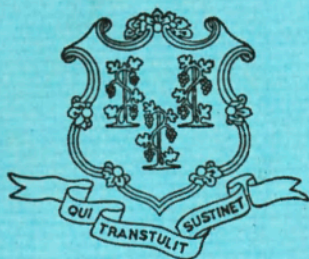


TERCENTENARY COMMISSION OF THE
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The Settlement of the Connecticut Towns

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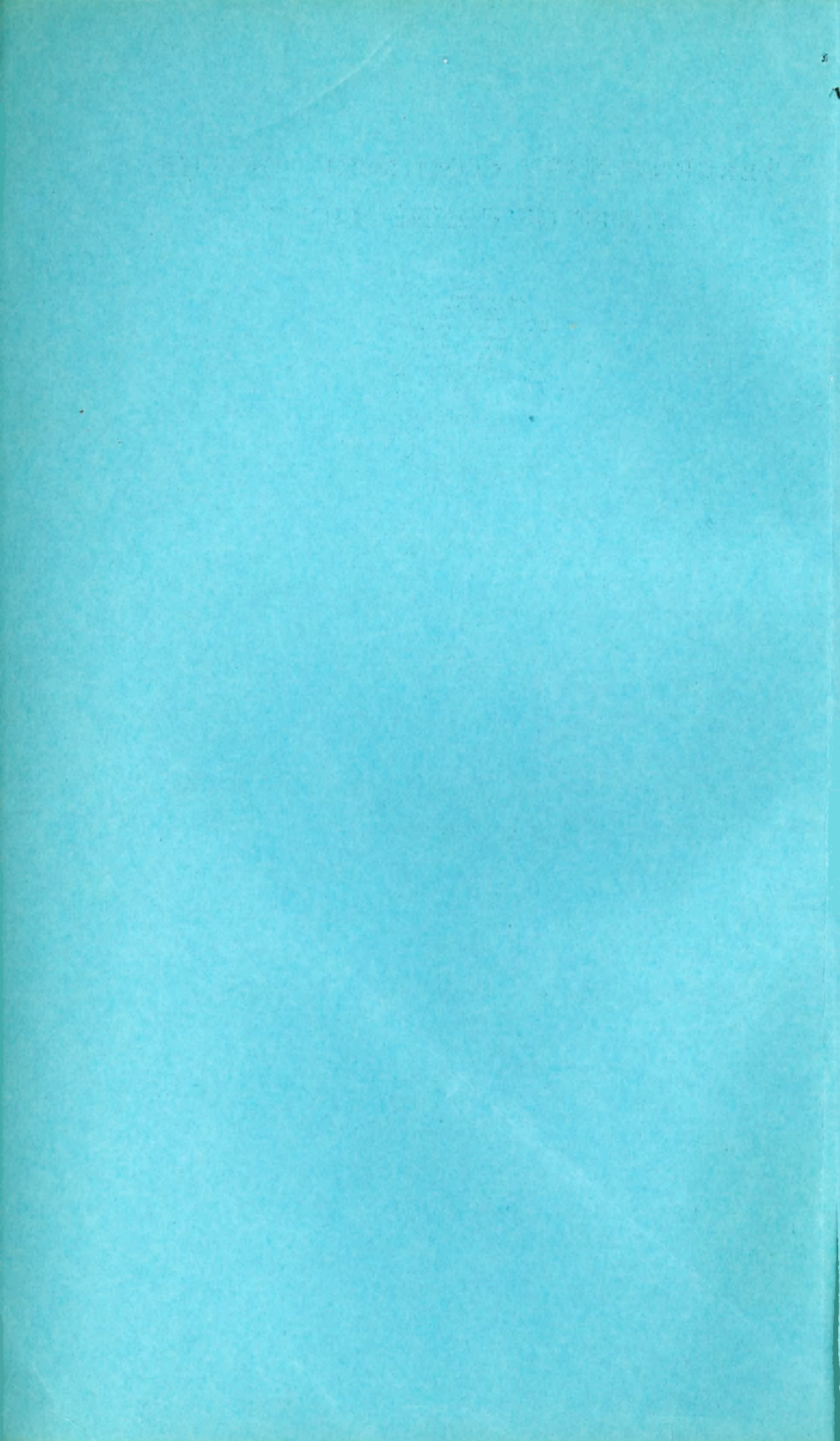
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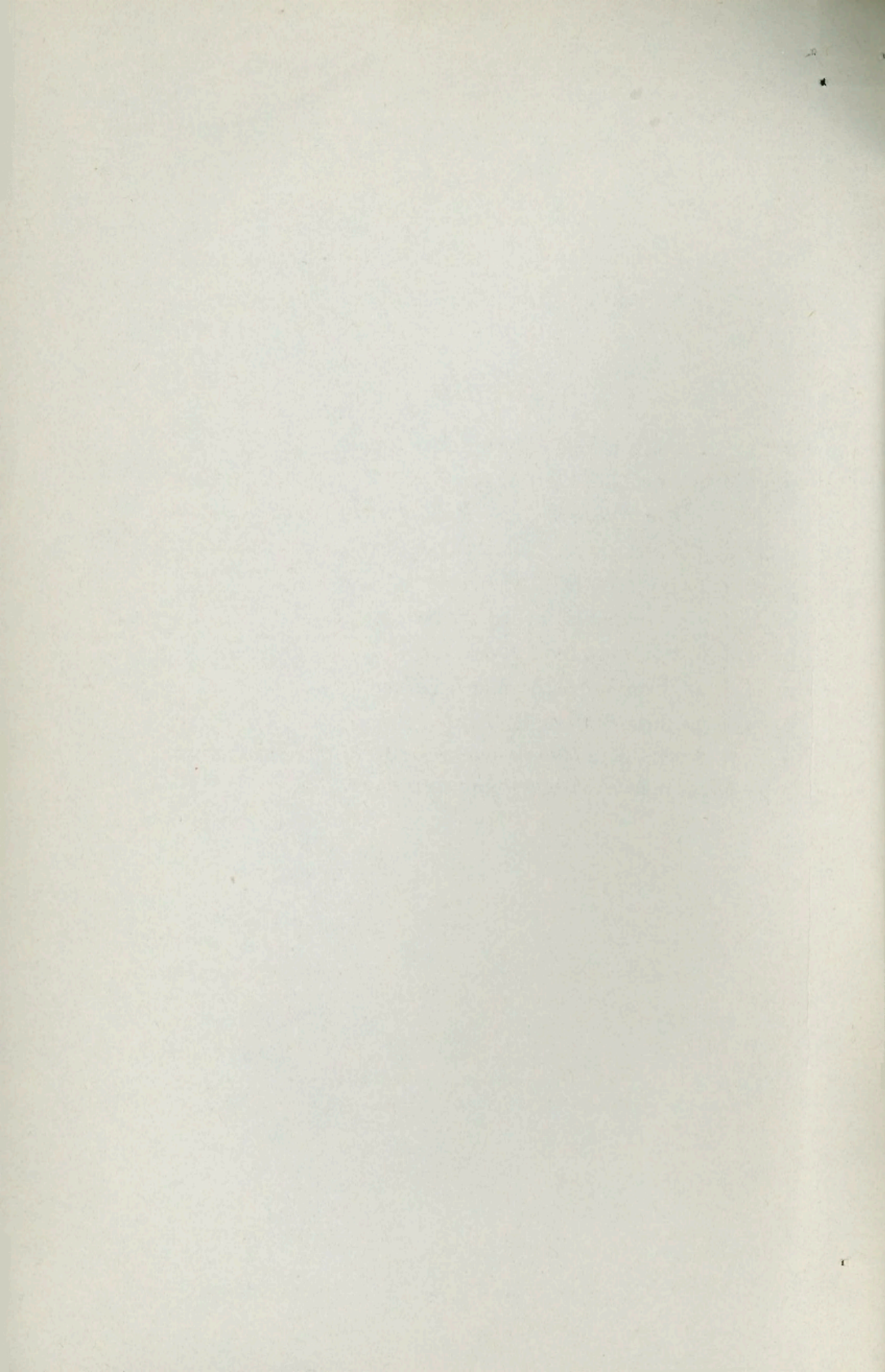
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Errata

- p. 21, l. 17. After *New Haven* insert *Colony*.
p. 39, l. 4. For 1748 read 1749.
p. 41, l. 2. For *Killingly* read *Killingworth*.
p. 41, l. 3. For *west* read *south*.
p. 42, l. 1-3. Omit the sentence.
p. 50, l. 16. For *Newton* read *Newtown*.
p. 61, l. 6. For 1709 read 1708.
p. 72, l. 28. For *Killingly* read *Willington*.
p. 72, l. 34. For 1717 read 1727.
p. 73, l. 27-28. For *Voluntown and west of the Housatonic River* read *Willington and west of Union*.



TERCENTENARY COMMISSION OF THE
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The Settlement of the Connecticut Towns

DOROTHY DEMING

DESIRE for trade was the motive which first led people to settle in the region we know as the state of Connecticut. Before the year 1630, the Indians, of whom the Pequots and Mohegans were prominent tribes, had used the Connecticut beaver trade and the natural meadows on either side of the river for raising corn. The Dutch knew of the river through Adrian Block, who explored the coast in 1614, and had traded there, but not until 1633 had they set up a permanent post. The possibilities of the country were practically unknown to the English at Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay until in 1631 a small band of Mohegan Indians came to Plymouth to suggest starting a trade with them in the Connecticut Valley. These Mohegans had been driven from their hunting grounds by the Pequots and wanted the protection of the English settle-

Some years ago Miss Deming, then one of my students at Yale, prepared this paper as a seminary exercise, but withdrew from the University without completing it. I have rewritten it, filling in the blanks, shortening it in places and elaborating it in others for the purpose of this series. In its original form it was fully annotated with references to the sources of information, which included not only all necessary printed works but the manuscript volumes in the State Archives also. These annotations have all been omitted here. The portion of Miss Deming's paper relating to Litchfield County will be issued as a separate pamphlet. C. M. A.

ments. They had made a similar offer to the Dutch, but the latter, "their hands being full otherwise—let it pass." Upon invitation from the Indians Edward Winslow and others of Plymouth visited the river and found it "a fine place—and saw that the most certainty of profit would be by keeping a house there to receive the trade when it came down out of the inland."

While the Plymouth people were considering the possibilities of the river trade, the Mohegans went to Boston to solicit the interest of the English there. Massachusetts proved friendly, but evasive. Two years later, in 1633, she refused to accept Plymouth's offer to combine with that colony in setting up a joint trading house, for she was unwilling to run the risks of a trade in a strange country, among hostile Indians, and on a dangerous river, but these perils did not deter her from sending out explorers a few weeks later. In September of that year John Oldham, a freeman and an inhabitant of Watertown, journeyed with three companions through the wilderness and brought back glowing accounts of fertile meadows and rich valley lands. His journey was followed by the voyage of the *Blessing*, a bark owned by Governor Winthrop that was sent out to explore the coast of Long Island and Connecticut.

Meanwhile, the Dutch, claiming right to the soil by a grant to the Dutch West India Company by the States General of Holland, had sailed up the river to the present site of Hartford, where they bought land of the Pequots, built a small house, and fortified it with two cannon. They had scarcely finished their labors, when Captain William Holmes of Plymouth sailed past them to a point near the mouth of the Tunxis (now the Farmington) River, bought land of the Mohegans, the true owners of the soil, and set up a frame house he had brought from

Plymouth. Thus the first settlements of the white man on the river were in the interest of trade with the Indians.

At Newtown in Massachusetts the people were beginning to feel "straitened" for want of land, especially meadow. The inhabitants were wealthy and kept many cattle, while the township was long and narrow, necessitating scattered divisions of land, which were not very fertile. The arrival of the ships *Francis* and *Elizabeth* from England in 1634, bringing many new families to Newtown, served to increase the desire to move on to the reputed region of abundance and fertility. There were undoubtedly other causes of discontent among the men of Newtown. Thomas Hooker and his party arrived in 1633, adding several more eminent men to the long list of those already in the Bay colony. Hooker found himself out of sympathy with many of the political practices of the other Puritan leaders and he did not hesitate to disagree openly with the policy of placing so much power in the hands of the magistrates and of maintaining so strict a religious qualification for the franchise. Moreover, he and his congregation believed that he might find a larger field for his unusual talents in a new locality where the public offices were not already filled by competent men and the churches not overstocked with ministers.

A petition from some of the Newtown people was granted by the General Court in May, 1634, and gave them leave to find a location elsewhere. But finding no suitable land near Ipswich and the Merrimac River, they renewed the petition and asked permission to remove to Connecticut, a region of which they were now hearing much from Oldham and others, for six Newtown men had been part of the crew of the *Blessing*. The General Court refused their request and endeavored to compromise matters by making an additional grant of land to relieve

the crowded conditions in the town. In spite of this refusal, a few inhabitants of Watertown, a settlement farther up the river, made their way to Connecticut, guided by John Oldham, and stopped at Pyquag (Wethersfield), a few miles below the Dutch fort. There they remained through the winter and in the spring Oldham returned and conducted another group of Watertown people to the same place, this time with the consent of the General Court.

A month later, leave was granted to some of the Dorchester people to remove to Connecticut. As eighty additional immigrants had arrived there in 1633, the inhabitants had a great deal of trouble in providing grants of land and their desire to remove was well founded. A party left that summer, settling near the Plymouth trading house, and the relations with the traders were for a time strained, on account of the intrusion. The latter argued, reasonably, that Massachusetts had forfeited her right to trade there, having refused to join with Plymouth in the enterprise, and that the land on which the Dorchester people had settled was Plymouth's by right of purchase and prior occupation. The increasing number of the Massachusetts people that were daily arriving finally overwhelmed the Plymouth arguments by sheer weight of numbers and the traders were at length forced to compromise. They gave up all but a sixteenth of their original purchase and the trading house, surrendering the rest to the Dorchester immigrants. The southern part of this ceded tract, known as the "Lord's Waste," was occupied in the summer of 1635 by a group of young men from Newtown, called the "Adventurers" and became known as the "Venturers Fields," a section of thirty-five acres, which was purchased from the Dorchester settlers and became a part of Hartford.

