West Goshen (Handsman 1983a), and Litchfield (Handsman 1984a,b). This anthropological and archaeological activity has demonstrated that nucleated settlements - villages, hamlets, cities - did not begin to appear until the first quarter of the 19th century. Like the recent work of historical geographers (Daniels 1979, McManis 1975, Wood 1978), social and economic historians (Daniels 1977, 1980), and historical archaeologists (Cooke 1982, Dickens 1982, Worrell 1982), the Institute's research illustrates that modern New England's landscapes and societies were developed during periods of urbanization, industrialization, and capitalism. Since the mid-1970's many

have rediscovered the truth of a supposition which first appeared in Richard Purcell's (1963) seminal Connecticut in Transition: *"During the 19th century much of Connecticut's society and economy was transformed from a premodern world into an early version of capitalist America."*

The purpose of the Lower City Project was to explore further the implications of this insight, especially from within a framework provided by critical theory and Marxian history.

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Until 1730 much of the settlement activity in Connecticut was initiated within two zones: the coastal region including the upper reaches of tidal rivers and the Connecticut River Valley. Between 1737 and 1761 the focus of emigration became Litchfield County. Of the nineteen towns incorporated between these two dates, all but three were located within or adjacent to the state's northwestern frontier.

During the initial phase of the county's occupation, approximately 1750 to 1800 or later, each town's settlement pattern was dispersed. A series of individuated farmsteads and mills were distributed across the landscape; rarely a cluster of houses, a store, and a meetinghouse might be discerned. There were no villages; such nucleated settlements did not begin to appear on the landscape until the post-Revolutionary period (ca. 1780). Some of Litchfield County's villages did not even emerge until the second half of the 19th century (Handsman 1981a).

The historic development of nucleated settlements reflected processes associated with urbanization and industrialization which changed empty space of perhaps amorphous clusters of houses into large, more dense, highly-differentiated villages. While the ultimate causes of such changes still are

not well understood, several studies include descriptions of the variety of forms which might be assumed by any particular village. Among these forms are: 1. Commercial centers (Handsman 1981a), 2. Residential central places of varying sizes (Handsman 1981b, 1982), and 3. Industrial settlements of varying sizes (Handsman 1981b:103-123, 1983b, Moore 1978).

On the basis of completed research it can be suggested that the time frames, patterns of ownership, and structure of economic transactions associated with either urbanization or industrialization were quite variable from one locality to the next. Some settlements became large, dense commercial centers surrounded by residential space. Others were small, discrete occupation or industrial centers with few businesses and artisans.

Prior to 1800 the landscape of southeast Canaan included a set of dispersed, individuated farmhouses located along Under Mountain Road, at the foot of Canaan Mountain (Figure 1). By 1870 a nucleated industrial settlement, Lower City, had emerged along the Hollenbeck River just north of the Cornwall line. Many of the facilities in this village were owned and operated by the Hunts and Lyman Iron Company (see Graham 1975:35-44).

The archival studies and archaeological work associated with this project produced data appropriate to the following questions:

1. How did the settlement of Lower City develop? What sorts of patterns of land transactions were associated with the appearance of this village and its subsequent growth between 1850 and 1870?

2. How many archaeological sites represent this historic settlement on the modern landscape? What is the integrity of each of these sites and what information might each site contain? Is any part of this archaeological complex threatened by current policy or activity?

3. How can we characterize the society and economy of Lower City? How was capital generated by the owners of this community? Did the accumulation

Figure 1. Archival Map of the Southeastern Part of the Town of Canaan, ca. 1790. Upper row of houses is situated along Under Mountain Road and represents the initial phase of dispersed settlement. Lower City, in the extreme lower right corner of the map, began to appear in the years just before 1850.

of capital and profit require the exploitation of the working class? How might alienation and exploitation be reflected in the historic archaeological record?

The answers to these questions provided additional information about the archaeological potential and the future preservation of Lower City. Yet the project was more than that. It allowed the AIAI to continue its studies of the development of the ideology and society which were characteristic of America in the 19th century. These studies were as much about historical archaeology as they were about the past since they illustrate how important processes of social control in early capitalism might be encoded in archaeological records.

Acknowledgements

During the summer of 1982 funding for this project was sought from the Connecticut Historical Commission in Hartford. A formal proposal was submitted and reviewed. The announcement of a project grant was received early in 1983 and a funding agreement was prepared and signed before the summer. Initial archival and field studies were conducted during the summer; more intensive research began in September of 1983 and continued into 1984. The recording of historic archaeological sites was completed during the spring as were test excavations at one of the workers' houses.

This study was financed in part by a Survey and Planning Grant received from the U.S. Department of the Interior in conjunction with a program administered by the Connecticut Historical Commission. We are grateful for their continued support and for additional matching monies provided by the Diebold Foundation and other members of the Institute's Friends of Research.

Edmund Swigart and Susan Payne of the AIAI were supportive of the project as well as my desire to gather some comparable data in Wales and England.

Most of the archival studies used below were completed by Colette Moore, who has been a research assistant in historical archaeology since 1978. Her work with the local land and tax records and the census schedules in Hartford provided an important framework for the historical and archaeological interpretations of Lower City. Dora Blinn examined local newspapers at the State Library and helped us understand more about everyday life in the 1870's. Marian Stock of the Falls Village Historical Society gave us access to the Society's collections which contained several important sets of information. Various workers in the Office of the Town Clerk in Falls Village cooperated with Colette Moore during her studies of land records and tax lists. We also received help from the Town Clerks in Cornwall, Goshen, Norfolk, and Canaan in North Canaan.

Roberta Hampton agreed to direct the field studies on short notice. Suzanne Coe and Roberta recorded and photographed some of the sites. The field crew included Suzanne Coe, Willy Morales, Tara Prindle, and Helen Starwalker, all of whom worked with Roberta. They did an excellent job and fought off the spring rains.

