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A HISTORY OF CONNECTICUT

ITS PEOPLE AND INSTITUTIONS

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BY

GEORGE L. CLARK

AUTHOR OF

"SILAS DEANE: A LEADER IN THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION,"

"NOTIONS OF A YANKEE PARSON," ETC.

WITH 100 ILLUSTRATIONS AND MAPS

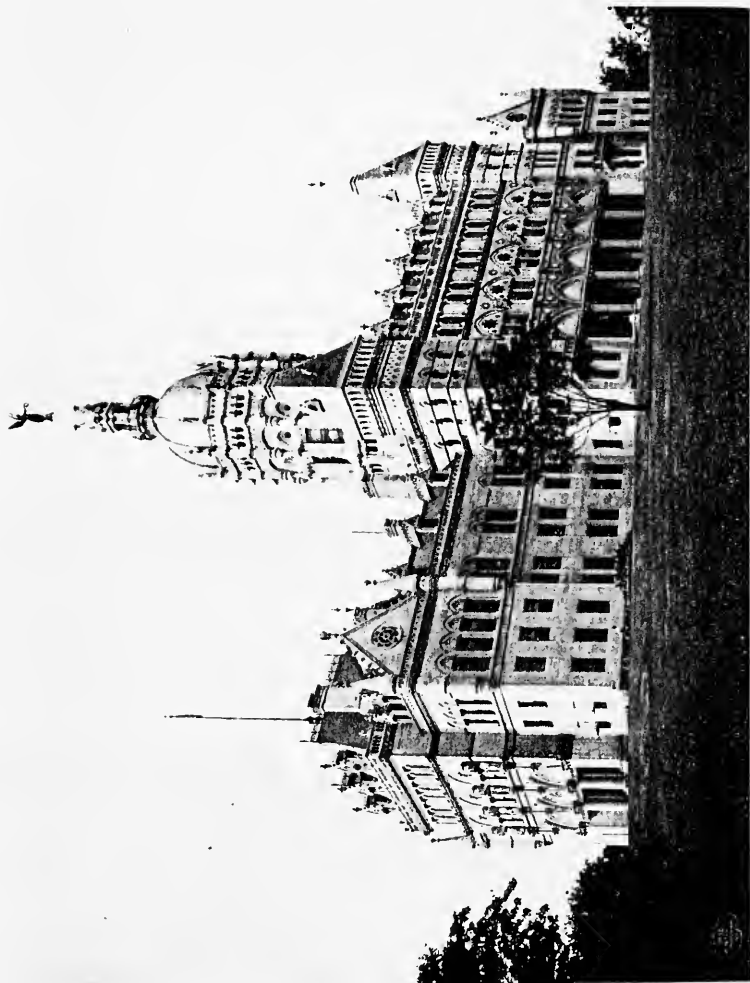
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G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS
NEW YORK AND LONDON
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The Connecticut State Capitol, Hartford, Conn. Completed in 1879

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BY
GEORGE L. CLARK

The Knickerbocker Press, New York

To
MY CHILDREN

THIS VOLUME IS AFFECTIONATELY
DEDICATED
IN MEMORY OF
HAPPY DAYS
IN
CONNECTICUT

62331

CONNECTICUT

'T is a rough land of earth and stone and tree,
Where breathes no castled lord or cabined slave;
Where thoughts and tongues and hands are bold and free,
And friends will find a welcome, foes a grave;
And where none kneel, when to Heaven they pray,
Nor even then, unless in their own way.

FITZ-GREENE HALLECK.

PREFACE

WHILE Connecticut is passing from foundation work and a style of living, moulded by the frugal Puritan influences of the early years, into conditions, shaped largely by people from many other lands; while wealth, luxuries and amusements multiply, it is well to review the past, study the reasons for the migrations hither; glance at early idealism, hardships and problems; see the thrift, wariness and common sense; observe what farmers had for breakfast, what and how they believed, the way they worked, struggled and occasionally played; how fines as well as interest in a warm theology promoted attendance at the icy meeting-house. It is diverting to notice leather breeches, home-spun coats and linsey-woolsey gowns issuing from forest, sheep-pasture and flax-field; watch the evolution of the log-house into the gambrel-roofed and lean-to; see the bridle-path widen and harden into turnpike, railroad and trolley; schooner change to steamboat and ferry to bridge; mark how the versatile people managed with Indians, wolves, rattlesnakes, witchcraft, slavery, tramps and Sunday; how they erected schools, meeting-houses, whipping-posts and pillories in every town; how they relieved the monotony of brewing beer, working the loom and hoeing corn by a journey to Tower Hill to enjoy the luxury of a moving picture of a public hanging. We are to see the innocent-looking sloop go down the river toward Barbados, loaded with horses, pipe-staves, salted fish, beef and pork, returning with a cargo of rum and molasses, or of unwilling immigrants from

