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History of the 'Front Street' Downtown Development Neighborhood

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History 835: History of Hartford
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Introduction

The story of Hartford's rise and fall as a city of wealth and influence can be told through the history of a relatively small plot of land in the southeast downtown area. Once home to a number of Hartford's founding fathers but long since abandoned as affluence and mobility made the suburbs more attractive, it is now the site of a proposed redevelopment with ambitious hopes to attract the affluent back from the suburbs to live and conduct their lives in the downtown area once again.

Although there is evidence that the land was used for agriculture by native Americans for nearly 3000 years¹ before the Dutch explorer Adriaen Block arrived in 1614² and the Puritans followed two decades later, this paper will focus on patterns of land use from the arrival of Thomas Hooker in 1636 up to the present day. His neighbors, Richard Webb, John Haynes, James Olmsted, Samuel Stone, James Cole, William Pantrey and Thomas Scott were all founders of Hartford along with Hooker.³ In Hooker's time, the path from his home on Meeting House Alley⁴ ran north to a small structure known as the Meeting House which served as the center of town government, religion and society.

When Hartford business leader Robert Fiondella announced an ambitious new downtown renewal project in 1997, he called the 30-acre riverfront development "Project Adriaen,"⁵ paying homage to Adriaen Block, the Dutch explorer who navigated the Connecticut River from Old Saybrook to the Windsor falls in 1614.⁶ Early discussions

centered on a large scale development that would include a convention center, hotel, retail shops, entertainment including restaurants, housing and a significant tourist attraction. The goal was to jumpstart the revitalization of a city once known for its wealth, industrial innovation and culture that is now known for poverty, unemployment, weak local government, an extremely low rate of home ownership and one of the nation's highest birthrates among unwed mothers.⁷ The retail, entertainment and housing component was ultimately located on the land where Hooker and his fellow founders settled in 1636.

By looking at how use of this land has changed during the intervening years, the forces leading to those changes will be discussed. The new development for this area, currently known as "Front Street," is perceived as critical to bringing back the people and activity necessary to support a vital downtown. The developers have not yet released final plans for the project, but it will include a minimum of 150,000 square feet of retail and entertainment space plus at least 200 upscale apartment units.⁸ "Will this project meet its objectives?" is a question that won't be answered completely until years after construction is completed. Using "The Downtown Hartford Economic and Urban Design Action Strategy" as a guide, I will attempt to assess the project's ability to succeed.

First Settlers in 1636

When Reverend Thomas Hooker traveled from Massachusetts Bay colony south down the Connecticut River, he was in search of a place to lead his Puritan congregation according to his principles. He settled in what we now know as Hartford, worshiping in a meetinghouse on the site where the Old State House now stands, and living in a house nearby. The site of Hooker's old home houses the remains of the stately Hartford Times newspaper office.⁹ The façade is intact, but the rest of the building will be dismantled to make way for a new development that is part of Hartford's latest ambitious effort to rejuvenate its flagging downtown.

The history of how the land under Hooker's Hartford home was used during the next 350 years parallels the story of Hartford's rise and fall as an urban center. Hartford, the home of a Connecticut constitution that was the model for the United States Constitution, rose to be a tremendously vital city.¹⁰ At the turn of the 19th century, it was the wealthiest, most successful city in the country. Within 100 years, its fortunes took a complete turn. By the beginning of the 21st century, Hartford was characterized as "the most destitute 17 square miles in the nation's wealthiest state and a city where 30 percent of its residents live in poverty. Only Brownsville, Tex., has a higher figure."¹¹

One relatively small section of downtown Hartford, settled just two years after the first English settlers ventured into the area, was divided into generous plots to be used as homes for the proprietors who gathered at the nearby Meeting House to attend to governing the settlement. It was a short walk up Meeting House Alley from Hooker's family home to the center of the young government.