Gordon Whitbeck completed most of the lab work associated with the test excavations at one of the workers' houses. He cleaned and processed materials, organized them for analysis and cataloguing, and prepared descriptive tables. He also drafted most of the figures which appear in this report. Jim Morrill of The Hotchkiss School helped to provide needed lab space in the school's Science Building. Esther Freund rented us rooms for the field crew in East Canaan.

We are most grateful to the property owners in and around Lower City. Edward Childs allowed us to record some sawmill sites in the uplands. W. B. Dickerman granted us access to the workers' houses and allowed us to map these sites and to conduct limited test excavations. We are grateful for

his interest and support. The officers and caretaker of the Hollenbeck Fish and Game Club permitted us to locate and record important farmsteads as well as sites associated with the industrial settlement. Sherman Haight and Lawrence Pool were instrumental in our negotiations with the Club and I thank them for their efforts. I learned much from Mr. Pool's (1982) book, America's Valley Forges and Valley Furnaces, which includes some information about Lower City and its furnace. We hope that he finds something of interest in our work.

Most of all I owe an intellectual debt to E. P. Thompson, Anthony Giddens, Elizabeth Fox-Genovese and Eugene D. Genovese, Michel Foucault, and a book entitled Segmented Work, Divided Workers (David M. Gordon et al. 1982). Their interpretations helped me to understand mine. This report is for the workers who once lived at Lower City.

III. INDUSTRIAL SETTLEMENTS IN 19TH CENTURY LITCHFIELD COUNTY

It could be argued that the industrialization of Litchfield County began in each town at the moment of initial settlement. Certainly the early proprietors' records from some towns indicate that the location and construction of water-powered mills was an important topic for discussion and argument. Some of these early gristmills and sawmills are still extant as isolated remains along streams or at the outlets of ponds and lakes (Howell and Carlson 1974). Others have disappeared as a result of deterioration, vandalism, or scavenging, especially during the 20th century. Still other sites from the later 18th century have been partly or completely incorporated into the foundations of 19th century sites.¹

Although such mills were industrial sites and often employed imaginative engineering systems, their presence is not really indicative of industrialization. Their use, construction, organization, and associated economies were relatively small and uncomplicated. Many of these facilities were used only on a seasonal basis by part-time craftsmen who may have employed a few laborers. These mills offered services or products for cash or barter to a surrounding community of farmers who often were neighbors and kinsmen of the mill operator (Hamilton 1964, Bidwell 1916). As such these early mills remained isolated through the 18th century; many never became the focus of further settlement growth even after 1830.

Like several varieties of mills, ironworks were also constructed in the later 18th century (Howell and Carlson 1974:10-13, 37-59, Rome 1977). Some of these processing facilities pre-date the Revolution and were the focus for the development of small villages. For example the early furnace at Lakeville's Lake Wononscopomuc employed almost 60 workers who lived in

several boarding houses near the works. Other than the furnace, this early industrial settlement also included a molding house, boring mill, and bridge house in addition to several sheds and barns (Rome 1977:17). On a historic map of appropriate scale this settlement would be reminiscent of the company villages which appeared during the late 19th century (see below).

Some ironworks were more isolated and did not become the focus for subsequent urbanization or industrialization. A 1790 map of the Town of Canaan depicts an ironworks (a forge?) at the outlet of Wangum Lake on Canaan Mountain.² It was isolated and had disappeared before 1850. Similarly there were at least three pre-1800 ironworks in Kent, none of which became larger or more industrialized during the 19th century (Grant 1972:41-42).

The Rise of Industrial Villages and Cities

In some settings, particularly along major streams which possessed high gradients and several sets of falls, early industrial activity became the focus for later settlement growth. Through time a few mills and other water-powered sites were surrounded by residences, stores, shops, and additional mills and foundaries. After a half century of such growth, urban villages appeared (Figure 2). These villages were nucleated settlements composed of concentrations of houses, stores, mills and furnaces, and businesses where economic and professional activities were often centered (see Handsman 1981a, 1982, Daniels 1979, and McManis 1975:41-85). In Litchfield County urban villages with industrial components were rare until the 1820's when they became a more obvious settlement phenomenon.

New Preston, along the East Branch of the Aspetuck River in the Town of Washington, was a typical urbanized, industrial village. Prior to 1800 an important forge, the Cogswell Ironworks, and a gristmill and several sawmills were situated in this locality (Howell and Carlson 1974:126-134). During the next seven decades New Preston grew into a thriving commercial and industrial

Figure 2. Brunswick and Topsham, Maine, 1780-1802. This urbanized, industrial settlement grew dramatically during the last quarter of the 18th century. Most of the dwellings were inhabited by mill workers but the courthouse and the college attracted other occupants. Diagram from Joseph Wood (1978:260-261).