Until the spring of 1635, settlement in Connecticut had been largely temporary, of an experimental nature, but with the removal of the larger bodies of people from the Massachusetts towns permanent home-making was begun. The title to the territory was doubtful. It was king's demesne, which had been granted, together with the rest of New England, to the Council for New England in its charter of incorporation of 1620. Supposedly a grant of this southern portion had been made by the council in 1632 to a group of Puritan lords and gentlemen who were planning to leave England, if conditions there became unbearable, and to settle somewhere in the grant. But there is nothing to show that the patent was ever issued, though there is no doubt that the grantees—Lord Saye and Sele, Lord Brooke, Richard Saltonstall, John Pym, John Hampden, and others—and many in Connecticut profoundly believed in the legality of the title. When the settlers began to go to Connecticut, the agents of the patentees, John Winthrop, jr., the Reverend Hugh Peter, and young Harry Vane, called upon the emigrants to know by what right they were taking up land there and demanded that they acknowledge the title of the patentees and their governor, Winthrop, jr., whom they had recently appointed for a year. The patentees were not averse to having settlers on their land as it strengthened their claim to the territory; nor were the emigrants sorry to find themselves outside the bounds of Massachusetts, with a good chance of obtaining a title, by allowance of the patentees, to a soil of their own. Their only serious objection was the acknowledgment of a governor, who was not of their own choosing. It would appear that the appointment by Massachusetts in 1636 of a commission from among the emigrants to govern the territory was a compromise arrangement and was suggested

and the text drawn up by the emigrants themselves. By this plan they acquired the right to look after their own affairs, leaving the question of a governor open until the expiration of Winthrop's term, or until it was finally decided what the lords and gentlemen proposed to do. It is interesting to note that Connecticut had no governor until after the issue of the Fundamental Orders in 1639.

Once the movement toward Connecticut was begun it proceeded rapidly. Additional planters arrived in October, 1635, from Dorchester, with a few from Newtown and Watertown, but unfortunately an exceptionally severe winter drove many of them back to Massachusetts for the cold months. They returned in the spring to complete their half-built houses and to plant their new fields. For them Massachusetts appointed a constable, from their own number, to order the affairs of the plantation. In May of the same year (1636) William Pynchon led a company from Roxbury to settle higher up on the river at Agawam (Springfield), there to secure new land and to engage in traffic with the Indians for furs and truck. Agawam was later found to lie within the bounds of the Massachusetts Bay charter and Pynchon, for personal and other reasons, did not join with the people down the river after 1638, thus severing intimate relations with the Connecticut plantations though always remaining in close commercial contact with them.

The great migration came in the summer of 1636. Thomas Hooker, with his wife and the larger part of his congregation, driving their cattle before them, and following Indian trails to the river and there turning southward, finally reached a resting place at what is now Hartford. In the case of Windsor, Hartford, and Springfield, the people moved as organized churches and no reorganization took place after arrival. Not so with Wethers-

field, to which locality the people came in scattered groups and at different times, without a minister, so that the church there was "gathered" and "approved" in April, 1636, after the plantation was organized. On the civil side the plantation organization was probably very incomplete, constables apparently being the only civil officials, with functions that were largely military. Doubtless arrangements were made whereby lands were distributed, order maintained, and necessary prudential affairs carried on, but it was not until toward the end of the decade (October, 1639) and after the Fundamental Orders had been adopted, that any system of town government was agreed upon. Then each town elected townsmen, afterward called selectmen, to look after the business of each plantation.

With the expiration of the commission authorized by Massachusetts for one year (1636-1637), the plantations were given their present day names, Hartford, Wethersfield, and Windsor, boundaries were decided on, and the towns were instructed to send committees of three to represent them in a general court to meet at Hartford. They, with the magistrates, were to sit together and issue orders for the management and well-being of the four settlements. Owing to the declaration of war against the Pequots in May, 1637, the main duties of this "corte" were military, but once the war was over, lawmaking began. In 1638 Thomas Hooker laid his views regarding government before the court and that body, guided and directed by its two most important members, John Haynes and Roger Ludlow, drew up the document known as the Fundamental Orders, consisting of a plantation covenant or agreement and a series of eleven orders or laws, defining in general terms the kind of a government that the leaders desired. They provided for a "publike state or

commonwealth" to be administered by a governor, six magistrates, and other necessary officers, chosen by the admitted freemen of the colony by written ballot, a "free-man" being anyone admitted an inhabitant by the major part of the town where he lived, who had taken the oath of fidelity to the colony. The three settlements (Springfield having dropped out) were to choose four deputies each to represent them in the general assembly, the latter to be held twice a year—a court of election in April, and a regular court in September. The governor was to be elected yearly from among the magistrates, had to be a church member, and could not be reelected until another had been chosen and had served. The General Court was allowed wide powers; it could make and repeal laws, levy rates, admit freemen, appoint officials, control grants-at-large of land, and provide for defense. The governor might cast a vote in case of a tie, but he had no right of veto. Adjournment, prorogation, and dissolution were in the hands of the court itself. Provision was made for holding the court, should the designated officials at any time neglect or refuse to call it.

During the early years of settlement, 1635-1639, the control of the land had been in the hands of each group of plantation settlers and their first act upon arrival was to purchase from the natives a right to the soil, the purchase money being raised by subscriptions to a common fund. Each subscriber received an allotment in proportion to the amount put in. The Windsor people obtained most of their land from the Plymouth traders, paying £37 for it, and later this possession was confirmed to them by the Indians. All land was bought fairly although there can be no doubt that the Indians often, if not always, misunderstood what the bargain meant, believing that they were conceding only the use and not the ownership of the terri-

tory defined in the deeds. They had no real conception of the meaning of ownership, accustomed as they were to tribal and clan control instead of individual and private tenure, and probably often interpreted the so-called sale as meaning nothing more than the admittance of the English to a share in the advantages of the region. In some of the deeds, as in the case of Enfield, the Indians reserved the rights of hunting and fishing, and in the case of Waterbury they gave the settlers the right to use the territory but not to make permanent settlements.

With the establishment of the colony government in 1639 all lands not purchased or granted were at the disposal of the General Court and "colony land" continued to exist, particularly in the northeastern and northwestern parts of the colony for another century. No one could buy land or settle there without leave and after 1663 no one was allowed to buy any parcel of land from the Indians, "except he doe buy or receive the same for the use of the colony or the benefit of some towne, with the allowance of the court." But land once legally conveyed to an individual or town was held in full ownership and could not be disposed of except by the grantee. Within the town, the general meeting of the inhabitants in town meeting distributed the land, according to whatever method was approved by majority vote—either equal division, rateable estate, or individual gift, though in the eighteenth century control fell into the hands of the "proprietors," as they were called, that is, the original purchasers and their heirs, and many a dispute arose between old comers and newcomers, inhabitants and descendants, over this difficult problem. It was the custom of the towns earliest founded to take back the allotments of those who did not fulfil the terms of the grant—such as living in the town for three years and carrying on their

plantation duties. Division was frequently by lot, which among the first settlers was construed as leaving the judgment to God and doubtless at times relieved the town fathers of not a little embarrassment. The common and undivided lands in the townships continued to exist, as did the public lands of the colony, for many years, those of Hartford not being finally apportioned until 1754. As a rule grants were made to householders, but both Farmington and Wallingford had "bachelor lots" that were granted to single men in the hope that they might eventually marry and rear families and so make a proper use of the lands assigned. Disputes over boundaries between towns as well as individuals were of common occurrence and the great majority of cases that came before the county courts was of this nature.

The location of the river towns was not due to any haphazard choice on the part of those who migrated to Connecticut, for the river was excellently adapted for trade, having few rapids and abounding in fish, with tributaries of considerable size that made inland connections by canoes and small boats worth while. Its main channel was deep enough to admit the passage of boats of sea-going dimensions. As time went on husbandry and agriculture took precedence over trade, and the rich glacial deposits of sediment left in the Connecticut Valley lay in wide, flat, fertile meadows on either side of the river from Windsor to Middletown. This rich bottom land, frequently recuperated by the freshets—the spring overflow from the river—was what made permanent settlement practicable. The Dutch had the first choice of land and they selected the point at the mouth of the Little River (Hartford) as a place easy to fortify, within reasonable distance of the Sound and near the inland waterways. Here they found fields already cleared by the Indians,

and between these fields and the (Talcott) mountains behind was a heavily wooded region supplying plenty of timber for building purposes. That the English chose locations above and below the Dutch fort and that the three river towns remained the wealthiest in Connecticut for a long time after their settlement attest the good business sense of these shrewd people from Manhattan.

The advantages of the river and coast trade with Boston and the necessity of controlling the mouth of the Connecticut River were immediately evident to the lords and gentlemen, who under the Warwick patent were planning to find a refuge in New England. They were particularly anxious to get ahead of the Dutch, who were showing signs of an intention to occupy "Kiefts Hoeck" (Saybrook) as they had already occupied Dutch Point at Hartford and of building a fort there. On July 7, 1635, the patentees, Saye and Sele, Brooke, Fenwick, and others commissioned John Winthrop, jr., son of the governor of Massachusetts, to serve as agent and governor of the "River Connecticut, the harbors and places adjoining for the space of one year after his arrival there." He was instructed to build a fort at the river's mouth and houses for men of quality, and to reserve 1,500 acres for the use of those who might inhabit there. He was supplied with provisions and £2000 in money. Before leaving England Winthrop engaged Lion Gardiner, a skilled engineer, to help him, and advised him to choose a place "both for the convenience of a good harbor and for capableness and fitness for fortification."

Upon his arrival at Boston with his fellow agents, the Reverend Hugh Peter and Harry Vane, he entered at once upon his new duties. He sent a bark of thirty tons to Saybrook with twenty men on board under the command of Lieutenant Gibbons and Sergeant Willard. They arrived

November 24, 1635, and Winthrop and Gardiner followed in a few days. They began to fortify the point at once, and were none too soon, for in December the Dutch arrived, evidently expecting to take possession of the place. But they were frightened away by the two cannon which the English had planted on the shore.

As 300 people were expected from England in the spring, Winthrop worked hard to complete the fortification, which consisted of a large earthwork, supported and supplemented by beams. At one end stood the block house, probably a sort of prolongation of the fort itself. Nearby were a few houses for prospective settlers and across the neck of the point on which the fort was built was a palisade, which effectually cut it off from the mainland and protected it on the northern side. Beyond the palisade were laid out the 1,500 acres which were to be set apart for cultivation.

During the winter of 1635-1636 the fort served as a place of temporary asylum for the half-starved Windsor people on their return trip to Boston and for this act of mercy the inhabitants at Saybrook were remembered in Massachusetts by a day of fasting and prayer. Though George Fenwick, the only one of the patentees ever to set foot on Saybrook soil, came over for a short time and though a few people migrated from Massachusetts, the expected addition of settlers in the spring from England did not materialize. Harry Vane was in Boston during the summer and begged Winthrop to ask for anything that he might need and the elder Winthrop wrote his son that "the gentlemen seem to be discouraged in their design here." The outlook was not hopeful. The prospect of Saybrook's becoming a trading center was not encouraging, for there were not many Indians about, the land was not especially fertile, the harbor was blocked by a sand-

bar, and the up-river towns were plainly monopolizing the more distant Indian traffic. The fort bore the brunt of the Pequot War and rendered invaluable service as a protection for the river mouth, but otherwise the disadvantages of the location far outweighed the advantages.

In 1639 Fenwick, who in the meantime had gone back to England and there married Alice, daughter of Sir Edward Apsley and widow of Sir John Boteler, returned to the settlement, bringing with him his wife, his chaplain Thomas Higginson (son of the Reverend Francis Higginson formerly at Salem) and a number of others. Such a company attracted newcomers and the settlement began to lose something of its military character. In 1641 Fenwick wrote Winthrop that he had succeeded in growing apple, peach, and cherry trees there, a beginning, certainly, of an agricultural interest. There seems to have been no church organization, despite the presence of a chaplain and a population of about fifty, until 1646. In 1641 Lady Fenwick became a member of Hooker's church in Hartford and her baby was baptized there.

Except for help in aiding the prosecution of the Pequot War and sundry attempts to settle boundary questions, Winthrop and Fenwick had little to do with the other river plantations. The latter had been made a freeman of the Connecticut Colony just before his return to England in 1636 and in 1646 the General Court there agreed that if he would come under that colony's jurisdiction his "privileges would not be infringed." That there was some understanding between Connecticut and Saybrook is evident from the fact that the former paid Fenwick for necessary repairs on the fort in 1643, but no written agreement was concluded until the next year. Probably Fenwick waited to hear from the other patentees as to his next move and undoubtedly wished to be absolutely sure

that there was no hope of a new migration from England before he accepted Connecticut's offer. The activities of the Long Parliament were keeping the lords and gentlemen in England and the hope of reorganization at home was gradually dissipating the need of leaving England in order to find a home elsewhere.

The agreement of Fenwick with Connecticut was finally concluded on December 5, 1644. It took the form of a contract of sale covering the fort and its appurtenances, all land on the Connecticut River, and a promise to convey to Connecticut all the land between Saybrook and the "Narragansett River," "if it were in his power," which as events were to prove never was the case. In return the Connecticut colonists were to pay Fenwick for two years certain duties on all exports of corn, biscuit, and beaver passing the fort, as well as a tax on every cow and mare three years old and on every hog or sow killed in the river towns. Springfield was included in this arrangement, as she owed some return for the protection which the fort had offered her.

In 1658 Fenwick died and Connecticut claimed from his executor, Culick, certain moneys that had been paid to the fort under the agreement of 1644, but for which Connecticut had not received the stipulated return, namely, the land between Saybrook and Narragansett, which Fenwick in default of a clear title under the Warwick patent had not been able to transfer legally. Captain Culick finally compromised by paying Connecticut £500, thus freeing her from further payments to the fort; while Connecticut, in her turn, granted administration on the Fenwick estate and discharged Culick from further liabilities. The settlement had suffered a grievous loss in 1647, when, on a very tempestuous night in the depth of winter, the fort was set on fire and all the

buildings within the palisade, with all the goods, were destroyed. Captain Mason, who was living there with his wife and children, was saved with difficulty, but others lost their lives, as Winthrop, jr., in mentioning the incident, calls it a "fatal fire" and says that the only copy of the Warwick patent in the colony was lost at the same time. The damage was valued at a thousand pounds.