Guinea; examine afresh the evolution of town and colonial government; the working of Charles II's liberal charter; the development of courts, schools, colleges, taxation, insurance, temperance, music, art, literature, industries, penal and reformatory methods, philanthropies and religious freedom; how slavery grew, waned and ceased; mines were opened, inventions multiplied, looms worked and brickyards poured forth their treasure; how tobacco fields, market gardens, orchards, factories, Yankee notions and tin-peddlers flourished.

In touching so many interests, adventurous were the daring that should expect to include in one volume all that deserves saying, and with infallible accuracy, but in this endeavor to describe the place and influence of Connecticut in the onward movement of the country, the author believes that the work invites to an instructive and interesting excursion into a vital and inspiring field.

The author wishes to express his hearty thanks to all who helped him by suggestions and criticisms: chief of these is Charles M. Andrews, Professor of History in Yale University, who, with accurate scholarship, made many invaluable comments. Among others who have placed the writer under decided obligations are the following librarians: George S. Godard of the State Library, Albert C. Bates of the Connecticut Historical Society Library, Frank B. Gay and Forrest Morgan of the Watkinson Library. Material assistance has also been rendered in lines in which they are experts by President F. S. Luther and Professor J. J. McCook of Trinity College, Professor W. S. Pratt of Hartford Theological Seminary, Professors W. M. Bailey, Williston Walker and H. A. Beers of Yale University; Dr. Edwin A. Down, Chairman of the State Board of Charities; C. D. Hine, Secretary of the State Board of Education; Dr. W. N. Thompson, Superintendent of the Hartford Retreat for the Insane; Dr. G. H. Knight, late Superintendent of the School for the Feeble-minded; Albert Garvin, Superintendent of

the State Reformatory; W. A. Garner, Warden of the Connecticut State Prison; W. G. Fairbank, Superintendent of the Connecticut Industrial School for Girls; C. M. Williams, Superintendent of the Connecticut School for Boys; Dr. W. E. Fisher of the staff of the Connecticut Hospital for the Insane; Dr. H. M. Pollock, Superintendent of the Norwich Hospital for the Insane; E. M. Warner, Esquire, of Putnam; C. M. Thompson, Secretary of the Connecticut Prison Association; J. M. Taylor, President of the Connecticut Mutual Insurance Company; Burton Mansfield, Insurance Commissioner; W. S. Corbin and C. C. Maxfield, Tax Commissioner and Clerk; R. B. Brandegee, C. N. Flagg and James Britton, artists; Charles Hopkins Clark of the *Hartford Courant* and Professor Anson D. Morse of Amherst College.

G. L. C.

WETHERSFIELD, CONNECTICUT,
April 1, 1914.

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A HISTORY OF CONNECTICUT

A History of Connecticut

CHAPTER I

THE PREHISTORIC PERIOD

CONNECTICUT extends on Long Island Sound a hundred miles, rises to an average height of a thousand feet at its northern line, and in the case of Bear Mountain in Salisbury, to the extreme height of two thousand three hundred and fifty-four feet. The eastern boundary is forty-five and the western seventy-two miles in extent, and within these modest limits lies one of the original thirteen colonies, busy, thrifty, inventive, and conservative. It is on the turnpike between empire states,—sharp for the best trade, keen for the main chance, laughed at for its steady habits, wooden nutmegs, peddlers, and Blue Laws; leaned on in times of national peril; sought by tired nerves for its lovely valleys, whispering brooks, and radiant lakes. The eastern counties are sandy, stony, sometimes rocky and wild, but beautiful. The western parts are famous for their noble mountains, picturesque lakes, and entrancing scenery. The three main rivers and the streams which flow into them once abounded with salmon, shad, and trout. These streams are still beautiful, and are useful for steamboats, tugs, sailboats, power-boats, and for turning wheels to manufacture everything from a jackknife to an automobile. Varied is the wealth of Connecticut—forests, mountains, orchards, and meadows—

and in their season there abound sweet and blushing peaches, spicy apples, delicious grapes, mammoth strawberries, the lowly potato, the rank tobacco, the crisp celery, the royal Indian corn, the courtly rye, and the graceful herd's grass.