According to a 1640 map,¹² the first property owners on the site were Thomas Hooker, Pastor; John Olmsted, James Cole, William Pantrey, Thomas Scott and Richard Webb who sold his lot to John Haynes, Esq. All were among the original settlers of Hartford.¹³ Their names are etched into a monument erected in 1835 to the memory of the “founders of Hartford” in the center of the Ancient Burying Ground.¹⁴ Another founder of the settlement, the teacher Samuel Stone, lived opposite Hooker on the west side of Meeting House Alley at the intersection with the Highway on the Bank of the River, later known as School Street.¹⁵ Hooker’s house faced School Street. A description of the house from a 1835 drawing by John Warner Barber reads like a contemporary for-sale ad: “Two-story center-chimney colonial house with an overhang and a central bay that projects forward.” It was further described as a residence appropriate for a prominent minister.¹⁶

Long ago Meeting House Alley was renamed Prospect Street and the Highway/School Street became known as Arch Street. The eastern boundary lane alongside the adjoining plots was identified as the Road from Little River to North-Meadow in the 1640 map. For more than 200 years that thoroughfare was known as Front Street until it was renamed Columbus Boulevard in the mid-1900s.

Hartford was a fertile, largely unpopulated river delta when Hooker arrived in 1636.¹⁷ The settlement grew and became the seat of the first constitutional government in the colonies under his leadership. Government, social and religious life centered around the nearby meetinghouse. The sermon Hooker preached there on Sunday, May 31, 1638, was his greatest contribution, according to the Rev. Melville K. Bailey in “Hertford England: Hartford New England,”¹⁸ At a special session of the General Court of the River Colony, Hooker introduced

the principles which became the basis of Connecticut's and later the United State's constitution. His conviction that all men with voting rights should have a voice in their government established the basic outline now considered the foundation of a democratic society. Hooker also took the radical position that a man did not have to be a member of the church to be able to vote in an election.

“The foundation of authority is laid firstly in the free consent of people,” Reverend Hooker affirmed. He then cautioned those present that “the privilege of election which belongs to the people must not be exercised according to their humors, but according to the blessed will and law of God.” He charge the electorate with the responsibility of setting “bounds and limits of the poser” of elected officials.¹⁹

The General Court adopted Hooker's “Fundamental Orders” on January 14, 1639. It was the “first example in history of a written constitution, a distinct organic law, constituting a government, and defining its powers.”²⁰ Connecticut's state motto, “The Constitution State,” honors that signal achievement.²¹

The General Court of Hooker's time was the governing body for the River Colony, made up of Hartford, Wethersfield and Windsor. As populations grew, the role of government changed. First the simple town meeting structure split into two distinct groups – the society of church leaders who governed all matters related to the church and the proprietors who owned the common land and elected the town officers. Clerks, treasurers, surveyors, constables, tax assessors, fenceviewers who inspected and maintained fences, and packers and sealers who inspected local produce all joined the government ranks. By the middle of the 1700s, the town meeting “elected officers, appointed committees and ratified decisions made by the town officers.”²² As the ranks of government expanded, the meetinghouse was replaced with a state house, town governance moved to a city hall, and religious leadership centered more on

individual parishes. Changes in government reflected the increasing complexity of the growing city. Subsequent changes in Hartford's form of local government contributed to its decline in the second half of the 20th century. Hartford voters approved a charter change in 2002 to abandon the weak mayor form of government. The next city election will see a "strong mayor" elected for a four-year term and the elimination of the city manager position. Hartford appears poised to see more effective leadership from the mayor's office.²³

The intervening three centuries were good for Hartford. The city grew, it was the seat of state government, the birthplace of precision manufacturing as exemplified by Colt Manufacturing, Pope bicycles and automobiles, Royal Typewriter Co., Pratt & Whitney, and a burgeoning insurance industry.