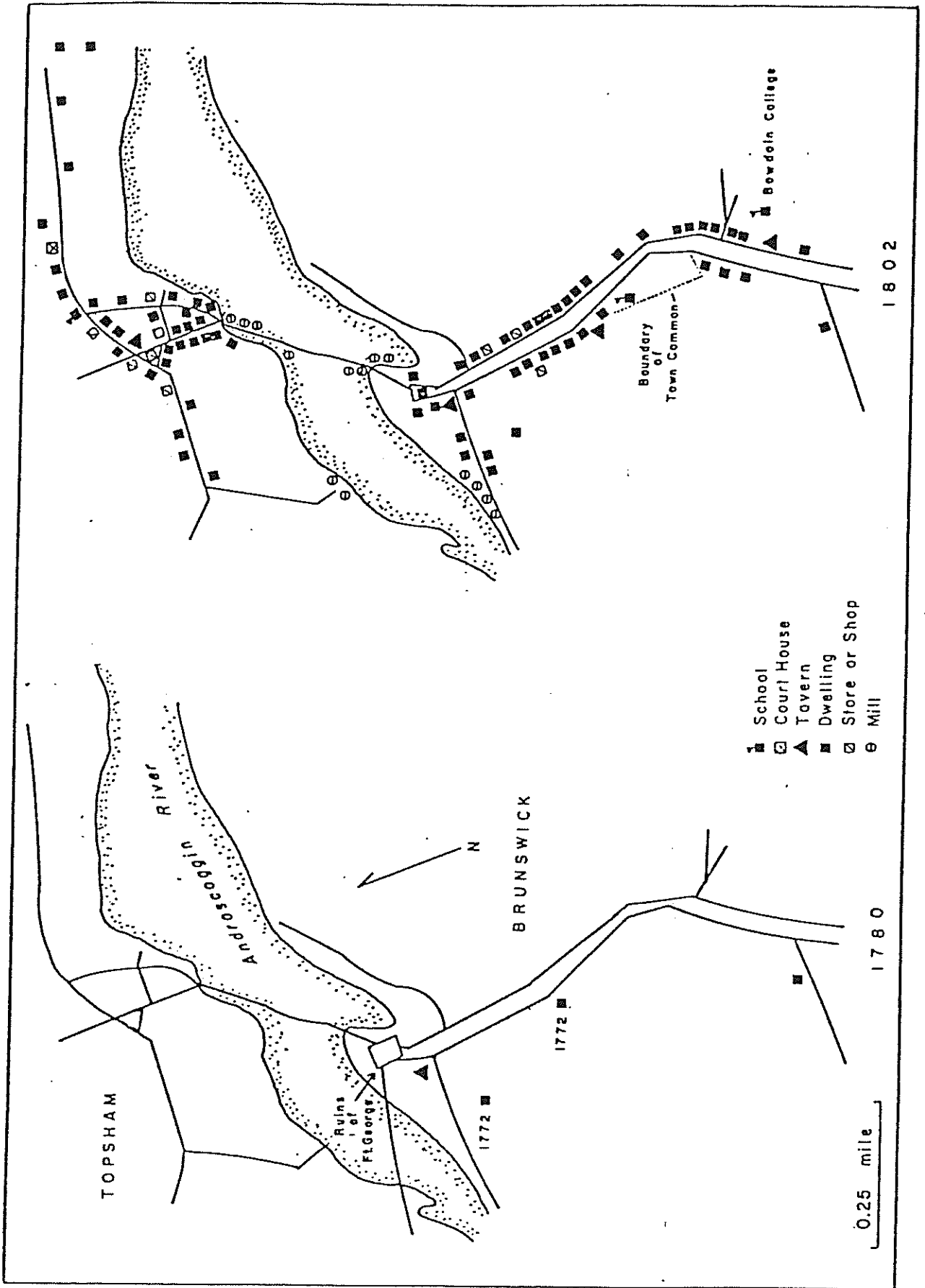


Figure 2.

center. Depicted in the 1874 Beers' Atlas, the village contained an iron furnace, twine factory, several blacksmiths, and numerous stone and wood sawmills. In addition two tanneries, a Congregational Church, two private educational academies, a shoe shop, a doctor's office, and several stores had been built (Figure 3).

During the 19th century Litchfield County's landscape included many examples of urbanized, industrial villages. Some continue to exist as living settlements today, such as Cornwall Bridge and Milton (Town of Litchfield). Others, such as West Goshen, have become at least in part archaeological complexes (Handsman 1981b:103-119). Some of these villages seem to have grown gradually once they appeared. Others developed rapidly in "boom years" which were short-lived and followed by periods of quiet and stability.

As one moves from west to east in Litchfield County and towards the last quarter of the 19th century, large scale, *industrialized cities* begin to appear. Primarily concentrated in the Naugatuck Valley corridor, these settlements are recognizable today as large urban centers whose form and character developed during the period between 1850 and 1900. Winsted and Thomaston represent this sort of settlement as does Waterbury, just south of Litchfield County. Their scale of industrialization is monumental when compared to industrial villages and reflects two historical processes of growth: 1. Rapid and continuing urbanization and immigration reflective of growth in the working class and their families and 2. The reorganization and magnification of industrial production.

The industrialization of cities was represented by dramatic growth in the residential population, the working class, the number of competing firms, and the number and size of workplaces or factories. The population history of Waterbury reflected this growth (Table I) and was one sign of the magnitude of differences between urbanized, industrial villages and

Figure 3. New Preston in the 1870's. This depiction, from the 1874 Beers' Atlas, shows the mixed industrial and residential form of this nucleated settlement. It is one of the classic urbanized, industrial villages which continues to exist on the contemporary landscape.

Table I.: Population Growth of Waterbury, Connecticut (Bucki et al. 1980:83).

<u>Year</u>	<u>Population</u>	<u>Growth Rate</u> (% Change per Decade)	<u>Settlement</u>
1790	2,937	--	Urban Village
1800	3,256	10	Urban Village
1810	2,874	-11	Urban Village
1820	2,282	-20	Urban Village
1830	3,070	34	Urban Village
1840	3,668	19	Urban Village
1850	5,137	40	Urban Village
1860	10,004	94	Industrialization
1870	13,106	31	Industrialization
1880	20,270	54	Industrialization
1890	33,202	63	Industrialization
1900	51,139	54	Industrialization
1910	73,141	43	Industrialization
1920	91,715	25	Industrialization

industrialized cities in later 19th century Litchfield County.

While a definitive account of the urbanization and industrialization of Torrington has not yet been written, its later 19th century history of growth was similar to Waterbury's. An 1889 "Bird's Eye" depiction of Torrington illustrates the intensity of land use, the degree of urbanization, and the scale of industrialization typical of such 19th century settlements (Figure 4). Such representations offer dramatic contrasts to the more rural, industrial villages which continued to dominate the county's landscape between 1850 and 1900 (compare Figures 3 and 4).