Searching for the foundation of this park-like state, we see beneath all else the ancient rocks—granite, quartz, feldspar, found in abundance in the eastern and western counties, and sometimes cropping out elsewhere. Midway, the highlands sink into a wide trough, in which are rocks of a later date, showing that a muddy valley once ran through the state into Massachusetts, and that over it sauntered in lazy promenade, or leaped in hungry pursuit of prey, huge reptiles and the terrible mastodon; some of those footprints used to be called "Connecticut River bird-tracks," but it is now known that birds did not appear at that early period, and that the animals must have been reptiles. An interesting example of the monsters in Connecticut thousands of years ago was found in Farmington in August, 1913, by workmen digging on the shore of an ancient lake, whose mud bottom rests on glacial rock. It is a skeleton of a mastodon, which is supposed to have been eleven feet high and to have weighed about eight tons. Upon that weird scene a volcano rolled its molten lava, spreading over the beds of mud, hardening it into rock, after which there succeeded a long era of peace, with busy streams pouring in their tribute of sand and gravel. Then there occurred another volcanic outburst, and later still another, for there are in central Connecticut three sheets of volcanic trap, and sandwiched between them are beds of sand, clay, and gravel, long since hardened into rocks known as shale, sandstone, and conglomerate. The three fiery torrents killed the animals, preserving many of their tracks. Long after the rocks were laid, and the last lava stiffened, there were powerful earthquakes, which tilted the rocks. The latter, through the weathering of the ages, form the mountains we call Talcott, Hanging Hills of Meriden, Lamentation,

Three Notches, and Pond Rock, in the long range from Mount Tom to the Sound.

Then came the Glacial Age, whose vast sheet covered the land and moved heavily down mountain and hill, carrying boulders for miles, grinding the surface of the rocks, leaving piles of sand here and there. All the rocks of the state show the results of the Glacial Age, but the clearest markings are in the trap ridges of the central parts, wherever the trap comes to the surface. The broken material torn off by the ice is found in the gravelly soil of the cultivated land, in the hills of gravel, and in the sandy bluffs along the rivers. Long Island is probably a terminal moraine, and Saybrook rests on a glacial sand plain, as does the town of Essex, and a part of Norwich. In the central part of the state, the drift is mostly of trap, sandstone, or shale, but in the eastern and western sections the light-colored crystalline rocks and gravels are seen.

The central valley, about twenty miles in width, is drained by the Connecticut as far south as Middletown, where the stream forces its way between two mountains, leaving the valley that reaches the Sound at New Haven. This valley, the home of the first settlers, is of a deep, rich loam, until the river leaves it, after which it is sandy. The more broken country, often rugged and grand, in the eastern and western parts is less favorable for agriculture than are the central parts, but the rivers are powerful sources of wealth.

Connecticut is well supplied with clay for bricks in Newington, Windsor, North Haven, and elsewhere; its granite quarries are many and inexhaustible, its sandstone measures at Portland abundant, and its iron mines at Salisbury of great value, especially where toughness is required. It was a long, stiff discipline through which Connecticut passed to prepare for the coming days; she was wrenched, twisted, racked, pounded, frozen, washed and burned, but at length the sturdy foundation was laid for a resolute people and a vigorous history.

CHAPTER II

THE SETTLEMENT

IT is well that this singularly favored tract with its varied wealth of building materials, soil, rivers, and harbors stayed in obscurity so long, until the seed of a highly developed civilization could be winnowed out of the gloomy and wearisome life of Europe. It was in 1614, that the clear waters of the Connecticut were first traversed by a keel steered by a pale-faced mariner. The first European visitor to Connecticut was the Dutch navigator, Adrian Blok, who, on his way through the Sound in his American-built yacht, the *Restless*, explored for sixty miles the river, which the Indians called "Quaneh-ta-cut," the long tidal river. It was spring-time, and forest and meadow were charming to the keen mariner; few signs of life were seen until he reached Middletown, where the Indians were numerous, and he learned that they were of the nation called Sequins; near Hartford he came to the country of the Nawaas, where "the natives plant maize," and their village was fortified to withstand the Pequots. Landing there, Blok parleyed with the Indians, and learned that natives from the upper parts of the river brought rich peltry in bark canoes. Then he sailed up-stream as far as Enfield Rapids, where he turned and went down to the Sound; thence he continued eastward, taking note of the Thames and Montauk; explored Narragansett Bay, Martha's Vineyard, and Nantucket; named Rhode Island the *Red Island*, from the color of the soil;