The area around Hooker's homestead was predominantly residential for nearly 100 years. Hooker died on July 7, 1646, leaving his house to his first-born son John with the stipulation that Hooker's wife Susannah be allowed to reside there throughout her life. John did not heed his father's admonition to reside in Connecticut. He lived his adult life in England and died there in 1684. Hooker's second son Samuel remained in Connecticut, served as a minister in Farmington and had 11 children – nine sons and two daughters – with his wife Mary Willet. Most direct descendants of Thomas Hooker spring from Samuel's family.²⁴

Hooker's house remained standing until it was demolished in about 1805 to make way for the Phoenix Foundry, according to the environmental impact study conducted in preparation for the Adriaen's Landing project.²⁵ A 1979 Hartford Courant report identifies *The Hartford Times* property at 10 Prospect St. as occupying the site where Hooker's house once stood.²⁶

The map of Hartford based on 1640 land records shows Hooker's land straddling both the

Times and Phoenix sites without pinpointing the exact location of the house itself.²⁷ Laborers working on the demolition the Hooker house found a carefully preserved collection of papers, thought to be left behind by Thomas Hooker. However, the workers threw the papers away without alerting anyone.²⁸ The contents of those papers might have included more precise information about the placement of the house.

Phoenix Iron Works

By 1851, a prolific inventor named Levi Lincoln had gone into business with his brothers George and Charles to operate the Phoenix Iron Works with facilities on both sides of Arch Street.²⁹ The plant at 26 Arch Street, directly east of the old Hooker homestead, expanded through the years to numbers 54-70³⁰ and housed an iron foundry, two moulding rooms, offices, pattern storage and a core oven.³¹

Levi is credited for automating the process to punch holes and insert comb-like teeth in leather cards used to manufacture cotton and woolen fabrics. A history of the Phoenix Iron Works credits him with using the same mechanical principles to invent the hook-and-eye machine and the molasses gate, a cast iron faucet for molasses barrels, “which has never since been materially improved.” He also collaborated with William Rogers to develop an electroplating process, a forerunner of the Rogers Brothers’ silverware manufacturing business.³²

The company listing in the 1851 Geer’s Directory reads:

G.S.L. will make to order Steam Engines and every kind of Mill Work, Shafting and Gearing; *Machinists’ Tools* viz: Planing Machines, Turning and Screw Engines, Double Geared Chuck and Hand Lathes, Upright Drills, Bolt Cutting Machines, Stamping and Punching Presses, Fan Blowers, Ec. Also, Clothiers’, Paper, Powder, Cider Mill, Builders’ and Hay Press Screws, from nine to ninety six inches

long. Their extensive assortment of *Mill Gearing* and *Pully Patterns* enables them to make all kinds of Iron and Composition Castings, on as reasonable terms as any Foundry in the State.³³

The ingenuity and quality of the Lincoln brothers' products brought them great success. The Phoenix Iron Works supplied precision tools and machines to many other leading manufacturers of the day, including Cheney Brothers silk mills, paper and textile mills. The rise of their business paralleled the growth of manufacturing in the entire area. Samuel Colt opened a factory nearby on Front Street in 1849, then moved to the riverfront armory location in 1855. Hartford Gas Works was located at the corner of Front and Arch, on the lots where founders Richard Webb and John Haynes once resided.

The original large house lots along Front Street were subdivided to provide more housing for the workers who needed to live within walking distance of their jobs. A review of Geer's 1851 Hartford City Directory reveals that many homeowners on Front Street were renting rooms to laborers who worked as moulders, pattern makers, blacksmiths, gun makers, clerks, joiners, masons, marble polishers, carmen and engravers.³⁴ It is likely that many worked around the corner at Phoenix Iron Works or the Hartford Gas Works.