The Form of Company Villages

During the second half of the 19th century a third type of industrial settlement was constructed in some settings. Smaller in size and usually associated with one or perhaps a few closely related industries or manufacturing processes, such settlements might be called *company villages*. There were not many of them in Litchfield County; the Northfield Knife Factory (Figure 5), the Barnum Richardson village in East Canaan (Figure 6), the Kent Iron Company (Beers et al. 1874:38), Amesville and the Housatonic Valley Railroad Company in Salisbury (Moore 1978), and Lower City in southeast Canaan are among the most

Figure 4. Bird's Eye View of Torrington, Connecticut, 1889.
Section of a larger published map. Illustrates
the center city and the growth along the Naugatuck
River. The large factories to the left of center
were owned and managed by the Coe Brass Manufacturing
Company.

Figure 5. The Settlement of Northfield in the 1870's (Beers et al. 1874:40). The Northfield Knife Factory was located along a brook and associated with several offices, a store, and five workers' houses to the east. In addition some of the residences opposite the workers' houses were built and inhabited by men who also worked in the knife shop.

Figure 6. The Company Town of Barnum Richardson in East Canaan, Connecticut (Beers et al. 1874:18). This settlement included two furnaces, several offices, a row of workers' houses, and complexes of charcoal sheds in addition to some other buildings. Much of this company town is represented today by archaeological sites along the Blackberry River.

apparent in the 1874 Beers' Atlas.

Each of these settlements consisted of manufacturing facilities, sites of related industrial activities, stores and offices, and one or more groups of workers' houses. All of these buildings were constructed and then owned and maintained by the company itself. While the size and number of components of each company village varied, their compactness and intensity of land use made them different from both industrialized cities and industrial villages.

Many of the company villages which existed in rural settings in Litchfield County were discrete settlements and could easily be recognized. However such entities were also built within the limits of larger industrialized cities and contributed to each city's size and complexity. For example the Union Hardware Company built a small settlement in the west end of Torrington after the Civil War (Figure 7). This "village" included several factories and offices and at least two rows of workers' houses. Further to the north and west the landscape became more rural and agricultural. To the south beyond Union Hardware lay the more intensely urbanized and industrialized sections of Torrington (Figure 4).

By definition the size and scale of company villages allows us to distinguish them from industrial cities even if they were sometimes surrounded by these more urban settlements. From another perspective however company villages may have been identical to parts of cities such as Waterbury and Torrington. During the later 19th century in both settings some capitalists began to re-organize industrial production. It became more formal, less specialized, more differentiated, faster and more dangerous, and more dominated by machines (Braverman 1974, Gordon et al. 1982:1-99, Gutman 1977, Weeks 1981). These changes determined and were themselves determined by the rise of a propertyless working class - a proletariat.

1874 Map of the Company Village of Union Hardware

(Beers et al. 1874:32-33).

Figure 7. Union Hardware Company in the West End of Torrington, 1889.

Centered in the photograph, this company village included several factories of multiple stories and two rows of workers' houses. This "Bird's Eye" view is translated on the facing page in an 1874 depiction from the F. W. Beers County Atlas of Litchfield, Connecticut.

As industrial production expanded and was reinvented the structure of labor and the lives of the working class were also transformed. From this point industrial society and economy were about class, class conflict and struggle, social control and power, and alienation and exploitation. Each of these processes was enacted to some extent in particular settings in both company villages and in industrialized cities. The processes themselves were characteristic of capitalism's social relations but were not present in all industrial settings or places. Thus for example these relations were not necessarily present in 18th or 19th century industrial villages (Handsman 1983a).

* * * * *

The 19th century landscape of Litchfield County was a complex mosaic of industrial, commercial, and agricultural land uses. Some settlements were nucleated and heterogeneous; other patterns were dispersed or highly individuated. Within this mosaic, during the later 19th century, industrialized cities and company villages appeared. Physically these settlements were different. More importantly they represented ideas and processes about production and control which continue to change our lives. This history is encoded in the remains preserved in historic archaeological records around the county.

IV. THE INDUSTRIALIZATION OF RURAL LANDSCAPES: THE EXAMPLE OF LOWER CITY

While the contemporary New England village or landscape might often appear to be timeless to the visitor or casual historian, the 19th century was actually a period during which nature, society, and the land were transformed forever. This chapter offers a *visual perspective* on the period and summarizes the *physical changes* which were caused by industrialization. Here *industrialization* is used as it is by historical geographers, industrial historians and archaeologists, and historians of technology. *It refers to those specific historical periods and processes during which earlier patterns of land use were altered by growth in the scale and organization of industrial activity.* Industrial villages, industrialized cities, and company villages were all settlement forms whose physical characteristics represented changes which originated during periods of industrialization.

Characteristic Patterns and Processes

Perhaps the easiest way to recognize the physical changes associated with industrialization is to examine the borders or edges of 19th century industrial settlements. Here one can see the physical differences and learn how to visualize them. For example the "Bird's Eye View" of Torrington includes enough of the township beyond the city so that it is possible to recognize the edges of the industrialized zone. In Figures 4 and 7 such edges can be seen along the top borders beyond Washington Street and the Union Hardware Company, respectively. In each case the contrast between the city and the unaltered countryside is apparent. There is more open space, fewer houses, no signs of industrial activity, and more plowed fields and fenced pastures associated with viable farms.

A similar pattern can be recognized along the eastern edge of Torrington (Figure 8). As one travels out East Main Street the edge of the industrialized city is clearly depicted. In fact an earlier 19th century farmstead is

1874 Map of the East Side of Torrington

(Beers et al. 1874:32-33).

Figure 8. East Side of Torrington, 1889. The contact between the industrialized zone and the outlying agricultural district is clearly defined here. Note the farmsteads at the right side of the photo and the company village at the bottom. This view is translated on the facing page in an 1874 depiction from the F. W. Beers County Atlas of Litchfield, Connecticut.

visible at the right side of the photograph. Towards the bottom a three-story wooden factory and associated rows of workers' housing (the Redfield and Rice complex on the 1874 translation) represent a company village at the outskirts of the city. As one moves towards the photograph's upper left corner one enters the core of the city's industrial, residential, and commercial zone.

These trends are repeated often throughout this 1889 view and, with other information and studies (e.g. Bucki et al. 1980), allow us to identify several patterns and processes which are characteristic of later 19th century industrialization:

1. Growth in the size of the nucleated settlement as additional houses, mills or factories, stores and offices are built.