Saybrook presents a unique form of settlement in Connecticut, as the only town which started as a strictly military post and the only one to be under an outside proprietary governor. Soon after these conditions were removed, by Connecticut's purchase in 1644 and the burning of the fort in 1647, the town proper began to grow in numbers and agricultural activities. Lands were laid out and bounds run in 1649, on both sides of the river. People drifted in from time to time from Massachusetts and the river towns, and gradually the place took on the form of a regular town similar to the other towns in Connecticut, finding representation in the General Court in 1651, entering the list of estates of towns "within this jurisdiction" in 1654, and sharing all the duties and obligations, including jury and military service, from this time forward as would any other town.

The harbor and mouth of the Thames or Pequot River had been known to the English for a long time. The locality was familiar to the coasting vessels going to and from Boston and it had served as a rendezvous for the colonial soldiers during the Pequot War. In 1637 Israel Stoughton of Massachusetts wrote to the governor and council of that colony describing the character of the country, which he had seen as he had passed through in pursuit of the Pequots and expressing the conviction that "Pequid" was hardly worth the loss of many soldiers. "As for plantations," he said, "here is no meadow I see or

hear of near; the upland good but rocky and unfit for ploughs for the most part. Indeed were there no better, 'twere worthy the best of us—the upland being, as I judge, stronger land than the Bay upland. If you would enlarge the state and provide for the poor servants of Christ that are yet unprovided, I must speak my conscience. I confess the place and places whither God's providence carried us, to Quillipeage [Quinnipiac] river and beyond to the Dutch, is before this or the Bay either . . . abundantly. But if there is special purpose in selecting Pequot then considering, 1. the goodness of the land, 2. the fairness of title, 3. the neighborhood of Connecticut, 4. the good access thereto (wherein it is before Connecticut), 5. that an ill neighbor may possess it if a good do not . . . then I would readily give it my good word." But despite the desire of Massachusetts to extend her territory to the southward, as seen in her endeavor to wrest the Narragansett country from Rhode Island and so to obtain a commercial outlet in that region, she never made any serious attempt to dispute possession of the lands west of the Thames River.

John Winthrop's commission as governor of the Saybrook country expired in 1636 and after a brief visit to England he returned to interest himself in the region around the Pequot River extending to Narragansett Bay. He received in 1640 a grant of Fishers Island from Massachusetts, which was confirmed by Connecticut the next year, "as far as hinder not the public good of the country, for the purpose of fortifying or of setting up a trade in fishing or salt or such like." The island had long been famous for its fine hunting and fishing grounds and had been a favorite resort of the Indians, but Winthrop did not make an effort to improve it, as he was for the next year or two occupied with a trip to England, which lasted

for a year and a half, and with starting iron works in 1644 at Braintree and Lynn, an ill-starred speculation that bankrupted his successor, Richard Leader, because the enterprise was under-capitalized and made no money. He then turned his attention to Connecticut. There the General Court, anxious to have a plantation at Pequot as a "curb to the Indians," and hearing that he had discovered "some quantity of the best sort of iron stone being convenient to be wrought in these parts," granted him permission to locate there. He had already erected a house on Fishers Island, but now he built one on the mainland also. In 1645 he came to the west side of the Thames and with the aid of men from Massachusetts, among whom was his friend Thomas Peters, laid out the land and began a settlement. Probably as many as twelve or fifteen men and their families formed the first contingent and, new settlers arriving the next spring, the plantation was organized May 6, 1646. Pequot grew slowly. In 1650 fourteen new families, from Gloucester, with their minister, Richard Blue, came as a church organization and uniting with themselves those already there, formed the first church in the community.

At the beginning of the settlement the Massachusetts General Court expressed the opinion that it was not sure under whose jurisdiction the Pequot people came, but that "it did not much matter as they belonged to the same confederation"—the Confederation of New England. Connecticut, however, thought that it did matter and claimed the territory by right of conquest, by purchase, and by patent. The court had already made large grants there—500 acres to Captain John Mason, 500 acres to his soldiers, and 10,000 acres to the magistrates for their disposal. In 1646 the rival claims were brought before the Commissioners of the Confederation for ex-

amination. The decision favored Connecticut and she immediately took over the plantation and ordered Winthrop to execute justice there according to Connecticut law and in 1648 commissioned him as a regular magistrate. The question of jurisdiction was brought up again in 1658, 1659, 1660, but Connecticut maintained her title successfully. The name, New London, was given by the court in 1658, "in memory of the City of London." The planting of this town represents the personal interest and devotion of one man, John Winthrop, jr., the first to see the possibilities of the place, the first to ask permission to locate there, and the one who stands out conspicuously as the leader of the settlement, acting as the spokesman and director of the people. He never exploited the land for his own profit or attempted to control more acres than were his fair share in the divisions of land made by the town.

As Captain Stoughton had reported, the country around Pequot could not compare in quality with that around the Quinnipiac River and beyond. His letter reached Boston two months after the arrival of the Reverend John Davenport, Theophilus Eaton, Edward Hopkins, and the rest of the company from London, Kent, and Hereford. As with so many others Davenport and his friends were trying to escape from the long arm of Archbishop Laud, to find a place where they could cast aside the strict observances of the established church and worship with the simple forms in which they believed. Massachusetts wanted very much that they should stay within her jurisdiction, for such a company, possessed of wealth and distinction, would be a noteworthy addition to her own people. Though Governor Winthrop offered Davenport his choice of the best land and Charlestown and Newbury made generous terms, Davenport and Eaton could not find it in their hearts to remain. A few

months in Massachusetts, where fears of English interference were rife, where the Antinomian quarrel was at its height, and where the churches were already stocked with strong-minded men, convinced Davenport and Eaton that they had better look elsewhere. They had a great desire to "have their government both in civil and religious matters agreeable to their own apprehensions." They disliked the religious upheaval and excitement going on in Boston and saw, as Hooker did before them, that the chief offices of government were filled and that there was no place there for them.

Having heard the favorable reports of Quinnipiac, Eaton and a small party of men went down the coast to investigate the new land. They were much pleased with all they saw and, leaving seven men to spend the winter, returned to Boston. Early in the spring an Indian runner from Boston informed the seven men that they were to buy land from the Indians and to put up such shelter as they could for the rest of the company that was preparing to follow in a few weeks. This happened early in April, 1638, and on the eighteenth of that month the company arrived, being much taken with the fruitfulness of the country and its security "from the danger of a general governor" that threatened them at Boston.

It is evident that the dominant idea in Eaton's mind was the availability of New Haven for trade. Friendly Indians, a fine harbor, fairly navigable rivers, well wooded land for "spruce masts," and fertile meadows seemed to him all that could be desired. The fact that so many of the settlers were London merchants and, if tradition is to be believed, built elaborate houses in the town, would seem to indicate that they expected to be reimbursed in a short time from the profits of an active trade. It took many years before the failure of new arrivals, the col-

lapse of many of their enterprises, and the loss of the "great shippe" taught them that they could not rely on trade alone. The eagerness of many to put through the settlement on the Delaware River—avowedly for trade, and the heated debates over the question of removing to Jamaica showed that the New Haven leaders were merchants by preference rather than agriculturists and struggled as long as they could to make their settlement a commercial center. They did not have the slightest claim to the territory they occupied other than by an Indian title, though probably the Connecticut people knew of their coming and were not opposed to it. They tried to obtain a charter, sending Gregson over in the "great shippe" for that special purpose, but the loss of the ship brought that hopeful project to an end, so that to the close of their period of independent life they were legally without protection. They made a second purchase of land from the Indians in December, 1638, covering a tract ten by thirteen miles, including all that is now Branford, East Haven, North Haven, Wallingford, Cheshire, Hamden, and Woodbridge.

The presence of Davenport at New Haven and of Fenwick at Saybrook encouraged an English clergyman, Henry Whitfield, to seek a refuge from his troubles in the mother country in a tract of land lying midway between the two settlements. He sold his estate in 1639 and sailed for New England with his friend Fenwick, who was on his second voyage to his abode at the river's mouth. While on board Whitfield and his company adopted a plantation covenant, binding them to settle as one community and not to leave without the consent of the greater part of the members. They landed at Quinnipiac, where Davenport was expecting them, and after viewing the country, purchased from the Indians in September, 1639, a region,

Menunkatuck, which they named Guilford. They chose the location, because Fenwick had given them a gift of land immediately west of Saybrook, which they found "low, flat and moist, agreeable to their wishes," with the climate like their own in England. The first winter they spent in such temporary shelters as they could provide, with the aid of friends from the New Haven Colony, and there they remained an independent community, separate from the New Haven government until, in 1643, in common with Milford on the west they entered the New Haven jurisdiction, forming the New Haven colony as distinct from the New Haven town. They established a church in the same year and in all their transactions pursued a course very much of their own, depending on the common law of England rather than on the Bible. When in 1664 Connecticut by virtue of her charter declared for the annexation of New Haven, Guilford men were among the first to leave the jurisdiction, Dr. Brian Rossiter leading the way. The rest of the Guilford people remained loyal to the New Haven government to the end, though never as bitter against the union as were those of New Haven itself.

Guilford was the last settlement made in Connecticut independent of an outside authority. All future plantations received their right to exist either from the New Haven jurisdiction or from that of Connecticut. The boundary line between the two was very indefinite, as were all boundaries based on Indian deeds, and neither colony knew exactly where its territory began and ended. New Haven after 1643 claimed to Guilford's east line in that direction, to the southern part of present Meriden on the north, including Wallingford, Woodbridge, and Milford, and two isolated tracts, occupied by Stamford and by Southold on Long Island. Connecticut claimed the

country as far southwest as Greenwich, by virtue of conquest, indefinitely toward the unexplored region of the west and northwest, and north to the latitude running through a point three miles south of the "freshes" of the Charles River in southern Massachusetts. The eventual settlement of these boundary lines became a matter of great concern to the colony and continued to trouble its leaders in one part or another, throughout its entire colonial history.

The defeat of the Pequots had done more for Connecticut than simply relieve her from the dangers of a hostile tribe of Indians. It had opened up for settlement the whole region along the coast and into the interior lying west toward the Dutch in Manhattan. At first this land seemed very remote, but after the occupation of New Haven and Milford some of the people in Hartford, Wethersfield, and Windsor, who were interested in starting new settlements or who desired new lands for their families, turned their attention to this western stretch of coast as available for their purpose. In 1639 the General Court of Connecticut gave Roger Ludlow—one of the colony's leading founders, a magistrate, and a participant in the Swamp Fight near Fairfield—permission to begin a plantation at Pequonnock (Stratford). Ludlow bought lands of the Indians there, who were glad of English protection against the Mohawks, and included within his purchase not only Pequonnock but Uncoway (Fairfield) also, a locality which lay just beyond and had a good harbor. When called to account for his long absence from his duties as magistrate and for purchasing land not specified by the court, Ludlow answered that he apprehended "others" were planning to "take up the sayd place, who had not acquainted the court with their purpose" and thinking that such action might be prejudicial to the

commonwealth he had endeavored to anticipate them. His reference to "others" was to the discontented church members in Wethersfield, who were looking for a new home. The General Court immediately appointed a committee to visit the new plantation, instructing them to give the oath of fidelity to the planters there, to make freemen of as many as they saw fit, to tell the plantation to send deputies to the General Court, and to provide a local court of justice, with right of appeal to the higher authority. They were also to appoint a sergeant to form and drill a trainband. From these instructions the inference is clear that by 1639-1640 there were many people gathered in these two places, though how they got there and where they came from is difficult to ascertain. In 1640 Uncoway and Pequonnock are spoken of as the towns of Fairfield and Stratford and in 1643 the latter was granted the privilege of a magistrate. Until 1647 the two towns seem to have held their court jointly and in 1648 appear together in the list of estates, standing fourth, in the amount of the rate, immediately after the river towns.

Meanwhile New Haven, having heard of a good location for a town beyond Fairfield, made haste to buy Rippowams (Stamford) through Captain Nathaniel Turner in 1640. Apparently, Connecticut did not lay claim to this particular region by conquest or she would certainly have objected to such an encroachment upon her rights. In Wethersfield the ecclesiastical life of the town had not been smooth, the church there with seven members and four ministers had been utterly unable "to walk peacefully and in the light of God," and their disputes and differences had greatly troubled their Puritan brethren elsewhere. Expostulation brought no results, and the only remedy appeared to be withdrawal of the disturbing party. The leaders were the Reverend Richard Denton, of

whom Cotton Mather says, "Though he was a little man yet he had a great soul, his well accomplished mind in his lesser body was an Iliad in a nut shell. I think he was blind of one eye, yet he was not the least among the seers of Israel"; and Richard Gildersleeve, who had got into trouble with the General Court for casting out "pernicious speeches, tending to the detriment and dishonor of the commonwealth." These men accepted the invitation of Davenport, who from New Haven had tried to restore harmony, and agreed to purchase the land of New Haven for £33, to settle and improve it before May, 1641, or to forfeit £5 apiece, and to join with New Haven under a common jurisdiction.

The Wethersfield people were true to their compact. In 1640 a company was formed of some twenty-eight men, with their wives and children, for the purpose of removing to Stamford. In 1641 the migration took place and by 1642 there were probably in the neighborhood of sixty people in the plantation. They organized the town, divided their lands, and conducted themselves with "contentment and satisfaction." They chose a constable, sent their deputies to the New Haven General Court, and held a local court of justice for the trial of all cases up to forty shillings. New Haven added considerably to her position and influence by her dealings with Southold and Stamford. She became an agent doing a real estate business, in line with the mercantile traditions of her leaders, a sort of middleman between the Indians and prospective colonists, although reaping no direct profit in the form of money.

In 1640 the land around Norwalk had been deeded by the Indians to Captain Daniel Patrick, and in 1641 all that remained was given to Roger Ludlow. Nothing further seems to have been done until 1650, when the Indian

deeds were confirmed by the Connecticut General Court. In that year Nathaniel Ely and Richard Olmsted on behalf of themselves and other inhabitants of Hartford petitioned the court for permission to plant a settlement at "Norwaake," having already negotiated with Ludlow for the purchase of Captain Patrick's land. The General Court, glad to have the wilderness improved, agreed to the plan on condition that it be executed in an orderly manner and with due regard for the rules in such cases laid down by the committee appointed by the court—such as, to improve the land immediately, call a minister, and get thirty families on the ground. The company accepted the terms of both Ludlow and the court, and paid the former £15, laying out a lot for himself and his sons worth £200. Under these conditions the plantation was begun. In 1651 the court made Norwalk a town and ordered it to pay its share in the general expenses of the colony.