Francis A. Pratt was superintendent of the Phoenix Iron Works from 1854 to 1861.³⁵ Around this time, Phoenix expanded and began making decorative and architectural ironwork.³⁶ Examples of the company's work include electric light poles on the Bulkeley Bridge, sidewalk gratings on Main Street and ornamental ironwork in the Capitol, the Aetna Life building and Trinity College as well as the coat of arms at the Coast Guard Academy in New London.³⁷

Pratt's life-long associate Amos W. Whitney worked with him at Phoenix and departed with him in 1861 on their first attempt to strike out on their own. They eventually succeeded

and founded Pratt & Whitney, which is still in business today as part of United Technologies Corporation.³⁸

In 1889, Phoenix Iron Works employed 150 people and paid more than \$70,000 a year in wages.³⁹ Phoenix was incorporated as The Phoenix Iron Works Corp. in 1901 with Charles L. Taylor, a great grandson of founder Levi Lincoln, heading the company. Six years later, Wilson L. Fenn joined the company, prompting a name change to Taylor & Fenn Co.⁴⁰

A sharp increase in production in the early years of World War II more than doubled employment from 225 workers in 1937 to 525 in 1942. A post-war shortage of skilled workers coupled with increased demand for castings, machine tools and special machinery prompted a full-page help wanted ad in *The Hartford Courant* on October 25, 1945.⁴¹

Hartford was the Silicon Valley of the manufacturing age.⁴² Taylor & Fenn was one of many companies contributing to that well-deserved description with a steady supply of innovation and expertly crafted products.

After more than 100 years on Arch Street, company continued to mirror the times when it relocated to a modern new facility in Windsor in 1951. The new plant cost \$500,000, more than double the assessed value of the Arch Street properties.⁴³ What considerations lead Taylor & Fenn to relocate? Was it cheaper to operate in Windsor? Closer to supply lines? Was it easier to distribute products? Certainly the move was made possible by several factors including improved roads and use of cars to get to work. The company no longer had to be dependent on its workforce living within walking distance or near a trolley line.

Once the owners decided to move, they tried to sell the Arch Street property. In 1947, the company offered to sell 54 Arch Street to the city for \$175,000 for use as a police station.

Fire officials had determined that the existing police station on Market Street was a fire hazard, so the city needed to find a new location. Taylor & Fenn's offer was rejected as too expensive.⁴⁴ The Arch Street property was finally sold to investors in 1950 for an undisclosed price. At the time of the sale, the land and buildings at 54 Arch Street were assessed at \$91,658.⁴⁵

The hundreds of manufacturing jobs that left with Taylor & Fenn were among thousands that permanently departed Hartford. In the 20 years following Taylor & Fenn's 1951 departure from the city, the number of manufacturing plants in Hartford shrank from 41 to 16.⁴⁶ In 1968, there were still nearly 25,000 manufacturing jobs in Hartford; within five years, the total had shrunk to 15,000. By 1999, there were less than 5,000 manufacturing jobs remaining in the city.⁴⁷

By mid-century two phenomena accelerated the decline of manufacturing supremacy. The first was the dispersal of the old multi-storied factories to the suburbs, attracted by plenty of room for more efficient one-story operations, new industrial parks, highway access, and tax breaks [sic]. The second phenomenon was a wave of buyouts and mergers, especially among family owned enterprises in which the founders had died and left operations to less able managers....⁴⁸

Aetna Fire Insurance Company signed a 10-year lease for 30,000 square feet on the second floor of the building at 54 Arch Street in July 1951 to house employees crowded into the main office on Main Street and at a satellite office on Woodland Street. Rent costs were \$70,000 a year. Tabulating and statistical department workers were among those slated to work in the old iron works, which needed extensive renovations before they could move in. The new owners had already completed exterior renovations that included reorienting the front

of the building to face Prospect Street. United Aircraft also leased space in the building for use as a training school.⁴⁹

Finance, insurance and real estate office workers were replacing manufacturing workers on Arch Street just as they were elsewhere in Hartford. By 1938, 44 insurance companies had home offices in Hartford and there were 450 licensed firms or benefit societies represented in Hartford.⁵⁰ Among them, Travelers and Aetna would make extensive use of the land once occupied by manufacturing enterprises. U.S. Census data documents the decline in manufacturing jobs.