2. Appearance of more intensive patterns of land use. Larger tracts are subdivided to provide space for additional houses and other buildings. In the smaller settlements this process of division reduced the number and size of farms. In larger cities such as Torrington, farms would almost disappear entirely from the industrialized zone.

3. The filling of unoccupied space, the construction of made land to provide additional space, or the burying of earlier landscapes beneath new ones. These activities are especially well represented in the historic archaeological records of cities (Rothschild and Rockman 1982, Rubertone 1982) and of manufactories (Ingle 1982).

4. Continuing development of occupational specialization. This process is characteristic of the emergence of urbanized, industrial villages and industrialized cities. More people become involved in providing goods and services to a working class which uses its wages to purchase its basic needs. While this process has obvious social and economic implications, it is represented by the physical evidence of new construction or by the "adaptive reuse" of older buildings.

Each of the three settlement forms associated with industrialization represented villages or cities which developed at different scales and rates of growth during the 19th century. Their sizes and patterns of land use varied according to how each of these processes of physical change occurred. The later 19th century company village of Lower City represented one such industrialized settlement. Its history of growth depicts one case study in how the processes of industrialization altered a rural landscape in Litchfield County.

A History of Lower City's Industrialization

Lower City developed in the southeast corner of the Town of Canaan about midway through the 19th century. It was one of six nucleated settlements in the town then, which until 1858 included the area now incorporated as the Town of North Canaan. In 1850 the Town of Canaan was about one century old; it was formed by a special act of Connecticut's General Assembly in 1737 along with six other towns in the Northwest Corner. Between 1740 when initial colonization began and 1800, most of the town's occupants lived in farmsteads dispersed along major roadways.

This original pattern of dispersed settlement was depicted in a 1790 map of the town.³ Farmsteads were situated along both sides of Robbins Swamp, along Under Mountain Road (Figure 1), and along the roads which followed the Blackberry River valley and the Konkaput River just south of the Massachusetts line. Two small nucleated settlements had appeared by this time: an industrial village in East Canaan (see its history in Howell and Carlson 1980) and a residential community near the southern end of Dutcher's Hill where the Hollenbeck River crosses Belden Street (Figure 9). This second settlement consisted of several houses and a Congregational Church and was described by Timothy Dwight in 1798 as a group of "scattered and indifferent houses and a decayed church without a steeple" (Dwight, Volume II 1969:261).

Figure 9. 1790 Map of a Residential Community in the Town of Canaan.

The group of houses and the meetinghouse in the left corner represent one of the two villages in Canaan before 1800.

Robbins Swamp is shown along the middle of the photo. Note the farmhouses situated along the road to the right.

This early residential place disappeared before 1840.

In addition to the two villages and the dispersed farmsteads, several rivers and streams were being used to provide waterpower to mills and forges. An 1811 map shows several forges along the Hollenbeck, gristmills and sawmills along many of the tributaries of the Hollenbeck and Housatonic Rivers, as well as the industrial settlement in East Canaan along the Blackberry River (reproduced in Graham 1975:1-2). There were also several mills and forges along the Housatonic River at Falls Village before 1800 but the locality did not become urbanized until the third decade of the 19th century (Fales 1972, Graham 1975:1-16).

Between 1800 and 1860 five new villages developed in the Town of Canaan (Table II). In addition to the earlier industrial village of East Canaan,

Table II.: New Villages in the Town of Canaan, 1800-1860.

<u>Name</u>	<u>Type of Settlement</u>	<u>Period of Growth</u>	<u>Important Activities</u>	<u>Evidence of Industrialization</u>
Canaan	Urban village Commercial center	1840-1880	Commerce Railroading	No
East Canaan	Industrial village*	1830-1880	Iron processing Manufacturing	Yes
Falls Village	Urban village Commercial center	1820-1870	Commerce Banking Railroading	No
Huntsville	Urbanized, industrial village	1800-1870	Milling sites Iron processing Commerce	Yes
Lower City	Company village	1845-1870	Iron processing	Yes
South Canaan	Residential village	1830-1880	Agriculture Commerce	No

*Actually the more recent of two such settlements.

Huntsville and Lower City were also important settlements which grew as a result of the physical processes associated with industrialization. The emergence of Falls Village as a commercial and residential center - as an urban village - was initiated by a scheme to make the Great Falls "the site of a great manufacturing city." Although the plan failed, the success of other smaller industrial villages and iron mining and processing in the region allowed Falls Village to become an urbanized center for banking and commerce by the middle of the 19th century.

Of the three obviously industrialized settlements on the 19th century landscape, East Canaan and Lower City were company villages. The origins of East Canaan can be traced to the mid-18th century when a number of enterprising individuals, including members of the Forbes family, built a series of iron furnaces and forges on the Blackberry. The size of this original industrial village fluctuated and then increased steadily between 1830 and 1880. After 1850 the industrial diversity of the settlement declined as iron processing and iron furnaces began to dominate the landscape. By 1870 East Canaan had become a company village, somewhat larger than Lower City (Figure 6).

The settlement history of Lower City did not begin until about 1840. Between then and its decline in 1890, the village's history of industrialization was characterized by several of the physical processes described above. Prior to 1840 the lands in the town's southeast corner were divided among a series of post-Revolutionary War farmsteads. There were several of these farms near the intersection of Under Mountain Road and the Litchfield-Canaan turnpike. Further to the north for a distance of almost five miles along Under Mountain Road, about 20 houses had been built before 1800 (Figure 1). Many of these were inhabited by farming families whose gravestones fill the cemetery just south of Barnes Road.

When it began to develop in the 1840's, Lower City covered an area of 100 acres between Under Mountain Road, Hollenbeck Pond, the the border between the towns of Canaan and Cornwall. The earliest history of this particular locality is difficult to reconstruct since the tract was never whole until the mid-19th century. Pieces of it were owned by different individuals, some of whom lived in Goshen, Cornwall, or elsewhere in Canaan.