It is not quite clear why this company of men and women removed from Hartford. The most reasonable explanation is the desire for more land, as the members were not especially important people, being honest, simple farmers, whose desire it was to settle peacefully, so that there can have been no reasons of state involved.

The same Patrick who purchased part of Norwalk bought land in 1640 where Greenwich stands today, in partnership with one Robert Feake. The two men put up rough shacks for themselves and lived there for two years, presumably under English, not Dutch, jurisdiction. In 1642, however, they asked to be placed under the Dutch, because, as they claimed, they had not been protected by New Haven. As Connecticut's claim was very shadowy New Netherland gladly accepted them and agreed that they should enjoy "the same privileges as all

patroons" under the Dutch West India Company. Thus Greenwich for a time became a sort of manor or patroonship. Some few Dutchmen settled there, but we hear little of the place until 1655, when Stamford complained to New Haven that it harbored Indians, drunken Englishmen, and other disorderly persons, who committed sundry "inconvenient" acts, such as letting out their cattle, breaking down fences, and damaging crops. Stamford suggested that Greenwich be taken under the authority of New Haven, where by an agreement between the Dutch and Connecticut in 1650 it had already been placed, but being somewhat of a no-man's land it was at the time seemingly outside the jurisdiction of anyone.

Finally, in 1646, the General Court of New Haven ordered the Greenwich inhabitants to submit, but they refused. Then the colony threatened to seize by force their leaders, "Richard Crabb and some other of the most stubborn and disorderly persons," unless they speedily appeared at a court of the magistrates and gave in their adhesion. This threat was effective and twelve of the people, including one Dutchman, signed an agreement to yield themselves, place, and estate to the government of New Haven, subjecting themselves to the order and dispose of the General Court there. They were made a part of Stamford and relieved of rates for the space of one year. Many new settlers came in from this time forward, most of whom were from Hempstead, Long Island, and from Massachusetts.

New Haven's control upon Long Island started with a small group of people from Norfolk, England, under the Reverend John Young, who came by way of New Haven in 1640 and in New Haven's name purchased lands and, after a short stay on the mainland, went across the Sound and founded the town of Southold. They were soon joined

by settlers from Massachusetts, and soon after their arrival gathered a church "anew." As was the case with Stamford, Southold became a part of the New Haven Colony.

About the same time two other plantations were begun, Southampton and Easthampton, the former settled by people from Lynn, brought to Long Island in a New Haven vessel, who purchased their land directly of the Indians, having already, June 12, 1639, obtained from James Forrett, agent of the Earl of Stirling (d. February, 1640) a grant of territory between Peconic and the easternmost point of Long Island. This grant was supplanted by another, April 17, 1640, allowing representatives of this group and their associates "to sit down upon Long Island, there to possess, improve, and enjoy eight miles square of land," subject to an annual quit-rent, eventually fixed at four bushels of the best Indian corn. The Dutch made them a good deal of trouble, and after considerable confusion Southampton voluntarily entered the jurisdiction of Connecticut, according to terms carefully drawn up by committees from each party, which became the basis on which other Long Island towns were admitted and which continued to prevail until Connecticut lost Long Island entirely after 1664. Easthampton also was settled from Lynn, the company securing for £34 through Thomas Stanton in Theophilus Eaton's name and at Edward Hopkins' expense, an Indian deed to land to the east of Southampton. There by 1649 thirty-six settlers had arrived, who paid their debt to Hopkins and soon organized their town. Easthampton remained independent until 1658, when its people in turn applied for admission to the Connecticut Colony.

Thus far we have been dealing chiefly with the towns on seacoast and rivers and must turn for the moment to

take up movements into the interior. Wethersfield, Hartford, and Windsor had not in their four years from 1636 to 1640 acquired as many neighbors as New Haven had in the two years from 1638 to 1640. These towns were still the only settlements above Saybrook, whereas there were five on the coast, with three others in contemplation. Several reasons may be assigned for this isolation of the river towns. Expansion on the part of the towns was slow, partly because the Pequot War had drained their strength and partly because there was a large amount of available farm land in the immediate neighborhood, either near the settlements or across the river. Thus the pressure of a desire for new land was not felt as soon as might be expected in view of the number of inhabitants. The people who left Wethersfield to go elsewhere were not in need of land and they journeyed as far away as possible in order to get beyond the reach of church disputes and dissensions.

As far as new plantations on the upper reaches of the river were concerned, the opportunities were not favorable. Above Windsor a company of settlers would run the risk of falling either wholly or in part within the boundaries of Massachusetts, for the Woodward and Saffery line of 1642, because of inaccurate instruments, a fact not discovered until 1702, struck the Connecticut River several miles too far south and the matter remained unsettled for many years, leading to endless disputes between Windsor and Springfield, and after 1680 with its offspring, Enfield. Land on the east, beyond the cleared strip opposite the river towns appeared to be rough, heavily wooded, and dangerous. At Mattabesec or Middletown, the Indians of that name had their headquarters and had shown themselves unfriendly to the English. Below Middletown the character of the river banks

changed to steep, rocky land or low marshy land—either variety equally uninviting to the newcomer, who not unnaturally preferred to pitch his new home on the coast with cleared land all ready for the plough.

To all appearances the country west of the river beyond the settlements was unpromising. A great wilderness, beginning with the Talcott range, stretched indefinitely toward the horizon. A few enterprising traders had been up and down the Tunxis River and had marked off favorable spots for settlement, for the friendliness of the Tunxis Indians and the growing need of more spacious farms were leading them to find locations in that quarter. In 1640 certain ones of Hartford, Windsor, and Wethersfield moved the court for "some enlargement of accommodation" and the latter appointed a committee, two from each town, to "view these parts of Uncus Sepus" and make a report. In June the conditions of settlement were left in the hands of the particular court for completion, but it was not until 1645 that a name, Farmington, was found for the Tunxis plantation, bounds were determined on, a temporary recorder appointed, and the town vested with all the liberties of the other towns but warned not to make orders among themselves contrary to the "fundament agreements" contained in the conditions of settlement.

No sooner had the Farmington plantation been started than other plantation projects were set on foot. Certain inhabitants of Windsor asked for an enlargement of territory in a favorable spot higher up the Tunxis River, at the further end of the mountain range and petitioned the court to that effect. The governor, George Wyllys, and John Haynes of the magistrates were authorized by the court to dispose of "the ground upon that parte of Tunxis River called Massacowe or Massaco, to such

inhabitants of WyndSOR as they shall see cause." But nothing came of this and in 1646 the court decided to purchase the lands and to appoint a committee to sell them for what they cost. But again the plan failed. In the meantime one John Griffin, engaged in making tar, pitch, and turpentine, obtained a grant of all the lands in Massaco as compensation for injury done and this grant was confirmed by the court "in consideration that [Griffin] was the first to perfect the art of making pitch and tarre in these parts." But it was not until 1664 that the eagerness of the Windsor people to obtain land overcame their fear of the Indians and their unwillingness to go so far from the river into the wilderness, and a settlement was begun, called Simsbury, a shortened form of the English Simondsburry in Dorsetshire. Both Farmington and Simsbury were on a water course, within a more or less convenient reach of the Great River, and it was to be many years before any of the settlers were bold enough to strike into the woods beyond the reach of river communication.

The land in the region of Totoket had been purchased by New Haven in December, 1638. In 1640 she had sold it to Samuel Eaton on condition that he would settle there with his friends. This condition was not fulfilled and the New Haven court gave the land into the keeping of the particular court to get rid of as it saw fit. People were encroaching there without right or title and New Haven was very desirous of having an orderly company take over the place and establish a permanent plantation. Fortunately for its purpose, a group in Wethersfield, under the leadership of Richard Swayne, was looking for an escape from the ecclesiastical troubles in the town and after visiting Totoket purchased for £12 title to the soil. The purchase was made in 1643 and a few months after-

ward in 1644 the settlers arrived, and were later joined by Abraham Pierson and a part of his church from Southampton, Long Island. The conjoined planters willingly entered within the New Haven jurisdiction and set up their church after the New Haven model. The new plantation was called Branford, a popular corruption of Brentford, a London suburb on the Thames opposite Kew.

The western bank of the Connecticut River, between Saybrook and Wethersfield remained unsettled until 1646. As early as 1639 men had been sent to Mattabesec (Middletown) to find the Indians who had murdered a white man and who were supposed to be in hiding somewhere in the neighborhood. This visit may have opened up the advantages of the country, which were not clearly evident when viewed from the river, for Mattabesec was on the turn of the stream, and though its shores were marshy on one side, they were rocky on the other. In the back country, however, were good arable fields with an abundant water supply, fed by five small streams which ran in at this point. But the Indians were hostile and it was not until 1646 that it was considered safe to begin a plantation. In that year a committee was appointed, but we hear nothing further until 1650 when a land committee began to push the undertaking with so much enterprise that the next year the plantation was large enough to be made a town by the General Court. Mattabesec was called Middletown in 1653, it was already organized and entered in the rateable list, and a church was formed in 1665.

Stonington, like Hartford and Windsor, started as a trading post. In 1650 Thomas Stanton was given liberty to traffic at Pawkatuck and was granted a three years' monopoly of the business. A year later, this monopoly was infringed by an interloper, William Cheesborough,

who intruded on the territory and put up a house near that of Stanton. He was ordered to remove and put under bonds of £100 not to trade further and unlawfully with the Indians. In 1652 the deputy governor, John Haynes, was granted 3,000 acres east of Pequot and gradually other settlers began to cross the Thames and move into the Pawkatuck country. The numbers had become sufficient by 1657 to warrant the General Court in ordering the establishment of a minister and in the same year Mystic and Pawkatuck were set up as a town independent of Pequot at New London, whence most of the planters had come. Massachusetts had had pretensions to this region and was familiar with it before any settlement took place there, under the name Southertown, which later grew into the modern Stonington, and when in 1657 Connecticut extended her jurisdiction in that quarter Massachusetts reasserted her pretensions and, assuming that Mystic and Pawkatuck were hers, not Connecticut's, incorporated them as a town under the name Southertown. Connecticut, basing her claim on the Warwick patent, replied that she had long exercised authority there, that the inhabitants had taken the oath of fidelity to her, and that the territory was rightfully hers. Massachusetts rejoined rather bitterly, "Wee cannot a litle wonder at your proceeding so suddenly to extend your authority to the trouble of your friends and confederates." A heated controversy ensued, Connecticut expressing the hope that Massachusetts would stop laying further temptations before "our subjects at Mistack of disobedience to their government" and adding that she would not have endured so long these "uncomfortable debates" had it not been "to maintain the love with our Massachusetts friends." The matter was referred to the commissioners of the United Colonies and decided in Massachusetts' favor,

but Connecticut refused to agree and after the issue of the charter of 1662 compelled Massachusetts to give in. On October 15, 1672, Massachusetts made a parting reference to Connecticut's having obtained the charter, "which we hoped and had some assurance should not prejudice our right" and added, "this charter made your claime to the jurisdiction of these parts with so much pressure and at such a season that it was judged by us more dangerous to the common cause of New England to oppose than by our forebearance and yielding to endeavor to prevent a mischief to us both." The withdrawal of Massachusetts and her failure in attempting to make the Mystic River the eastern boundary of Connecticut left the latter colony face to face with Rhode Island in the controversy over whether the Pawkatuck River or Narragansett Bay was the eastern boundary. This quarrel was prolonged until 1727, when by decision of the king in council the Pawkatuck was made the boundary line.

The junction of the Shetucket and Quinebaug Rivers appealed to Jonathan Brewster of New London as offering an advantageous location for a trading house, with which to start a traffic with the Mohegan Indians. In 1650 word was brought to the General Court that Brewster had established himself at "Mohegan" without leave, an action considered "very disorderly," but he was allowed to remain until the court saw fit to remove him. Just when the idea of settling a plantation there entered the minds of a group of people at Saybrook cannot be ascertained. Why Saybrook people wanted to migrate is equally mysterious. They were comfortably provided for at home, were well housed and at peace, and as far as known were neither restless nor discontented. Why they should have wanted to settle a new town in the wilderness is a puzzle, unless it be that they were attracted by the

opportunities for Indian traffic at the head of a navigable stream. In 1659 we find the Reverend James Fitch and Captain John Mason (who had already assisted in laying out three or four other plantations) enthusiastically gathering the people of Saybrook into a company for migration to Norwich. In May of that year they received permission to go from the General Court, provided they settled within three years, and, twenty-eight in number, left Saybrook in 1660. As the settlers comprised the majority of the Saybrook church and were led by their minister, their migration resembled that of Windsor and Hartford, the removal of a body of covenanted Christians. There was no ecclesiastical reorganization after they reached Norwich, though their desertion of Saybrook necessitated the setting up of a new church there. They bought nine square miles of territory for £70 from the Mohegan chieftains, Oweneco and Joshua, sons of Uncas, the purchase price being defrayed by all the planters. In 1661 the General Court ordered "Norridge" to send a committee to see about the organization of the town, instead of appointing a committee of its own to "view" the place, and continued to keep in touch with the progress of the place, in order to see that all conditions were successfully met. In 1663 the court, satisfied with what was being done, admitted freemen and deputies, thus constituting Norwich a full fledged town.

Some of the early divisions on the other side of the Shetucket brought the planters into close contact with the Indians, who made an attack upon two of them working there in 1676. Many of the Norwich people had sent their sons to take up land at "East Norwich" and by 1681 there were at least six families in the place. As the number increased and the settlement promised to become permanent, these east side settlers found it more and

more difficult to go to Norwich for Sabbath day worship. Finally, when the boundary between Norwich and New London was run, they found themselves outside all town jurisdiction and in 1686 nineteen of them applied to the General Court, saying that they were fourteen miles from New London and six or seven from Norwich and that they "hazard their lives over the water to hear the Word of God preached." They wished to be a plantation by themselves and to have their own minister, and promised to pay minister rates to Norwich until their own incumbent was settled. In 1687 their request was granted, they were created a town under the name of Preston, and were temporarily freed from country rates in order to encourage the organization of their church. They were authorized to send deputies, the first of whom appeared in 1693, and full church estate was recognized in 1698.