Part of the preparation for the 33-acre Adriaen's Landing project included a mandatory Environmental Impact review for the U.S. Environmental Protection Agency (EPA). The properties that make up the "Front Street" site are divided into six parcels numbered 22-27 in the EPA document. A detailed look at the land records for the area covering 60-70 Arch Street and 50 Prospect Street reveals a wide range of usage within the seven different properties that make up Parcel 25. (It appears there is some discrepancy in street numbering, none of the documents reflect Phoenix Iron Works at 54 Arch St.) The J.W. Stockweather & Co. Stockyard abutted the rear of the iron works in the late 1800s; it became the Capital City Lumber Company sometime in the 1890s.

Many subdivided lots were strictly residential until about 1900. By 1920, there were virtually no homeowners remaining in the area.

While the Hartford Buick Company was selling cars in the early 1900s, John Bridley's carriages and wagons were offered for sale nearby. The Art Society of Hartford maintained offices somewhere on Parcel 25 between 1910 and the 1920s.

In the 1930s, a number of grocery stores opened up, as did the J.J. D'Amato Garage. These were the first smaller businesses to take hold in the neighborhood. In the next decade a restaurant/tavern opened and three trucking companies began doing business on parts of Parcel 25. The automotive age was reflected in the new businesses popping up. By the 1950s, more restaurants were opening. A rug cleaning establishment opened and more office workers moved in. At some time in the next decade, Sears Roebuck began operating a warehouse and Connecticut Bank & Trust was open for business. Aetna put in a parking lot. Another commercial parking lot opened. And The Travelers Insurance Company added a shipping & receiving center to the printing center that had been in the neighborhood since the 1930s. By 1979, Travelers was the owner of the former Phoenix foundry property.⁵¹

After decades of stability with a few major businesses, the complexion of the block changed rapidly between 1950 and 1970. Much of the change was in response to the growing use of cars for transportation to and from work. The parking lots and restaurants were there to serve a more mobile populace.

By 1995 every building on Parcel 25 was gone. Demolished. Only the shell of The Hartford Times and a small structure on the southwest corner remain standing on the entire development site in early 2003. A chain link fence circles the property while developers work with architects and planners to determine what it will look like as part of the proposed "Front Street" development that is part of the larger Adriaen's Landing project.⁵²

The Hartford Times

In 1900 Hartford had two mainstream daily newspapers, *The Hartford Daily Courant* and *The Hartford Times*. The papers were the major source of news for most city residents.

Both papers maintained offices in the downtown area. In 1920, *The Hartford Times* transferred all its operations to a new plant on Prospect Street.

A 1909 city atlas shows a rather large L-shaped residential lot with a brick structure at 14 Prospect Street owned by Samuel D. Chamberlin. A long narrow adjacent lot at 16-18 Prospect was also owned by S.D. Chamberlin. These two properties appear to be part of the plot that was originally owned by Thomas Hooker. By 1920, Chamberlin's buildings were gone. In their place, Burr Publishing Company erected a monumental new building to house *The Hartford Times*. It was located on the east side of Prospect Street between Arch Street and the terminus of New Atheneum Street. Stanford White had originally designed the Times' grand façade for a Manhattan church in 1906. Twelve years later, the church was slated for demolition, White's grand façade along with it.

Donn Barbour, designer of the Connecticut State Library, Travelers Tower and the Supreme Court building, made arrangements to secure the façade and had it carefully dismantled, numbered and shipped to Hartford to be used as the front of the newspaper building. Barbour made some adjustments to the original design to make it fit in with the surrounding neighborhood.⁵³ He designed a mosaic allegory in the portico of the handsome building that reads: "News is an immortal bubble and the press endures within."⁵⁴

The main entrance became a popular community stage: visiting Presidents made speeches from there; during the war, people hungry for the latest news could find bulletins and articles posted in front of the building, and thousands of Hartford residents gathered there for an annual Christmas Carol sing.