By the early 1760's occupation and use of at least part of this tract and the adjacent Hollenbeck River had commenced. A sawmill was first mentioned in a land transaction in 1761. It stood along the Hollenbeck near the present pond and was owned and used by more than six individuals, all of whom lived in northern Goshen. Shares or interests in this same mill were sold and exchanged often over the succeeding twenty years until the mill, the site, the water privileges (power), the yard and the dams, and the "utensils" were acquired by Jeremiah Howe between 1781 and 1789.⁴

Howe owned a farm very near the outlet of the present Hollenbeck Pond and evidently was one of the first to use a mill seat along the Hollenbeck for an iron forge in Lower City. Several deeds between 1805 and 1846 mention the forge and one from 1810 suggests that a forge, blacksmith shop, and sawmill were all built and used along the Hollenbeck at the same time.⁵ By 1846 possession of the forge, coal houses, rights of water belonging to the forge, and all the tools and implements used for "carrying on said forge" had been acquired by Edward P. Hunt (Canaan Land Records, March 1846, Volume 15:478). One year later Edward Hunt sold the forge and associated lands along with other properties to three individuals (Lee Canfield, S. S. Robbins, and Moses Lyman), who formed *Hunts Lyman and Company*. This company built the "Buena Vista Furnace" soon after and the facility became a center for iron processing by 1850.

For more than 80 years between 1760 and 1840 a stretch of the Hollenbeck River near the present pond was used to provide waterpower for several industrial sites. These sites were owned and operated by individuals who lived nearby in other towns or by persons who owned farmsteads in the vicinity of Lower City. There was no nucleated settlement or industrial village until after 1850. In fact the name Lower City did not appear until 1846 when it was used as a reference for the Third District School, which had existed since the early 19th century.⁶

Until 1850-1860 the children who attended the Third District School were from local farmsteads within one-half mile of the intersection of Under Mountain Road and the Litchfield-Canaan Turnpike. Seven of these farmsteads were illustrated on a late 1850's map of the locality including three which belonged to members of the Howe family and one owned by a Yale (Figure 10).⁷ The Howes were not original settlers in the locality but they had begun to acquire land and mill rights and had built a farmhouse by June of 1767 (Canaan Land Records, June 1767, Volume 3:14). Elisha Yale arrived at about the same time and purchased a farm from Thomas Bailey in 1769 (Canaan Land Records, November 1769, Volume 3:87).

The descendants of the original Howe and Yale settlers continued to maintain their farms through the first half of the 19th century. Additional farmsteads were also constructed to the south and the east of the pond, so by 1855 there were seven farms in the research area. One group was concentrated between Under Mountain Road and the Turnpike; another pair of farms (Bates, Wilcox) was situated further to the south between the Turnpike and the older road to Cornwall Hollow (Figure 10).

Beginning in 1850 federal census takers recorded agricultural statistics so it is possible to reconstruct the size of the farmsteads and their values during the second half of the 19th century (Table III).⁸ There is much

Figure 10. Manuscript Map of the Locality of Lower City, ca. 1855. Note the pond, the presence of the Buena Vista Furnace (1847) owned by the Hunts Lyman and Company, as well as seven farms (A. Howe, Miss Johnson, S. Howe, Yale, L. Howe, J. Bates, R. Wilcox). The workers' houses built around 1863-1864 are not depicted. Compare this with Figure 11 to learn how the company village grew after 1860.

Table III.: History of Farms in Lower City, 1850-1880.

<u>Owner/Category</u>	<u>1850 Census</u>	<u>1860 Census</u>	<u>1865 Tax</u>	<u>1876 Tax</u>	<u>1880 Census</u>	<u>Recorded Site</u>
<u>A. Howe/</u>						
Acres	250	260	260	250	<u>Estate/</u> 450	--
Value	\$5000	\$1000?	\$5000	\$5000	\$4500	
Horses	3	1	1	2	2	
Milch Cows	6	7			4	
Other Cattle	3	3	T:14	T:8	1	
Sheep	0	0	N	N	--	
Swine	3	4	N	N	2	
<u>Miss Johnson/</u>						
<u>G. Ganser/</u>						
Acres		25	75	115	170	21/075
Value		\$1000	\$850	\$1700	\$3000	
Horses		2	3	3	2	
Milch Cows		5			5	
Other Cattle		9	T:10	T:13	8	
Sheep		0	N	N	8	
Swine		0	N	N	3	
<u>S. Howe/</u>						
<u>1848 Tax</u>						
Acres	115	100			<u>Leapean/</u> 75	21/074
Value	\$1700	\$4000			\$1500	
Horses	3	3			2	
Milch Cows		3			3	
Other Cattle	T:9	8			1	
Sheep	1	0			--	
Swine	--	0			2	
<u>L. Howe/</u>						
<u>Widow/</u>						
Acres	200	130	80			--
Value	\$5500	\$3000	\$2400			
Horses	2	1	1			
Milch Cows	12	12				
Other Cattle	6	11	T:9			
Sheep	0	0	N			
Swine	5	4	N			
<u>J. Bates/</u>						
Acres	300	300	200	200	325	--
Value	\$5400	\$6000	\$6000	\$5700	\$7000	
Horses	3	2	2	2	2	
Milch Cows	10	16			12	
Other Cattle	19	35	T:44	T:33	15	
Sheep	20	0	N	N	0	
Swine	3	10	N	N	3	

Table III.: History of Farms in Lower City, 1850-1880 (continued).