Preston was not the first to begin as a part of another town which, because of distance or of the difficulties of communication, was set off as a separate church society and gradually grew to the maturity of a town. The inhabitants of the river towns had been settled only a short time when they turned their attention to the fertile lands across the river. Windsor had bought lands of the Indians there in 1636 and was allowed to maintain a ferry in 1641. Hartford and Wethersfield both extended their bounds to include farms of three miles and more stretching toward the eastern wilderness. As early as 1649 the land opposite Saybrook was surveyed and grants were made by New London to people on the east side of the Thames. In 1657 Wethersfield's farms at Glastonbury and Naubuc were being occupied and improved. All these settlements grew gradually. When the people in the old towns felt pressed for land and could not find accommodation in their near-

by fields for their own children or for newcomers, they turned to the lands across the river and found there the opportunity that the old home did not furnish. At first tenure was largely for the summer months, but as numbers increased permanent homes were built and steps were taken looking to a certain amount of self-government. This at first took the form of a pound for the restraining of animals, then of a minister during the winter months (winter privileges), and finally a constable. Winter privileges soon grew into all the year privileges and the establishment of a church society, though there are instances where town organization preceded that of the church and other instances where all the privileges of a town and church were granted at the same time—name, brand, trainband, constable, church society, and town government. Not all the parishes attained to town incorporation, for a great many, located within only a mile or two of the center, remained politically a part of the old town. But where separation involved mountains, a dangerous river, or rough communication over almost impassible roads the new community generally grew into a separate town.

The settlement and growth of Groton, opposite New London, covers a period of almost fifty years. Grants of land to people of New London were made there in 1653. In 1661 New London's bounds were run on the east side of the river and in 1678 petitions for a separate church estate were refused, though grants continued to be made, a large one to Winthrop in 1656, another to Brewster later, and smaller grants to others. On the north of these grants was the Mashantucket reservation for the Pequot remnant and to the southeast were scattering grants in the Mystic and Pawkatuck region. Groton seems to have been closely bound up with New London in all her politi-

cal activities and the first request for a separate political existence did not come until about 1700. Terms were arranged with New London and the General Court incorporated Groton as an independent town, provided the east side allow the west side the use of its ferry, pay its debts—for the people there had been backward in meeting their rates—allow the pine swamp for mast timber to remain common property, permit the conditions of landholding to remain as before, and agree that any land there used by the west side for the benefit of schools and the ministry should remain so indefinitely.

“Thirty Mile Island” was the term used to designate the region on the Connecticut opposite a small island in the river, which was supposed to be thirty miles from the Sound. Saybrook had viewed the place but made no attempt to settle it. In 1660 some inhabitants of Farmington, Hartford, Wethersfield, and Windsor requested leave to start a plantation there and the court agreed. A committee was appointed and in 1662 twenty-eight men—mostly young and just married—migrated down the river and built homes there. Saybrook protested but the court upheld the settlers and found their title valid. In 1668 the place was made a town under the name Haddam, from the English Great Hadham in Hertfordshire, where John Haynes, the first governor, still had family connections. Five miles below Haddam, on the east shore, lay a tract of land which was included in Haddam’s original purchase. From time to time the inhabitants had cultivated the land there, and by 1695 enough people had gathered and taken up shares to necessitate fencing the fields, consequently they asked leave to maintain a minister. This favor was denied them, as the court considered the east side as still too poor, and it was not till 1700 that the Haddam East Society was formed and not until 1710

that the society took a step looking to incorporation by obtaining separation in part from Haddam. It was arranged that both sides should be as separate as if they were distinct towns, but that each should send one deputy to the General Court, the east society having no officers, which were those of Haddam only. This arrangement was sanctioned by the court and lasted until 1734, when East Haddam became a full town with all town rights and privileges.

The position of Kenelworth or Killingworth, the original part of which now bears the unhistorical and artificial name of Clinton, was in doubt for some time, as the General Court had not been able to tell just how much land there was there free for planting. For this reason it was thought safer for individuals to take up grants, and to further this end a committee of two from Hartford went to Hammonasset in 1662 to view the place; and if it should prove not fit for a plantation, they were to lay it out in four parts, and if there should be room, in two more. These parts were to be given to six persons, named in the instructions, but the plan was not consummated and the next year another committee was appointed. Saybrook, at this juncture, presented a claim to the land, but after a careful examination the court pronounced the claim defective and had to repeat its decision several times before Saybrook could be convinced. In August, 1663, the committee reported that there was room at Hammonasset for thirty families and consented that John Clow, jr., and others should be at liberty to set up a plantation. It drew up a kind of plantation agreement, consisting of nine articles, pledging the twenty-three signers to settle within two years or forfeit their lots and to call a minister and reserve a glebe for him. In the same years these men obtained an Indian title from Uncas and

paid Saybrook a quit-claim covering some portion of her territory to the eastward.

A plantation that was to come under Connecticut's jurisdiction by secession from Massachusetts in 1748 was Enfield, which in origin was that section of Springfield known as Freshwater extending southward along the river. Planters had gone there from Springfield as early as 1674 but the first attempt to settle was in 1679 when the town meeting appointed a committee to manage the concerns of the proposed plantation at the Falls and at Freshwater, where a warehouse had been set up. Though supposedly a Massachusetts town the circumstances of its settlement do not differ from those of the typical towns of the later seventeenth century, either in its land distribution or its town organization. Thirty families from Salem, Massachusetts, were there before 1684, as wanderers in search of new homes, a constable was appointed, and a civil and ecclesiastical order introduced. A meetinghouse was erected the same year. In 1688 the first town meeting was held, and selectmen chosen pursuant to the orders of the Massachusetts court. A corn mill appears, an iron work was started, and the town grew so rapidly that in 1720, forty years from the time of settlement, the whole township was practically settled from the Connecticut River to the borders of the town of Stafford of today, which stands on land that was part of the wilderness then stretching unbroken to the eastward over the present Windham and Tolland counties. Enfield, the child of Springfield, became the promoter of adjoining plantations and sent forth numerous emigrants into the eastern townships that were soon to be created in eastern Connecticut. Somers was but Enfield's "east side," incorporated by Massachusetts in 1734.

Suffield, Enfield, Somers, and Woodstock were the

towns that seceded from Massachusetts. Suffield's land had been set apart by the General Court there as early as 1660 for any twenty families that would settle within four years and secure a minister, the people to come from Springfield. Though a few lots were taken up, it was not until 1670 that enough had arrived to warrant the grant of plantation privileges. The Indian title was extinguished in 1672 for £40. Three years later the settlement was abandoned for fear of the Indians and it was not until 1682 that the people returned in sufficient numbers to warrant the calling of a town meeting, composed of thirty-four voters, for the election of townsmen. For a number of years there was friction between Suffield and Windsor over the boundary line, involving the territory that is now the southern part of Suffield and the northern part of Windsor or Windsor Locks.

From earliest times the General Court of Connecticut had been in the habit of granting lands as gratuities or compensations for services rendered, a practice common to all colonizing enterprises. Such grants might be made to public officers, soldiers, or men of mark. At first these grants were indefinite, to be taken up in any place not prejudicial to another grant or plantation. Usually the grantee chose some spot near a settled community or one especially suited to his tastes and interests. But as time went on and land began to grow scarce, the General Court felt the need of arranging the grants more definitely, both for the safety of the grantee and the orderly settling and grouping of the population. They therefore began to concentrate the grants and to require that such grants be taken up in some special region. At first this region was near New London in the Pequot country, perhaps in order to bring influences to bear upon the Mohegan Indians. But as accessible and desirable localities there began to

fill up, the court looked elsewhere for "colony land," and chose the territory north of Guilford and Killingly and west of Middletown. Grants had been made there to soldiers of the Pequot War, and were offered to Colonel John Talcott "and others," 1662, to Samuel Talcott, 1669, and to William Leete and Israel Chauncey, 1672. Talcott also bought some of the soldiers' land. Guilford, too, had allotted territory in this region, so that by 1699 there were twenty-eight planters there ready to petition for a plantation. Their reasons stated in the petition are interesting. They said that several farms had already been assigned to families there and that other families were ready to come. They wanted to set up the worship of God as an inducement to new settlers, and were confident they could maintain it because the country was filling up with people. Planters were settling on scattered farms, an act which was not only a danger in itself, but an obstacle, to church worship. Because of this absence of compact family grouping the court, in accepting the petition, decided to lay out a town plot at Cockingchaug (Durham) and authorized the proprietors to give up a fourth of their farms to be sold to prospective buyers, the money to be divided among them according to the number of lots which each should contribute. The plot was laid off in 1700, but the location was changed in 1703, because the first place was too restricted, and it was hoped that the arrangement would "be the means of procuring a flourishing plantation in a short time." The town, called Durham in 1704, was mainly situated on Colonel Talcott's upland farm, through which the highway ran from Wallingford to Middletown. There was considerable trouble experienced in settling the bounds with Killingworth, but by 1708 the conditions were all so favorable that the town was given a special patent of incorporation

dated May 21 of that year. This would appear to be the first definite town charter issued by the General Court of Connecticut.

A trading house on the Paugasuc River in 1642 is the first indication we have of the settlement of Derby. John Wakeman of New Haven was employing workmen there in that year and in 1654 Stephen Goodyear and those who had a "part with him in Paugasuck" were told to decide whether they should put themselves under the New Haven jurisdiction or not. The following year Richard Baldwin and others bought shares from Goodyear in the trading post and signified their desire to accept New Haven's invitation. New Haven responded by setting them apart as a little village by themselves, within which they were to manage their own affairs and be free from rates for three years. This act met with immediate opposition from Milford, which complained that if Paugasuc should be allowed to become a separate plantation, then its people would be cut off from commonage. Negotiations followed. One suggestion was that Paugasuc sell out to Milford, or, if Milford refused to buy, to New Haven. But in the meanwhile a new factor appeared. Lieutenant Wheeler of Stratford secured a large grant in the Paugasuc region and offered to come under New Haven, but the latter refused to consider the offer as long as the rest of Paugasuc was uncertain what to do. In 1659 New Haven gave the Paugasuc planters one more year in which to make up their minds and in 1660 they accepted the status of a village, paid their rates, and set about acquiring more land. In 1665 New Haven ceased to be an independent colony and Paugasuc came under Connecticut's jurisdiction and was encouraged "to try to be a plantation." In 1669 a constable was chosen and the records show that there were eight proprietors there in full control of their

lands. Increases followed. As the original proprietors had foreseen the hindrances to settlement that would be caused by failures to take up grants when purchased, they required that such be done within four years and a sufficient and habitable house erected thereon or the land would be forfeited. They engaged a minister in 1675, planned the road to Woodbury, set up a ferry on the Naugatuck River, and prepared the settlement for town estate. In consequence in that year, 1675, the General Court on motion of Joseph Hawkins and John Hulls granted Paugasuc all the privileges of a plantation and called it Derby, freeing it from country rates for three years, the inhabitants paying all their other charges.

A good many people in New Haven had begun to feel crowded and desirous of new and more extensive farms. Two years after the union (in October, 1667), the New Haven deputies in the General Court of Connecticut asked permission to begin a village on "East River." Permission was granted on condition the lands be settled within four years. The place referred to was on the Quinnipiac at what is now Wallingford and had been included in the "big" Indian purchase of 1638. An agreement was drawn up and signed by thirty-seven names, which provided that inhabitants would be received "with due respect to New Haven people so far as it can consist with the good of the place and the capacity thereof." Settlement was begun in 1667 and was carried on so vigorously that within three years the place had received a name, Wallingford, had called a minister, and in 1673 had replaced the committee in charge with a regular body of town officers. A church organization was set up in 1675. Ten years later the proprietors voted to lay out a certain "parcell" of land lying to the westward and covering all of the present town of Cheshire (Chester-shire), which had been reserved for

new planters. The place was known as "West Farm on Mill River that goeth toward New Haven" and while a few grantees may have cultivated their new lots, no houses were built there for some time. A road was run there in 1702 and in 1706 a viewer of highways and fences was appointed. In 1711 Wallingford decided to divide its trainband and that act was the first step leading to the separate existence of Cheshire. Mining activities in the district no doubt had a large part in drawing people into the locality, and the growth of the community appears from the fact that in 1715 one half of the school money allowed Wallingford was given to Cheshire, as the distance was too great for the children of Cheshire to walk to Wallingford. Three years later the plantation asked to be made a separate ecclesiastical society, but this was not granted by Wallingford until 1723, because of the insufficiency of the Cheshire list of estates. The General Court confirmed Wallingford's action and named the place the New Cheshire Society and in 1724 gave it its present name. It was not incorporated as a town until 1780.

Woodbury was founded by a church company and its minister, the result of ecclesiastical troubles in Stratford. In 1665 Israel Chauncey had been made the second pastor of the Stratford church, in the face of considerable opposition, which eventually, after Chauncey had been given a fair trial, led to an invitation by the insurgent members to the Reverend Zechariah Walker to preach to them. A peculiar arrangement was entered into in 1669, whereby Chauncey and his followers used the meeting-house half the day and Walker and the insurgents the other half. A day came, however, when Walker continued his sermon into the Chauncey period and the latter's congregation were forced to meet elsewhere. Consequently, the Walker party, foreseeing what would happen and

wishing to avoid trouble, purchased lands for a plantation at Pototuck (Newton) with the intention of removing there, and the court confirmed the purchase provided a plantation be settled within four years (1670). Nothing seems to have been done in the matter, and in the meantime the religious dissension between Chauncey and Walker increased, the former, as the first called, refusing to yield, even though the latter had the majority of the people behind him.

At last Walker, giving in, petitioned for leave to plant Pomperaug (Woodbury) and in 1673 fifteen of his congregation settled there, under condition that they allow "any other honest inhabitants of Stratford" to join them and settle the place within three years. During the Indian uprising of 1675, some of the settlers returned to Stratford and thereby placed the remaining planters of Woodbury in an awkward position. The latter begged their former associates to return, with the intention of making Woodbury "their constant home," otherwise they would be compelled to grant their lands to others. "Friends [they wrote], we insist upon your resolve to make Woodbury your home, if you would hold your lands, because your coming or sending up a few weeks or months in summer will not answer the ends of a plantation, nor the expectation of the court in granting it . . . we covet not your lands, but your company," and the writers sign themselves "your loving neighbors at Woodbury." This letter was supplemented by an order of the General Court (1678), requiring the absent proprietors to return or to notify Woodbury of their intention not to do so, losing thereby all their rights in lands and accommodations. Whether the absentees actually returned or not is uncertain, but with or without them Woodbury continued to grow. Its boundaries were defined in 1683, it had a

trainband with captain, lieutenant, and ensign the next year, and sent deputies to the General Court in 1684. But ecclesiastical troubles continued to haunt the inhabitants, differences led to withdrawals, until the General Court, dismayed at the situation, begged them to agree amongst themselves for some satisfactory issue "according to rule and righteousness." Matters were smoothed over, the township continued to grow, its bounds were enlarged in 1703, and in the second intercolonial war (1702-1713), it served, with other frontier towns, as an outpost for the protection of the colony.