Every December from 1933 to 1967, except for two years during the war, thousands of cold but enthusiastic Christmas carolers flocked to the front of the Times to sing the standards along with the Governors Foot Guard Band, Metropolitan Opera singers, local choirs and bands and emcees like Arnold Dean, longtime WTIC radio personality. At its peak, The Hartford Times Carol Sing drew nearly 15,000 carolers.⁵⁵ The Carol Sing was transferred to Constitution Plaza in 1968 to avoid construction of the Burr Memorial Sculpture Mall directly across from the Times' building.⁵⁶ In 1969, the Carol Sing was once again merged with the Festival of Lights ceremony at Constitution Plaza.⁵⁷ *The Hartford Courant* story announcing the event did not include any reason for the location shift. While located at the Times, the event was usually scheduled for the second week in December. In both 1968 and 1969, the Constitution Plaza events were held in late November.

Beset by legal battles as well as print and electronic competition, *The Hartford Times* ceased publishing on Oct. 20, 1976. It was sold and renovated twice for use as office space. Now the building is empty, portions of the rear have been removed by a bulldozer. Stanford White's dramatic façade, as interpreted by Donn Barbour, awaits its third life as part of a new retail, entertainment and apartment complex called "Front Street."

Front Street

One of the key components of the Adriaen's Landing project in downtown Hartford is a mixed-use development to lure the middle class back to the city for shelter and entertainment. Other components include a new convention center, a major hotel, and a significant "attraction" that may end up being some sort of regional science center. The convention center is rising on the Connecticut riverfront today. The hotel financing is complete and is scheduled to be open

by 2005. Movement on the attraction is stalled until Connecticut Gov. John Rowland puts together a long-promised task force to guide concept development and fundraising efforts. More than a year has passed since the state's chief executive promised to get personally involved. He named a co-chair for the task force in February but by May had yet to name additional members. The governor was quoted recently as saying the science center project is in "a silent phase."⁵⁸

Adriaen's Landing is the third in a series of mega-projects Hartford has undertaken to revitalize its flagging downtown in the last half-century. Constitution Plaza and the Civic Center were hailed as panaceas in their time. History has not proved kind to either project. The entire east end of downtown Hartford was razed to make room for Constitution Plaza, forcing a migration of residents and businesses from the lively Front Street area downtown to other city neighborhoods and suburbs. Revisions in the Plaza plan eliminated most of the retail component, further reducing the draw for pedestrian traffic other than office workers. The result was a windswept vista of blank concrete walls separating the new structure from any possible street life. Although it was initially hailed as a successful urban renewal project, public opinion changed as the plaza remained empty except for event-driven gatherings. The Civic Center is slated for a major overhaul, less than 50 years after it was completed. It, too, sits as an isolated concrete island, separating any signs of internal life from the surrounding streetscape and adding to the air of general desolation on the exterior.

Developer Richard Cohen plans to avoid the mistakes of his predecessors with the design and ambition of the Front Street mixed-use project. He's committed to developing a minimum of 150,000 square feet of retail and entertainment space, 200 luxury-housing units and

a state-run 1,150-car parking garage to serve retail visitors, tenants and neighbors. Cohen signed on to run the project in September 2002. His company, Capital Property Associates, must invest at least \$26 million in Front Street. Other funding includes \$40 million from the state for the parking garage, \$12 million from the state for the housing and \$7 million from the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development for use in the retail component.⁵⁹

Cohen recently revised his announced plans, removing a movie theatre, flattening the residential towers by scaling back to the minimum number of housing units required and relocating the parking garage from underground to street level. As recently as April, the project underwent a name change from Meeting House Square to Front Street. The developers changed the name in response to “an enthusiastic response to the concept of tying the development to the nostalgia of Hartford’s Front Street, a bustling riverfront thoroughfare from the late 1800’s through the 1950’s,” according to a press release from the project’s overseer, Capital City Economic Development Authority (CCEDA).⁶⁰