<u>Owner/Category</u>	<u>1850 Census</u>	<u>1860 Census</u>	<u>1865 Tax</u>	<u>1876 Tax</u>	<u>1880 Census</u>	<u>Recorded Site</u>
<u>R. Wilcox/</u>				<u>Sabine/</u>		
Acres	35	90	50	56	60	--
Value	\$3000	\$2000	\$1500	\$1300	\$2500	
Horses	3	2	2	2	2	
Milch Cows	3	5			2	
Other Cattle	0	2	T:9	T:7	--	
Sheep	0	0	N	N	--	
Swine	2	3	N	N	--	
<u>Yale/</u>	<u>1848 Tax</u>			<u>Callahan/</u>		
Acres	240			30	25	21/070
Value	\$500			\$650	\$800	
Horses	1			1	--	
Milch Cows					3	
Other Cattle	T:0			T:1	1	
Sheep	N			N	--	
Swine	N			N	--	

Note: In some cases local tax records have been substituted for missing data from the 1850 Federal Census Schedules. The tax data are not as specific in several categories. For example "milch cows" were not distinguished from other cattle so only a total (T) can be given. Other data were not even recorded in local records (N).

variation between individual farms; differences in size and the holdings of livestock are especially noticeable. Yet two other patterns are even more relevant.

First, many of those farms which were depicted on the 1853 Richard Clark Map and on the 1855 map (Figure 10) are also illustrated on the 1874 map of Lower City from the Beers Atlas (1874:15) (Figure 11). In some cases owners have changed (Miss Johnson, S. Howe, R. Wilcox); the L. Howe farm was probably sold to the Iron Company after 1865. However the company may have continued this earlier use since the 1880 Agricultural Schedule indicates that the *Hunts Lyman Iron Company* owned 270 acres of farmland, valued at \$4000. Thus the emergence of the company village of Lower City after 1860 did not affect the number of farmsteads in the locality.

Figure 11. Lower City and Vicinity in the 1870's. When compared to the earlier 1855 map, a company village, Lower City, owned by the Hunts Lyman Iron Company has appeared. Seven workers' houses were built in two rows between Meekertown Road and the Turnpike. However this complex filled formerly-unused space so that the industrialization of Lower City did not reduce the number or size of farms.

Second, the statistics on acreage and livestock holdings do not suggest that the industrialization of Lower City affected the amount of usable farmland. There is no evidence to indicate that the growth of the settlement "captured" farmlands and reduced the size of the 19th century units. Some farms (A. Howe, G. Ganser, J. Bates) actually grew in size between 1865 and 1880.

Both of these patterns imply that the growth of Lower City affected primarily what was unused space or perhaps farmlands that were not improved or were being improved. Agricultural use continued to be a viable and important pattern during the second half of the 19th century. As Lower City became an archetypal company village it was surrounded by farmsteads, many of whose origins can be traced to the later 18th century.

The industrialized settlement of Lower City originated with the 1846 transaction when Edward Hunt acquired Howe's forge and the "rights of water belonging to the forge." Within one year the same property and rights were part of a much larger transaction between Edward Hunt and the group known as *Hunts Lyman and Company*. Along with the "Forge Piece," this transaction included a homestead and 7 acres of farmland, 12 acres and 2 barns, 38 acres and 2 sawmills along Brown Brook, and 85 more acres of farmland along Under Mountain Road (Canaan Land Records, April 1847, Volume 17:149). Together with some additional properties acquired in the early 1850's, this exchange provided the *Hunts Lyman and Company* with the land, industrial sites, and water rights that became Lower City in the next two decades.

The 1853 Richard Clark Map and the 1855 archival map (Figure 10) illustrate the settlement as it appeared before 1860. The settlement was not a company village then; rather it consisted of the furnace and related buildings at the outlet of the Pond, additional buildings (probably houses) along both sides of the turnpike, and two sawmills along the upper reaches of Brown Brook. Between 1855 and the early 1870's the settlement was transformed into a company village as was the company itself.

In May of 1861 *Hunts Lyman and Company* was dissolved and a joint stock corporation, the *Hunts Lyman Iron Company*, was formed.⁹ According to corporation papers filed at Falls Village, this new company would manufacture "Pig and Wrought Iron (for?) Car wheels and castings." This decision represented a continuation of earlier industrial activity begun in 1847. For example an 1859 description of the furnace indicates that it produced high-grade car-wheel iron for companies in Jersey City, Rochester, Buffalo, and Wilmington, Delaware (quoted in Pool~~f~~ 1982:125). This second company assumed ownership of the former company's assets and continued to own and manage Lower City until 1900.

Between 1861 and 1863 the *Hunts Lyman Iron Company* acquired additional operating capital and decided to redesign Lower City (see discussion in next chapter). The furnace may have been relined at this time (see discussion in Pool~~f~~ 1982:13-15) but most of the new construction was focused on the opposite side of the turnpike, south of the Meekertown Road. Here, between 1863 and 1864, seven houses were built in two rows on land which had not been used until that time. This phase of growth was completed in less than one year.¹⁰ By 1865 a true company village had appeared in Lower City; its size and component parts were depicted in the 1874 map from the Beers Atlas (Figure 11). Between 1865 and 1893 the *physical size and plan* of the village were not altered. During the 20th century parts of the "now dead" settlement changed hands several times. By 1930 Lower City had been acquired by the Hollenbeck Sportsmen Club which protected the settlement from disturbance and destruction. It continues to be surrounded by open space and preserved by the Hollenbeck Fish and Game Club and the Dickerman family of Norwell, Massachusetts.

A Description of the Historic Archaeological Record at Lower City

For most of the 20th century Lower City has been an archaeological complex surrounded by open space and thus protected from residential and commercial developments. Certainly its position in a rural landscape outside a modern center village has contributed to its preservation. The properties around the historic archaeological sites at Lower City are now used for hunting and fishing. These activities do not themselves harm any site's integrity nor do they introduce large numbers of untrained persons to what are highly-visible remains.

Modern disturbances have almost destroyed parts of Lower City twice since the 1930's. A small gravel quarry disturbed about ten acres before the mid-1960's along the settlement's eastern edge, beyond the second row of workers' houses. As far as can be determined this operation did not destroy any of the settlement.