Just as Durham represents the northern farms of Guilford and Wallingford those of New Haven, so New Milford, although farther removed, represents the pushing of a group of Milford men into the interior of the colony. In 1670 the General Court gave liberty to Nathan Gold, Jehu and John Brown to purchase Weantinock or Weantinogue from the Indians on the usual conditions—any honest inhabitant to be allowed to go there and the place to be settled in four years or revert to the colony. The place did so revert and in 1678 the court took it in charge. A committee report showed that there was great confusion in the boundaries of the region and recommended that all settlement cease—eight miles from Derby, Woodbury, Mattatuck (Waterbury), Pototuck (Newton), and Weantinock—until surveys were made. This order put a stop to all settlement and it was not till 1702 that the project for a plantation again got under way. The method employed was that of a land company, purchasing land, partly on speculation, and selling rights and half rights. The original purchasers numbered 109, of whom 99 bought whole rights and ten half rights. Only a small part of this number ever went to the plantation to live, and we have in the case of New Milford an early example of what

was to become very general in the eighteenth century of New England, the promotion of towns as a business proposition. Additional purchases extended the territory of the plantation until it became the largest in its landed area of any town in the colony. In 1712 it received town privileges, and in the years that followed threw off, as so frequently happened with the older towns, sections that became, in part at least, the bases of other towns—Brookfield in 1788 and Washington in 1789, for example.

Mattatuck or Waterbury drew its settlers from Hartford and Farmington. In 1657 the Indians of that region gave to certain people from Farmington the right to build shacks and carry away black lead but not to plant a permanent settlement. In 1673 twenty-six inhabitants of the same place asked the General Court for a “place for subsistence and land to labor on,” and having viewed the flats of the Naugatuck River and thinking them suitable, believed that the place would accommodate thirty families. The court committee reported 600 acres of meadow and plough land, besides upland convenient for a town plat, with a suitable outlet into the woods and good feeding land for cattle. Five men were chosen to be a “grand committee” and they drew up unusually strict requirements for settlement. The first choice of a town plat was on the west side of the river, but danger from the Indians and difficulty in crossing the stream led to a change in 1677 to the east side, where the grand committee remained in charge of the place until it was made a town in 1686.

We have but little information about the early settlement of Danbury, a name the origin of which is not certainly known. The petitioners for town privileges in 1687 asked for the name “Swampfield,” but Governor Robert Treat rejected that and substituted “a village name fa-

miliar to none but an Essex man, though full of suggestion to him of Dane-bury [Danbury in Essex], the ancient encampment of the Danish invader in that shire of Eastern England." The region (Paquiage) was under consideration as the site of a prospective plantation as early as 1684, and in the same year a number of people from Norwalk trekked northward with their cattle and in so doing got rid of paying half the rates in their former place of abode. The population was sufficiently swelled by 1687 to lead the court to name the place Danbury, to lay out the bounds, to assign a cattle brand, and to free the inhabitants from rates for four years. There were twenty families settled and more coming. A few years later nine men of Norwalk asked the court to appoint a committee to view land west of Danbury, north of Norwalk, and east of the New York line, as a place capable of supporting thirty families. In 1708 twenty-six Norwalk men obtained permission to buy land there and the settlement of Ridgefield was begun the next year. The court's grant was to thirty-seven men, of whom twenty had settled by 1711, when town privileges were granted. Some trouble was experienced there as at New Milford, and in the eighteenth century elsewhere in the colony, with absentee proprietors, who claimed rights to land but saw no reason why they should pay rates for the upkeep of the town and the support of the minister, when they were doing the same thing elsewhere. New London once complained that its absentee proprietors lived all the way from Halifax to Charleston, South Carolina, and the issue became one of serious consequence to towns that were finding non-resident rates hard to collect. In 1714 the court ruled that the absentee proprietors of Ridgefield should have three years in which to settle on their plats, should pay £5 for every year they remained away, and should forfeit their

lands if at the end of the term the lands showed no evidence of having been improved.

The usual procedure of settling a town had now become well defined, as a matter of General Court practice. There were, however, two tendencies against which the court had to contend: first, the increase of absentee proprietorship, particularly in the case of new and struggling towns, which showed the passing away of the earlier idea, characteristic of the plantations belonging to the first seventy-five years of the seventeenth century, of making grants to compact groups of people, and the entering in of the practice of purchase and sale, which destroyed the unity, religious and political, of town life; the second was the human liking for accumulation, "engrossing" as it was called, whereby in colony and towns individuals gathered into their hands and under their control larger areas than were owned by their fellows and so were able to enjoy a monopoly that was destructive of the older Puritan idea of equality.

The first of these—absentee ownership—was foreign to the original idea of what a town ought to be and how it should be organized. From the very beginning it had been guarded against as pernicious. In 1636 the Springfield settlers inserted in their plantation agreement a clause designed to prevent, or at least to hinder, any such misfortune from taking place, by requiring every planter to settle within three months on the land allotted to him. Similar clauses appear in almost all plantation agreements and court requirements, though occasionally where the members of a purchasing company were sure of the interest and loyalty of their fellows no agreement was deemed necessary, as in Hartford, Windsor, Wethersfield, Milford, Fairfield, Stratford, Branford, Middletown, Norwich, Haddam, and Danbury, or in cases where

the settlement was scattered or very gradual, as in Saybrook, New London, Greenwich, Preston, Glastonbury, Groton, East Haddam, Durham, and Cheshire. Naturally such settlements as Groton would not require a time limit, as the settlers were all on the spot, before plantation privileges were asked for. Guilford and New Haven had plantation covenants, as did some other towns, which bound them to social and religious fellowships as a more or less permanent group. But in other and later towns plantation agreements or "articles of agreement" were well known documents, fixing a definite number of years within which land must be taken up, built on, and improved. The General Court adopted the rule as early as 1663, giving Lyme a four year period and following it up with similar limitations for Wallingford, Woodbury, New Milford, Ridgefield, and Newton. These requirements became popular after the Indian raids of 1675-1677, when all the new towns suffered from a large number of absentees, who were still fearful of facing the wilderness. After 1700 absenteeism became a constant and menacing danger to the integrity of the towns. The number of non-resident proprietors increased by leaps and bounds, and the spirit of land speculation and promotion came upon the colony, and through all New England the selling of rights in the lands of a town was a mania that seized upon all classes, high and low, rich and poor. Inhabitants of towns tended to become merely fortuitous settlers, without common interests other than those of locality, and the actual owners of town lands might live in three or four colonies. Winchester (1758) had 106 proprietors, not one of whom lived in the town. In Union (1734) three-fourths of the land was owned outside, and in Cornwall (1740) half the acres (12,000 out of 25,000) were similarly controlled.

The second danger, monopoly of land, was at first

theoretical rather than real. The first Puritan settlers made equality of opportunity a basic principle in the distribution of town advantages and endeavored to give every householder his fair proportion. Even bachelors were considered, and both Farmingham and Wallingford had "bachelor lots," on the ground that bachelors might marry and bring up families, and so would need a landed estate. Even when equal division was agreed upon, in contrast with division according to rateable estate, the decision as to the location of the share was left to the "judgment of God," by the casting of lots. Springfield prohibited any man from owning more than ten acres for a homelot, with his portion of woodland, pasture, and marsh proportioned to his estate. The Killingworth "articles" forbade anyone to put in more than £100 to the purchase fund; Waterbury's "grand committee" limited allotment to the same amount of estate. It was a law of the older towns that no one could alienate his land without first notifying the town and giving it the first right of purchase, and for this reason engrossing during the earlier period was not a common occurrence. As the same or a similar rule was enforced by the General Court it is evident that not until the era of real estate speculation began was monopoly a serious menace to settlement. But once entered upon it was destined to alter in many respects the character of the colony's life, in breaking up the old Puritan solidarity and the coöperative spirit of the earlier time. The subject is one of absorbing interest and affects materially the remaining part of our story.

The towns mentioned thus far had the common characteristic of being settled by those who purchased their lands of the Indians or received them on petition from the General Court. As a more or less uniform plan of control was adopted the towns tended to be regular in form and

similar in appearance, the homelots grouped on the main street, roads laid out, and the farming lands divided into nearly equal portions. From this time on, though the chronological order is of no special importance, town development entered a new phase, which is radically different from that which appears in any of the towns thus far described, the practice of granting lands for towns as a means of profit, an object that would have been repudiated by the older generation of the Puritan fathers.

With the opening of the northeastern section of the colony, where now lay the most important area of public or colony land, a change took place in the procedure adopted. The proprietors were no longer representatives of a compact body of people who definitely wanted to locate on the soil as a group of Christians or a group of neighbors, or both. They were in the business on their own account, buying the land as an investment to sell to anyone who could be induced to purchase. Such a sale would bring very considerable profits, as land could be bought in large areas from the Indians for very little and sold off in small lots at comparatively high prices. The entire controversy over the Mohegan lands, which lasted for more than half a century, can be understood only when viewed from the standpoint of the scarcity and rising value of land in the colony. In the notorious case of Captain James Fitch, son of the Rev. James Fitch, who had led the men and women of Saybrook to the settlement of Norwich, who owned practically all the land in Windham county, the profits must have been enormous. He had gained possession of large tracts of country, by the Mohegan land claim, and probably did more than anyone except the agent for the Indians, Samuel Mason, to involve the colony in trouble and litigation. He wanted to secure possession of the entire Pequot and Mohegan ter-

ritory and refused to relinquish any part of his claim. This kind of land-promoting, with which the court expressed its entire dissatisfaction, was brought to a system in the handling of the western lands of the colony, covering over 300,000 acres, in what is now Litchfield county, during the years from 1719 to 1755, and the same eagerness for land speculation is to be seen in the activities of the Susquehannah Company (1753-1803), whose operations in northeastern Pennsylvania have been recently disclosed in three volumes of documents issued in 1930.

This activity in real estate, in no way peculiar to Connecticut but characteristic of all the colonies, north and south, had a disastrous effect in weakening the authority of the court and of scattering population and settlement. The court lost control of the land, for the conditions of settlement were left in the hands of the purchaser; while in the towns any settler might take up land without knowing who his next door neighbor was to be or when he would arrive. Usually, the proprietors, if enough shares had been sold, met and laid out the land, as in Windham, but when this was not the case the groupings were scattered and accidental and town organization was long in coming. The later period of Connecticut's colonial history shows no such integrity of purpose and concentration of interest as does the period of the seventeenth century with its strong religious motive underlying the founding of towns. The eighteenth century, as far as the treatment of the land is concerned, is without the spirit either of coöperation or of mutual interest.

The Wabbaquasset country, covering townships now along the Massachusetts line, was claimed by Uncas and held by him as a Pequot conquest. At his death he gave the western half to Joshua, and the eastern half to Owenecco, his sons. Joshua died in 1676 and left his share by

will to Captain John Mason and fifteen others in trust for a plantation. In 1679, as a punishment for allowing a drunken bout in New London, during which the jail was broken into and damaged, Oweneco was ordered by the county court to transfer his claim of 600 acres of land to the English. This land James Fitch was ordered to choose and sell for the benefit of the colony. In 1680 he did this, disposing of the same to three Tracys and Richard Bushnell for £40. Oweneco gave Fitch land for a farm at Peagscomsueck (later Canterbury) on the Quinebaug River, and at the same time made over to him his entire right and title. In 1684 the deed was drawn up, giving him the whole of what is now Windham county, except Joshua's tract and a strip of land east of the Quinebaug. Thus one man "of great business shrewdness and capacity" came into possession of an area that was to cover six full sized townships. To Massachusetts Fitch sold his first installment.

The people of Roxbury in Massachusetts had become too numerous for their bounds and needed an enlargement of territory. The matter was taken up by the town and the Massachusetts General Court gave it liberty to purchase a section seven miles square in the Nipmuck country, provided they settled within three years, could provide thirty families, called a minister, and gave those owning land there already first choice of land in the new town. Committees were sent to view the tract and after some parleying the tract was purchased of James Fitch and a deed secured. The Connecticut General Court had no part in the transaction. Roxbury relieved the "goers" of rates, provided they were paid in the new town and several men went ahead to prepare shelter for those that were to follow, who hesitated because of Indian attacks and the wild nature of the country. In the summer of

1686 the last of the "goers" arrived and held their first meeting on August 25 of that year. There were forty signers to the plantation agreement, many of whom were young men with growing families, of an average age of thirty years. In 1690 the General Court of Massachusetts conferred town privileges upon the plantation and gave it the name of Woodstock, it having been known as New Roxbury.

Windham was a bequest of Joshua to sixteen men of Norwich. In 1678 the General Court of Connecticut admitted Joshua's will to probate and a committee from among the legatees was ordered to survey and run the bounds. Among them were many men whose names are associated with large land deals—Captain John Mason, Samuel Mason, Daniel Mason, the Rev. James Fitch, Captain James Fitch, Thomas Tracy, Thomas Leffingwell, and others. In 1682 these legatees met and agreed to erect a plantation within four years, lots in which were to be sold to "wholesome inhabitants." Lots were to be drawn entitling the purchaser to a homelot, upland, and meadow. There were to be forty-five proprietary shares in all, each containing 1,000 acres, thus giving each legatee 3,000 acres to use or to sell. Most of them preferred to sell, only a few improving their lands through their sons. The first settler arrived in 1686.

It required no little courage to go out to such a settlement as this, in the unbroken country, and to take a wife and children also. One of the young Backus brothers, a legatee, speaks of "removing to that nameless town springing up in the wilderness, ten miles northwest of Norwich." And the locality, eventually named Windham from Wymondham in Norfolk, England, enjoyed unusual advantages. Its lands were cheap and accessible, the Indian neighbors were friendly, there was a good water

supply and few dangerous animals, and Norwich as a source of provisions was not far away. When the time came to ask the privileges of a town, the General Court hesitated whether to give its sanction to a transaction of so manifestly speculative a character, but finally yielded and gave its consent, and in 1692 ordered the town to be called Windham. Another locality was settled at about the same time, four miles away at Ponde-place or -town, with a dangerous river, the Shetucket, between. This was not of very great consequence as long as Sabbath day worship could be held in each place in turn, but it became a source of heated controversy when the question of a permanent meetinghouse arose. The knot was cut by Windham's allowing Ponde-town to be a separate ecclesiastical society as soon as it could support a half-time minister, and an arrangement was entered into whereby each was to have a meetinghouse and to meet alternate Sundays to hear the same man preach. In 1701 Ponde-place became an entirely distinct society and the following year the General Court separated it from Windham and granted it full privileges under the name Mansfield, after Major Moses Mansfield, one of its largest proprietors.