Cohen runs Capital Property Associates and a number of affiliates. Hartford’s Constitution Plaza is one of the properties in Cohen’s portfolio along with about 6,000 apartments and 3 million square feet of office and retail space in developments along the East Coast.⁶¹ Cohen promises that the development will be designed to attract pedestrians. Even though the recent discovery of bedrock underneath the property prompted a redesign of the planned parking to move it above ground, the developers say it will be obscured by street level retail outlets, perhaps something like artists’ studios.⁶²

Critics and concerned citizens alike are watching closely to see if the developers keep their promises. When final plans are released, they need to include the promised amenities that

the 1998 Downtown Hartford Economic and Urban Design Strategy outlined as necessities for success.⁶³

Among the recommendations (and promises) are:

- Facilitate the creation of Olmsted Boulevard from the Atheneum to the river as part of Adriaen's Landing. (The area is now bordered by Prospect Street on the west, Arch Street on the south, Columbus Boulevard on the east and on the north, a new street, Olmsted Street which will run west from south edge of the Wadsworth Atheneum at Prospect Street to a "gracious reunion with Constitution Plaza.")⁶⁴
- Create shared civic spaces such as sidewalk cafes.⁶⁵
- Provide well-designed streets, landscaped with trees and ornamental plantings to connect buildings and shopping districts to create an animated environment.⁶⁶
- "Develop plans to beautify and repair streets that will address: trees and plantings, tree planters and grates, paving materials, pedestrian lighting, bicycle racks, street furniture, on-street parking."⁶⁷
- Identify the history of the area,⁶⁸ including The Hartford Times building and the original settlers' homes.
- Increase the number of people living downtown. That is "one of the quickest and surest routes to rejuvenation, increasing the life on the streets after office

hours and creating a stronger sense of community. As the residential population grows, so will support for convenience shopping and services, and demand for retail and entertainment venues.’⁶⁹

Conclusion

If Capital Properties can meet the requirements outlined in the strategic plan, I believe the Front Street development has a substantial chance to help turn around the fortunes of downtown Hartford.

There are many questions that remain unanswered: Who makes up the target market for renting the 200 luxury housing units? What kind of marketing does the developer plan to do? With other high-end housing projects underway, are there too many units opening up at the same time?

What mix of retail and entertainment will the development include? Early plans called for a movie theater, but that has already been scrapped. The latest plans include a skating rink north of The Hartford Times building. The popularity of a temporary skating rink sponsored by Leadership Greater Hartford in 2002 indicates a demand for such a facility.

How successful will project designers be in obscuring the unattractive parking structures?

This area has seen great successes in its past, if the project developers follow the recommended action strategy, there is a good chance that the empty streets surrounding the Front Street site will once again be throbbing with urban life.