At about the same time a portion of the original turnpike (Route 63) on both sides of the Cornwall-Canaan line was relocated (Figure 12). During this project the intersection of Routes 63 and 43 was also moved further to the south than it was in the 19th century.¹¹ While previous studies (Graham 1975:36, Pool 1982) have suggested that these highway projects disturbed some or all of Lower City, our field studies indicate that little if any disturbance occurred. Actually the highway's relocation helped preserve some 19th century sites upstream from the Hollenbeck Pond.

During the fall of 1983 and the spring of 1984 a field crew from the American Indian Archaeological Institute evaluated the historic archaeological record in and around the Lower City settlement. These field studies were undertaken to achieve several goals:

1. To locate extant historic archaeological sites from the 18th and 19th

Figure 12. Portion of Relocated Turnpike in Lower City.

Looking south towards the Cornwall line, this view shows part of the older highway opposite the workers' houses. The present highway (Route 63) is situated to the east.

centuries. Each site was recorded on a standard inventory form, photographed, and evaluated.

2. To determine whether any of the company village of Lower City, as depicted in the 1874 Beers Atlas, had survived with its archaeological record intact.

3. To identify localities where intensive modern disturbances had already destroyed the integrity of subsurface archaeological deposits.

4. To assess the integrity and research potential of the archaeological records associated with the workers' houses.

Twenty-three previously unrecorded sites were discovered during an intensive survey (Table IV). This work was concentrated upon the lands along the

Table IV.: 23 Historic Archaeological Sites in and around Lower City.

<u>Site Name</u>	<u>Site Number</u>	<u>Type of Site</u>	<u>Time Period</u>	<u>Integrity</u>	<u>1853 Map</u>	<u>1874 Map</u>
Chattleton	062	House Site	1830-1900	Yes	X	X
*HL Dam	063	Sawmill Dam	1830-1900	Yes	X	X
HL Sawmill	064	Sawmill	1830-1900	Yes	X	X
HL Shed	065	Sawmill Shed	1830-1900	Yes	X	X
HL Sawmill	066	Sawmill	1830-1900	Yes	X	X
Newest						
Cellarhole	067	Farmstead	1870-1940's	Yes	No	X
Iron Co. #1	068	Office Building?	1863-1900	Yes	No	X
Slag Pile	069	Slag Heap	1850-1893	Yes	No	No
Callahan	070	Farmstead	1770-1900	Yes	X	X
Callahan	071	Outbuilding	1770-1900	Yes	X	X
Lindsey	072	House Site	1830-1900	Yes	X	X
Barnes	073	Farmstead	1830-1900	Yes	X	X
Leapean	074	Farmstead	1770-1900	Yes	X	X
Ganser	075	Farmstead	1770-1870	Yes	X	X
A. Howe	076	House?	1800-1900	Yes	X	X
Iron Co. #2	077	Farmstead	1770-1900	Yes	X	X
Iron Co. #3	078	Worker's House	1863-1893	Yes	No	X
Iron Co. #4	079	Worker's House	1863-1893	Yes	No	X
Iron Co. #5	080	Worker's House	1863-1893	Some	No	X
Iron Co. #6	081	Worker's House	1863-1893	Yes	No	X
Iron Co. #7	082	Worker's House	1863-1893	Some	No	X
Iron Co. #8	083	Worker's House	1863-1893	?	No	X
HL Furnace	084	Blast Furnace	1840's-1893	Ruins	X	X

*HL: Hunts Lyman Iron Company

Figure 13. Remains of a Raceway (Site 21-066) Associated with a Later 19th Century Sawmill along Brown Brook. This mill was one of two such features owned and operated by the Hunts Lyman Iron Company.

of the 19th century. With the exception of Site 067 these resources are less extensive and do not include associated remains such as outbuildings. Information from the 1870 and 1880 census schedules suggests that these houses were occupied by day laborers who worked at Lower City or on the farms which continued to exist during the second half of the 19th century.¹³

The third group of recorded sites includes the remains of ten houses or facilities which were closely related to the development of the company village of Lower City between the late 1840's and the early 1890's. One of these represents the original furnace (Site 084), built in 1847 and probably reconstructed more than once during the next forty years. Its base is relatively intact; however its chimney is gone (Figure 14). Several technological features associated with the furnace and its power system have survived including the wheel pit (Figure 15), a series of gates and raceways, and aqueduct arches (see description in Pool 1982:7-21, 100-106, 123-125). Most of the landscape around the furnace is intact and subsurface archaeological work would undoubtedly discover preserved evidence of repairs and modifications.

Two sites (068, 069), opposite the furnace, represent features once associated with its operation. One is a small, rectangular cellarhole where an office once stood. The other is a mound of slag built during repeated dumpings of the furnace's by-products over about a 50-year period. Today the mound is about 250 feet long, 150 feet wide (east to west), and 10 feet high. Gradually it filled a seasonal wetland on the north side of the Meekertown Road and may have covered an earlier barn.

The other seven sites represent the remains of houses used by families whose fathers and older sons worked in the iron furnace (see next chapter). One of these probably was a farmhouse (Site 077) built in the late 18th century, then purchased by Edward Hunt and later sold to Hunts Lyman and Company in 1847. The Hunts Lyman Iron Company may have used it as a

Figure 14. Remains of the Buena Vista Iron Furnace, ca. 1847-1890, at Lower City. Some of the furnace's base and tuyere arches are still intact; the chimney is gone. Evidence suggests that the furnace was relined more than once.

Figure 15. Wheel Pit Associated with the Buena Vista Iron Furnace.

In the late 1970's the remains of the wheel could still
be seen.

farmstead between 1861 and the early 1890's. The six other workers' houses were built by the Iron Company between 1863 and 1864 and are situated in two rows as depicted on the 1874 map (Figure 11). These houses were used continuously into the early 1890's when they were abandoned by the Company. Since then their cellarholes and associated archaeological remains have been preserved. Together with the industrial sites of the furnace and its surrounding complex of charging and casting buildings and slag piles, these residential sites offer historic archaeologists a significant research opportunity: the possibility of exploring how economy, society, and production were organized in an early capitalist industrial settlement.