A third town settled within the limits of Windham county was Plainfield on the east side of the Quinebaug River. Fitch had chosen a very fertile spot a little to the south of this, for the 600 acres that Oweneco had forfeited to Connecticut in 1679. This land was sold to the Tracys and Richard Bushnell of Norwich. Oweneco had given to Fitch Peagscomsueck, but the title to the whole Quinebaug country was disputed by Fitz John and Wait Winthrop on the ground of an earlier Indian deed. In consequence, settlement was retarded, because there was no desire on the part of anyone to enter upon land that might be subject to litigation. In 1690 the Winthrops

asked the General Court to confirm their claim, for the benefit of a group of people who were about to settle a plantation there. As the Connecticut court ignored the petition, a number of Massachusetts men bought land of the Winthrops and started a plantation. Soon after this others from New London and Stonington came upon the scene, some buying of the Winthrops, others of Fitch and the Tracys. Disorder reigned. The proprietors set up no organization, made no highways, provided no defenses, and did little or nothing to improve their lands. Fitch was charged with having "neglectful tenants," and his adherents and those of the Winthrops were at open war with each other. But despite these disorders the plantations grew on both sides of the river, Plainfield and Canterbury that were to be.

Captain Fitch fixed his own dwelling on a point formed by a bend in the Quinebaug River, the first permanent habitation in what is now the township of Canterbury. As time went on he lost a good deal of his popularity. His extensive land operations made many people jealous of his power and suspicious of his methods. "Certain loyal and dutiful subjects of his Majesty" presented a remonstrance to the General Court, in which they complained of his large land deals and "engrossing of territory" and called him a "land pirate" and very "pernicious" to the best interests of the country. Others charged him with being as willing to sell to strangers as to people of Connecticut and some doubted the legality of some of his transactions. It was owing to a complaint that he had been guilty of an illegal entry of land that he removed to the Quinebaug in 1697. There at Peagscomsueck he built a large house, which often served as a stopping place for travellers going from Norwich to Woodstock. It was also a center for military plans, Indian councils, and land

sales. A road connected it with Windham on one side and Greenwich, Rhode Island, on the other.

As numbers increased on both sides of the Quinebaug, fifteen east siders and seven west siders sent in a petition for town privileges in 1699, with a special request for the settlement of the land claims. These petitions were both answered favorably and the place was called Plainfield. In 1701 the land committee, after looking over the ground, considering the evidence, and hearing the claims, met, probably at Fitch's house, and listened to the full case of each claimant, but did not arrive at any final decision. Nevertheless, the town went ahead and exercised the usual functions of choosing officers, levying rates, etc. A site for a meetinghouse was selected, but before it was complete the people on the west side asked to be made a separate society, because the river was deep, often swift and dangerous, and involved the risk of lives in the crossing. They were not on the best of terms with the east siders, who upheld the Winthrop claims, while those living adjacent to Fitch were in his favor. A committee chosen in 1702 to settle the differences wisely urged separation and the east siders, inhabitants of Plainfield, finally gave in. Relations improved after this, Plainfield settled a minister in 1703, and the west siders, confirmed in their status by the General Court, became a separate town by the name of Canterbury.

In spite of these improved conditions, population and town improvements moved slowly. In 1706 another committee was chosen to settle the Winthrop-Fitch dispute and decided that the Winthrop title was defective. But inasmuch as certain deeds, on which the Winthrops rested their claim, were probably genuine, the court made peace by giving to each of them 1,000 acres—one tract in Canterbury and one in Plainfield. Fitch objected very

strongly to this decision, insisting that it was an infringement upon the integrity of townships to allow any one man to possess so large an estate in fee simple, and claiming further that the grants covered land already deeded separately by Oweneco. But the committee's decision was upheld by the General Court.

In 1711 a highway was put through from Providence to Plainfield, thus binding the two colonies by an inland route, which greatly facilitated communication and increased commercial opportunities. As a result Plainfield and Canterbury began to recover from the deadening effects of the disputed land claims and Fitch was not seriously affected by the Court's refusal to uphold the entirety of his claim. It was said that in 1714 he still controlled all the best land in Canterbury and was himself the most serious obstacle in the way of rapid settlement. There were only ten independent proprietors in the town, although they made up in influence what they lacked in numbers. In order to prevent further quarreling, the court legalized all the acts of Canterbury from 1703 and, in order to make it possible for it to gather a church and pay a minister, freed the people from paying country rates.

Fitch now got into further trouble with the General Court, which on further investigation came to the conclusion that his title to land beyond Windham and Mansfield was none too good. In spite of this Fitch went ahead and sold the territory (later Ashford) to several persons who planned to erect a township there, but the court refused to confirm the act. Again when Fitch entered into arrangements for a town north of Tolland, Governor Saltonstall and his council cut him short, saying that the region was under the control of the colony and not open for settlement. Fitch replied to this order in a most dis-

respectful letter, asserting that the land was his and that the colony government was composed of "self-designing and self-seeking men." Correspondence ensued between Fitch and the court, in which the former apologized for his ill temper on the grounds of poor health.

Unlike Plainfield and Canterbury, Aspinock (Killingly) was entirely free from conflicting land claims, for the territory beyond the Quinebaug River and north of Plainfield was the undisputed property of the colony. It was a poor region, covered with rough hills, intervening marshes, and sand flats, remote from the line of travel and an unfavorable place for a settlement. Nevertheless it was a place that Connecticut felt free to dispose of to her public servants and, like the region around New London, Durham, and Ridgefield, to be used to reward her civil and military officers. As early as 1652 she had begun to grant lands in the Pequot country and in the following years had honored with allotments Treat, Saltonstall, Fitch, Hooker, and a score of others, a majority of whom received their lands about 1680. Fitch and Captain Chandler of Woodstock, who had bought one of the soldier grants, were the first to take up their lands, consisting of 1,500 acres in the one case and 200 acres in the other. The first white settler, Richard Evans, came as a squatter in 1693. Then four inhabitants of Woodstock, attracted by the large quantities of turpentine to be gathered from the pine trees, bought land, and afterwards others, young men full of life and energy, penetrated the territory. Roads were cut through from Woodstock and from Aspinock to Providence, and plans for a bridge over the swift running Quinebaug were set on foot but not consummated for twenty years. Even then bridge after bridge was washed away and had to be rebuilt. The need of a town organization was soon felt, as the land records

were widely scattered, wherever the owners had happened to enter their titles—either in Plainfield, Canterbury, or even Hartford—and many had been lost. There are no records of any kind for Killingly during the first twenty years. Considering the disadvantages of its location the place grew rapidly and in 1709 was incorporated as a town and named Killingly, from the manor of Killingly near Pontefract in Yorkshire, owned by the Saltonstall family. The name Pomfret, the shortened form of Pontefract, came from the same source.

Pomfret or Mashamoquet was included in the Wabbaquasset country and so came into Captain Fitch's possession in 1684. In 1686 six men from Roxbury, representing six others, bought 15,100 acres in this region for £30, on condition that they would select their tract within three years and add to the twelve shares of the grantees two more for Fitch and his heirs, so that the whole number would be fourteen shares for fourteen grantees, among whom the whole tract was to be divided equally by lot. The purchase was laid out during the summer and was known as the Mashamoquet or Roxbury purchase. It was confirmed at once by the General Court of Connecticut, which on July 8, 1686, issued a patent for the "new plantation." Its bounds comprised the present town of Pomfret and the north part of Brooklyn or Brookline (not from the Dutch Breuckelen at the western end of Long Island). In the same year Fitch sold 5,750 acres to Captain John Blackwell, a Puritan officer under Cromwell, who had come to New England in 1684, was influential during Dudley's presidency, and was complained of by Edward Randolph for his land-grabbing propensities. He was afterward lieutenant-governor of Pennsylvania from 1688 to 1690. He had been commissioned by some of the English and Irish dissenters to look around and see if they

would be welcome in America and could obtain land there. He had received an eight mile grant for a township in Massachusetts, but apparently not satisfied with it he had purchased land of Fitch and applied to the General Court of Connecticut to give him a patent for a township in that colony. This the court did and called the place Mortlake, in memory of the village of Mortlake in Surrey, the residence of Blackwell's father-in-law, General Lambert.

Nothing was done about the Roxbury purchase until in 1693 one half of the land was laid out for buyers and the other half divided equally among the grantees. In 1696 Benjamin Sabin built a house for himself and served as a frontiersman against Indian attacks, warning the towns of possible danger, for which both Massachusetts and Connecticut requited him with gifts of money. Other settlers joined him, but they came slowly at first. Mashamoquet had good soil and many of its hills were already cleared by nature, while the near neighborhood of Woodstock was an encouragement to the timid and a support to the able-bodied. As soon as the Indian menace decreased people came in greater numbers and by 1708 were ready to forward their lists to the General Court. Military organization was perfected by 1710 and three years later the inhabitants sent delegates to Roxbury to ask the non-resident proprietors, who had not yet disposed of all the lands of the township, if they approved of the plan of having the plantation made a town. The answer was favorable and in 1713 the General Court of Connecticut granted them town privileges under the usual condition. The name selected was Pomfret.

With the course of events in England Mortlake as a refuge for Irish dissenters lost its purpose, for the Revolution of 1688-1689 and the Act of Toleration brought reli-

gious peace to the Irish, recalled Blackwell to England, and left Mortlake once more a wilderness. The manor, a tract of 6,000 acres, with but four families of white people living in a clearing, was left to Blackwell's son, who sold it to Jonathan Belcher, Blackwell's attorney and later a governor, first of Massachusetts, and afterward of New Jersey. Belcher ordered John Chandler to lay out the land for him, to prepare two large farms, known as the manors of Wiltshire and Kingswood, to construct a highway north and south leading to Woodstock, and to sell off what lands he could. All this Chandler did, leaving a space adjoining Kingswood for a training field and 1,200 acres to be disposed of in the future. Mortlake's position was anomalous, for it was neither a plantation in the usual sense, a parish, a manor, nor even a town. It never had town officials or a town government. The General Court had given it leave to be a separate township and this permission Belcher construed literally and kept his tract entirely independent of town or colony control. Many years later the court, finally refusing to give it a patent of incorporation, annexed it in part to Pomfret and in part to Brooklyn. Belcher, who had been unsuccessful in his efforts to dominate the region and in constant conflict with the Pomfret authorities, sold out in 1739 a part of the manor of Wiltshire to Israel Putnam, who was living at that time in Mortlake, and the remaining part with Kingswood to Colonel Godfrey Malbone, whose son, a loyalist and an Anglican, and the richest merchant in Newport, Rhode Island, suffered reverses in later years and, inheriting his father's farm and stock, took up his abode in that part of Mortlake which had been annexed to the town of Brooklyn. There he caused to be erected an Anglican church, the first and for long the only one in northeastern Connecticut.

This discussion of Mortlake, one of the most interesting of Connecticut's areas of settlement, leads naturally to a consideration of some of the other peculiar beginnings of habitation, which do not fall entirely under the definition of town or parish, though in origin bearing a resemblance to other Connecticut towns. The cases of Groton and Glastonbury and their long existence as parishes or societies before reaching the status of towns have already been cited. Between 1635 and 1760 there were one hundred and seventy ecclesiastical societies formed in Connecticut, of which sixty-seven eventually attained the dignity of incorporated towns. Of the rest many, being within a town and known by a variety of local denominations, never received political recognition. On the other hand, some, such as Meriden, South Norwalk, Norwich Port or City, and the like, are today fair sized cities, while their parent communities are comparatively insignificant. The causes for such changes are, of course, to be found in the rise of manufacturing in the nineteenth century, the growth of the railroad, and the convenience of location at the head of navigation.

There were several steps between separation from the mother church society and the attainment of full ecclesiastical estate. It was a rule of the General Court that no society should assume independent church status without leave from the court itself. After a distant quarter, village, or petty plantation had obtained permission both from the town within which it was located and from the General Court, or if lying outside a township and unconnected with any ecclesiastical society from the court only, it was required to call a minister for trial, who need not always be a fully ordained clergyman. He was "listened to" for a few weeks or a few months by the congregation which had to include the voting members, who after 1728

were all male communicants, possessing fifty shilling freeholds within the society's bounds and £40 rating in the common list. These members would by majority vote decide whether or not to issue a call. A favorable decision was usually accompanied by a vote to tax unimproved land or non-resident proprietors for the minister's support, if the General Court agreed. Plans were also set on foot for building a house for the minister on land set apart for the purpose, and references of approval were obtained from one of the consociations, which, after 1708 and the adoption of the Saybrook platform, were provided for groups of churches, one or more in each county, to help upon all occasions ecclesiastical. The minister, if approved and recommended, was then "called," that is, asked to come, and definite agreements as to salary and housing were entered into. The court generally granted the town for a time freedom from country rates that the money might be spent in settling the minister.

The location of a meetinghouse caused so much quarrelling and ill feeling that the court generally ordered the location to be decided by a competent and impartial committee of its own appointment or later of the county court. This committee was selected when the society was ready to build and the clerk of the society was ordered to keep the General Court or the county court informed of its progress. Any delay had to be explained by the building committee. In this way the colony kept a close watch on the religious welfare of its parishes.

Of the parishes which did not become towns before 1760 there are four that are distinguished for certain peculiarities, of interest in studying the progress of settlement. These are Meriden, East Haven, Stratfield, and Redding.