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- ¹ *Affected Environment* (Adriaen's Landing Final Environmental Impact Statement: City of Hartford, CT, 2002) GZA GeoEnvironmental, Inc., Vernon, CT. Page 3-44.
- ² Henry F. Howe, *Prologue to New England*, (Port Washington, NY: Kennikat Press, Inc. 1969). Quoted in *Observations of the Connecticut River by Adriaen Block*, at <http://www.bio.umass.edu/biology/conn.river/block.html>. Accessed on 5/11/03.
- ³ *Founders of Hartford*, Connecticut State Library, <http://www.cslib.org/foundhtfd.htm>. Accessed on 4/28/03.
- ⁴ *Hartford in 1640*, drawn by William S. Porter, Surveyor and Antiquarian, 1888. (Prepared from the Original Records By Vote of the Town.)
- ⁵ "Phoenix May Build Urban Waterfront: City Leaders Envision Homes, Shops, Hotels," *The Hartford Courant*, 12/18/97, Page A1.
- ⁶ "On This Site: A Diary of Events Witnessed at the Site of the Old State House," at http://ctosh.org/history_vintphotos/osh_hist_diary_17thcentury.htm. Accessed on 3/10/03.
- ⁷ "Poverty in a Land of Plenty: Can Hartford Ever Recover?" *The New York Times*, 8/26/02, Page A1.
- ⁸ "Developer Signs Downtown Plans," *The Hartford Courant*, 9/19/02. Page A11.
- ⁹ "Developer Buys Times Building," *The Hartford Courant*, 10/25/79. Page 28.
- ¹⁰ "On This Site: A Diary of Events Witnessed at the Site of the Old State House," at http://ctosh.org/history_vintphotos/osh_hist_diary_17thcentury.htm. Accessed on 3/10/03.
- ¹¹ "Poverty in a Land of Plenty: Can Hartford Ever Recover?" *The New York Times*, 8/26/02, Page A1.
- ¹² "Hartford in 1640" drawn by William S. Porter, Surveyor and Antiquarian, 1888. Prepared from the Original Records By Vote of the Town.
- ¹³ "Founders of Hartford," Connecticut State Library, <http://www.cslib.org/foundhtfd.htm>
- ¹⁴ "Hertford England Hartford New England," by Lady Inez Percy and The Rev. Melville K. Bailey, Church Missions Publishing Company, Hartford, CT. 1927. Page 23.
- ¹⁵ "Hartford in 1640" drawn by William S. Porter, Surveyor and Antiquarian, 1888. Prepared from the Original Records By Vote of the Town.
- ¹⁶ Notes linked to a drawing of "Thomas Hooker house, Hartford" at <http://cho.uconn.edu/cgi-bin/Pwebrecon.cgi>. Part of The Graphics Collection, The Connecticut Historical Society, Hartford. Accessed 3/30/2003.
- ¹⁷ "Adriaen's Landing Final Environmental Impact Statement,"
- ¹⁸ "Hertford England Hartford New England," by Lady Inez Percy and The Rev. Melville K. Bailey, Church Missions Publishing Company, Hartford, CT. 1927. Page 25.
- ¹⁹ "On This Site: A Diary of Events Witnessed at the Site of the Old State House," at http://ctosh.org/history_vintphotos/osh_hist_diary_17thcentury.htm. Accessed on 3/10/03.
- ²⁰ "Hertford England Hartford New England," by Lady Inez Percy and The Rev. Melville K. Bailey, Church Missions Publishing Company, Hartford, CT. 1927. Page 25.
- ²¹ "On This Site: A Diary of Events Witnessed at the Site of the Old State House," at http://ctosh.org/history_vintphotos/osh_hist_diary_17thcentury.htm. Accessed on 3/10/03.
- ²² Bruce C. Daniels, "Connecticut's Villages Become Mature Towns: the complexity of Local Institutions, 1676 to 1776," *William and Mary Quarterly*, Third Series, volume 34, Issue 1 (Jan. 1997) Pages 83-103.
- ²³ "With Kennelly Out, Perez Could Run Uncontested," *The Hartford Courant*, 4/30/03. Page B1.
- ²⁴ Edward Hooker, *The Descendants of Rev. Thomas Hooker, Hartford, Connecticut, 1586-1908*, (Printed by E.R.g Andrews Printing Company, Rochester, NY. ©Margaret Huntington Hooker, 1909)
- ²⁵ *Affected Environment* (Adriaen's Landing Final Environmental Impact Statement: City of Hartford, CT, 2002) GZA GeoEnvironmental, Inc., Vernon, CT. Page 3-44.
- ²⁶
- ²⁷ *Hartford in 1640*, drawn by William S. Porter, Surveyor and Antiquarian, 1888. (Prepared from the Original Records By Vote of the Town.)
- ²⁸ Edward Hooker, *The Descendants of Rev. Thomas Hooker, Hartford, Connecticut, 1586-1908*, (Printed by E.R. Andrews Printing Company, Rochester, NY. ©Margaret Huntington Hooker, 1909)

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