We do not know just when the road from Hartford and Wethersfield to New Haven was built. Roger Ludlow probably used a rough road or bridle path when he went down by way of New Haven to view Fairfield. In 1660 there is record of a man on the road being forced to spend the night between Hartford and New Haven and in 1666 Edward Higley was given two years' freedom from public taxes to keep the road clear at Pilgrims Harbor, the name of a place near Meriden, and the evidence shows that the road was rough and dangerous and so poorly marked that encroachments upon it were frequent and had to be dealt with by the court. In 1661, 350 acres were given to Jonathan Gilbert as recompense for keeping an ordinary at Cold Spring (Meriden) for the benefit of travellers, as it was the halfway house, being seventeen miles from each end, and similar compensation was granted to others at various times. In 1686 Gilbert's heirs sold his farm, amounting to 1,000 acres, to Andrew Belcher, the father of Jonathan Belcher, who had married Sarah Gilbert, and Belcher put up buildings and other accommodations for travellers, built a wall around the farm, and called it a "manor." In 1707 Andrew deeded all his property to Jonathan who thus became the lord of three "manors," two at Mortlake and the other at Meriden, and as he could not live there himself he rented the latter, as a manor, tavern, and farm in one, to Eleazer Aspinwall. But the venture was not a success, the rent fell behind, and by 1731 Belcher was trying to get rid of his Meriden properties. He was widely interested in mines and real estate in various places and these many promotions were proving highly speculative and largely unsuccessful. He finally deeded the manor to his son Andrew, who in turn sold it in 1742 in part to Wallingford men and in part to Middletown men. While thus the Belchers were strug-

gling with their "manor," settlers were coming into the territory, which was now entered as the north society in the Wallingford list of estates and by 1728 was given the distinctive name of Meriden, probably from Meriden or Miriden, a little village near Coventry, England, from which Belcher's family had originally come. Thus in Meriden's case we pass from manor and farm to parish before entering the status of a town, a status that Meriden did not reach until 1806.

The society of East Haven grew up around the "iron works," which was started there in 1655 and gave to Lake Saltonstall its first name "Furnace Pond." There were also several residents there who had received their grants of land from New Haven as early as 1640, and the place came to be known as the "Iron Works Village" or East Side. Its history shows no unusual features down to 1706 when it sent in a petition to the General Court, saying that in 1680 New Haven had granted parish privileges and that enough had been accomplished to warrant its recognition as a separate town, "the better to carry on God's work and town affairs and avoid further inconveniences," a phrase that had reference to certain disputes with New Haven. The court in reply "do see cause to order that they shall be a village distinct from the township of New Haven and invested and privileged with all the immunities and privileges that are proper and necessary for a village for the upholding of the publick worship of God, as also their civil concerns, and in order thereunto do grant them libertie of all such officers as are proper and necessary for a town, and to be chosen by themselves in order and form as allowed by law for each or any town." This curious incorporation of a village with many of the attributes of a town is the only case of the kind in Connecticut, where the incorporation of a place as a village

preceded its incorporation as a town. The villages of Litchfield and Wethersfield were merely incorporated parts or centers of their respective towns, one in 1818 and the other in 1822, much as the cities and boroughs of Connecticut were at first territorially smaller than the towns within which they were situated. The village of Litchfield was changed into a borough in 1879 and that of Wethersfield evidently died still born. When in 1710 the General Court was called upon to explain wherein an incorporated village differed from an incorporated town it replied that the village had nothing to say about "property of lands" and had no right to send deputies to the General Court, both of which functions still lay within the powers of the town of New Haven. East Haven was not incorporated as a town until 1785.

West of Stratford and east of Fairfield there lay a fertile, loamy plain of about a mile and a half in width, cut by the Pequonnock River. This is the site of the present Bridgeport. The settlers who had come to Fairfield and Stratford had been attracted to the plain and the country back of it, because of its freedom from the dense woods of other regions and its immediate availability as arable. Several families had gone there at the same time that Stratford was settled and had sufficiently increased by 1678 as to ask the court for leave to set up their own school. There were forty-seven children of school age in the plantation and the distance to Fairfield or Stratford was considered too far for them to walk. In 1690 a separate society was allowed to be known as Fairfield village, because most of the people lived on the Fairfield side of the Pequonnock. Four years later a church estate was approved, and the name was changed to Stratfield in 1732, which, as was the case with a number of other names of Connecticut places (Wintonbury—modern Bloomfield—

Harwinton, Hadlyme, and Winsted), was a composite of parts of the names of the mother towns.

Stratfield is peculiar in that special liberties had been granted in 1699. It was customary to allow all societies or parishes to meet and have a recorder as a matter of routine, and this privilege had been given Stratfield in 1690. Nine years later the society was authorized to choose two or three persons annually to order meetings, levy the minister's rate, and look after all the needful concerns of a meetinghouse, to collect the rates and distraint for non-payment. As this was the first parish in Connecticut to become entirely independent of a parent stock, it was necessary to define its powers carefully. This was done in 1717, when in an elaborate order based on a committee's report the organization of a parish was based on pretty much the same principles as those which governed the formation of a town. Those ordering the affairs of the parish and the clerk and secretary were to be chosen at an annual meeting by the major vote of the inhabitants, just as the town officers were chosen, while the machinery for gathering the church and school rates was exactly similar to that employed in gathering the town rate. Stratfield was never more than a parish, until in 1800 it was incorporated as a borough, the first in the state, under the name of Bridgeport, a town in 1821, and a city in 1836.

There was a "gusset" of land surrounded by Fairfield, Norwalk, Newtown, Danbury, and Ridgefield, a part of which belonged to the town of Fairfield and was occupied before 1680 by the Pototuck Indians and a few scattered Mohawks, of whom Chicken or Chickens was the chief sagamore. The first grant in this oblong was in 1687 to Cyprian Nichols for 200 acres. Two other grants of 200 acres each were purchased by John Read of Boston and laid out in 1714 as Lonetown manor. Two years before

this the General Court had ordered that all lands not taken up in this tract by actual settlers be sold at public vendue at the Fairfield meetinghouse, but no sale was made until 1723 when without fair warning the committee appointed by the court sold the land, most of it being bought by Samuel Couch and by Nathan Gold of the committee. Testimony showed that only ten minutes were allowed for the bidding and tenders were so brisk that the sales were hard to record.

John Read was a Connecticut man, born in 1680, who had married a sister of Governor Joseph Talcott. In 1712 he was appointed queen's attorney for the colony, and in later years in Massachusetts attained to great distinction as one of the ablest if not the ablest lawyer in New England. He had also a keen sense of humor, as when he drew up a patent of enfeoffment, couched in formal legal phraseology, of his Lonetown manor, with Chicken as the lord of the manor and himself the holder of the tenancy. He now complained of this forced sale, as involving land that belonged to others and as making no provision for a village plat or for highways. Read had had a great deal of trouble in connection with land sales in Connecticut. In a petition of 1710 he said that he had been to court sixteen times and "utterly discouraged and broken" he had found (at the age of thirty) that he was not able to maintain suits forever, that Indian titles were held in the utmost contempt, and that as the times were he must fall. "These things," he added, "make me weary of the world." In 1722 he removed to Boston, became attorney-general of Massachusetts and was one of the council during Shirley's administration. He died in February, 1749.

Nothing was done about the oblong, after Read's departure, until in 1725 the sixteen proprietors who were settled on the tract petitioned the General Court praying

relief. Again Read, now in Boston, petitioned on behalf of himself and the rest of the inhabitants of Lonetown that the place be erected into a parish, and this time the court granted the request. "Lonetown, Chestnut Ridge and the peculiar thereof" were made a parish by themselves, under the name Reading, a name which was altered to Redding, when in 1767 a town charter was applied for, because, as local tradition asserts, Colonel Read had become so unpopular that the people asked that the name be not Reading but Redding. There is probably no truth in the tradition. From 1729 on the proprietors were able to organize the scattered inhabitants in more orderly fashion and to prepare them for independent town life. Redding was one of the first tracts of land to be sold at public vendue or auction and so to be the forerunner of the group of western and northwestern towns that were sold by that method in 1733 and later.

The settlement of Lebanon (1700), Colchester (1703), Hebron (1707), and Coventry (1711), involved a group of real estate transactions that date back at least to 1663. These transactions were accompanied by claims and disputes and counterclaims and counter disputes that at times became acrimonious and greatly retarded plantation, but furnish nothing that is new in the way of variety of method or in the results accomplished. Tolland reverted to an earlier type of group settlement, and had its origin in the petition of fifty-four Windsor people, "straightened in their circumstances and without enough land to make a livelihood," who had seen good lands on the other side of the river. After some delay the General Court promised to grant a six-mile township, occupation followed, and the plantation life developed until in 1715 the place was ready for township privileges. In 1722 the inhabitants were authorized "to imbody into church es-

tate with the approbation of the neighbouring churches, and to settle an orthodox minister amongst them."

The last section of ungranted land in that region, the site of the township of Bolton was taken in hand by the colony, as its property, and laid off into fifty allotments of 200 acres each, which were put on sale for the benefit of "honest and well minded inhabitants." Settlers came rapidly and by 1719 forty-five people were there, and others, non-resident, had rights in the township, which was seven miles square. They applied for town privileges in that year, which were granted, with the restriction that they were to have no power to dispose of any land within the township, all that remained unsold being retained in the control of the colony. They were raised to church estate in 1725. Ashford went through grievous times before a peaceful settlement was attained. The land was not very valuable, being rocky and wooded, but the position of the place, on the road between Boston and Hartford (via Pomfret, Mansfield, and Bolton) gave it a certain advantage. Ownership of the land involved a number of transactions, in which Fitch, Chandler, James Corbin of Woodstock, and others were concerned. The place was first called New Scituate, but titles were so uncertain and bounds so unreliable that the General Court stepped in and settled what promised to be endless confusion in the matter of ownership and overlapping claims. The settlement became a town in 1714 under the name of Ashford.

Regarding the settlement of Killingly we have very little information. The land was sold by the colony in 1720 to certain men of Fairfield, Derby, Milford, Windsor, and Hartford for £510. They sold to others. Settlers from various parts of Connecticut and Massachusetts flocked in and took up lands in a very helter-skelter fashion. The locality was made a town in 1717 and church estate was

granted the next year. New Fairfield was granted by the General Court to eleven men of old Fairfield in 1707, and to these were added later a number of "associates and copartners." After a series of parleys with the court over proprietary rights and privileges, in the course of which a reservation was specially made for the Indian Chicken, of whom John Read once "held his manor," and the protest listened to of the actual settlers, who thought so large a tract (35,840 acres) should not be in the hands of a few men for sale, a decision was reached to appoint an investigating committee to straighten things out. This was done to the sorrow of many claimants, but the court refused to alter the committee's report. In 1740 New Fairfield, with but thirty resident families, was granted the status of a town. Stafford arose in this wise. Throughout the early period of land granting the General Court followed the policy of giving the land freely to any suitable person or persons who applied for it, all expenses involved to be met by the grantee. But later the court conceived the idea of selling its ungranted lands for revenue to meet certain special emergencies. In 1717 money was wanted for a new state house and other purposes, particularly the encouragement of Yale College. At first it was decided to sell lands along the frontier of Rhode Island (Voluntown) but the next year other lands were substituted, next the Massachusetts line, where was established the town of Stafford, north of Voluntown and west of the Housatonic River. Stafford became a town in 1719, after a long and involved controversy, in which "ill humor and private grudges" were exploited and charges were raised of "engrossing the undisposed lands under pretence of mere native right—the bane and ruin of our ancient order." Settlers came fast and a church estate was allowed in 1723.

The circumstances attending the settlement of Union

illustrate, as do those of Stafford, the determination of the General Court to make a profit out of its own lands. The running of the Massachusetts line in 1713 threw this area within the jurisdiction of the colony, and the latter sold its rights to a committee of its own, who in turn conveyed them to a company of Scotch-Irish. The settlement became a town in 1734. It is thought to have been the only Scotch-Irish settlement in Connecticut, but there was another one in the parish of Scantic in East Windsor.

In 1696 Lieutenant Thomas Leffingwell and Sergeant John Frink of Stonington requested the General Court to make a grant of a township, six miles square, for themselves and other volunteers in the Narragansett War of 1675, to be taken up in some of the conquered land. After a committee had viewed the area selected, the court made a grant of the township of Voluntown. In 1701 the committee made out a list of 160 volunteers, residents of Norwich, Stonington, Plainfield, Windham, and New London and four years later laid out 150 lots of equal size (some receiving but half a lot). Very few of the volunteers ever took up their land. A large strip was sold to Thomas Brewster for £130, but most of the lots brought but £5 to £12 each. The first actual settlers came in 1708, but the ground proved poor and the country barren and men found better land to the north. Boundary disputes with Rhode Island, which were not ended until 1727, hindered settlement, and in 1718 the settlers, unable to support a minister, asked for a reorganization and enlargement of their grant. This was effected and the town was incorporated in 1719.

The problem of dividing up the area of Connecticut for settlement and the maintenance of its inhabitants, establishing and confirming titles, settling boundaries, and securing men in possession of what they have acquired is

one of the most important of the problems that have concerned the history of the state, particularly in the colonial period. This was peculiarly true of Connecticut because of its essentially agricultural character. The problem was an abiding one as long as land remained ungranted either in the towns or in the colony, and that was nearly down to the time of the Revolution. In this distribution of the soil a constant process of adjustment was taking place. Surveying instruments were imperfect, ancient boundary marks and merestones were constantly getting lost—rotted, washed away, or burnt—lands had to be surveyed and resurveyed, perambulations run, and the meanings of deeds and patents determined. Public controversies were common, but private controversies seemed to drag their slow length along interminably, with “many hard words and bad speeches,” until the county court records disclose little else than litigation regarding lands, fences, bounds, highways, and conflicting ground claims. Dissatisfaction with divisions, shares, proprietary rights, common and undivided lands, came frequently before the General Court; complaints of absentee proprietors, land “pirates,” engrossers, and monopolists filled the air; and while Connecticut’s life flowed smoothly on the surface, it was in a constant state of agitation beneath, in the effort to fit together into a harmonious whole these thousands of pieces of landed territory and to satisfy, justly and equably, the claims and demands of rival and warring parties. A study of the conditions and circumstances under which the towns of Connecticut were settled offers a rare opportunity to understand the kind of people who composed the colony and to obtain an insight into their relations with each other.

To the Right Honourable
 THE
 Earl of Shelburne
 His Majesty's Principal
 SECRETARY of STATE
 for the Southern Department
 This PLAN of the COLONY of CONNECTICUT in
 NORTH-AMERICA
 is Humbly Dedicated by his Lordship's
 Most Obedient Humble
 Servant
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EXPLANATION.
 The Colony of Connecticut is Bounded
 W. on the Province of N. York.
 N. on the Province of the Massachusetts Bay and
 E. on the Colony of Rhode Island.
 ——— Post Roads
 ———— Create Towns
 ———— A Light House
 A Scale of English Miles