glanced at Plymouth Rock, and entering Massachusetts Bay, went as far as Nahant. On his way back he fell in with another Dutch captain, Christaensen, in the *Fortune*, and turning over his vessel to another, Blok sailed for Holland, where so much interest was awakened that the Amsterdam Trading Company was formed; a map was made from Blok's data, and the whole matter was laid before the States-General, which gave the company a charter, and exclusive right to trade for four voyages during three years.

Under that charter of 1614, Dutch ships were soon sailing up and down the river, trading with the Indians, and for nearly eighteen years Amsterdam vessels were on the Connecticut, which was unknown to the English until a Dutch captain from Manhattan, seeing the Pilgrims at Plymouth "seated in a barren quarter," shortsightedly told them of the rich valley Blok had discovered; said that it was a "fine place for plantation and trade," and wished them to make use of it. This was in 1627, and, the hands of the Pilgrims being full, the acceptance of the invitation was deferred for six years. In 1631, some Mohican Indians visited Plymouth and urged the settlers to go to Connecticut, extolling it as a good place for plantation and trade; they wished to gain the help of the English in behalf of their chief, the able and unscrupulous Uncas, who was seeking the headship of the Pequots.

Moved by these persuasions, in 1632, Edward Winslow went in a boat to the river, confirmed the statements of Dutch and Indians, and on his return went with Bradford to Boston to discuss a plan for a joint trading-post, but they received no encouragement. In September, 1633, a vessel was sent from Boston into the Connecticut, and John Oldham with three others set out from Watertown overland to explore the river. Plymouth waited no longer, but equipped "a great new bark," in the hold of which was the frame of a house, with "boards to cover and finish it," and sent it forth under command of Captain William Holmes.

When they reached the Connecticut, they were surprised to find the Dutch at Hartford in possession of a fort, on which were mounted two cannon. In the previous June, the Dutch bought of the Indians twenty acres, and called their fort the "House of Hope," on reaching which Holmes heard the drum-beats and saw the cannoneers beside the guns with lighted torches, under the banner of the Netherlands. The commander, Jacob van Curler, bade Holmes "strike and stay," but the Plymouth captain appealed to his commission and went on. No shot was fired, and on reaching the point just below the mouth of the Farmington River September 26, 1633, they landed, quickly "clapt up" the house and soon had a palisade around it to protect against the Dutch and the far more dangerous Pequots.

The Dutch in the House of Hope found their English neighbors disagreeable, but they stayed in their meager stronghold till 1654, in almost constant broils, their land invaded, workmen harassed, and claims challenged. They were "disgusted with a post so constantly insulted," the English denying the right of the Dutch to any land about the fort. Facing the question of Governor Hopkins, "Show your right and we are ready to exhibit ours," there was only one thing to do since the English were becoming so numerous. In 1636, the English secured deeds from Sequasson, the son of Soheag, "lord and rightful owner of the entire river and land thereabouts," and he testified in the Hartford Court that "he never sold any ground to the Dutch." A little later, the colony procured from Uncas, who, after the Pequot overthrow, was the all-powerful Mohican sagamore, "a clear and ample deed of all the lands in Connecticut, except the lands that were planted." The purchase money was in wampum, shoes, and trading-cloth. Boundaries were indefinite, especially when a distance was described as far as "one day's walk," and Connecticut carried out the advice of Sir William Boswell, English ambassador at The Hague, to "crowd on, crowding the Dutch out of those places which

they have occupied, without hostility or any act of violence." Soon English and Dutch farmers came to blows; Evert Duyckink, a garrison man, while sowing grain was hit "a hole in his head with a sticke, so that the bloode ran downe very strongly, downe upon his body." Ground which the Dutch had made ready for seed was seized in the night and planted with corn by the English, and then held by them. At length, after countless irritations, retaliations, and negotiations, the English cold shoulder proved so stiff, and the English disposition so freezing, that in the April session of 1654, the Court at Hartford "ordered and declared that the Dutch Howse of Hope, with the lands, buildings and fences thereto belonging bee hereby sequestered." Captain John Underhill posted this notice on the doors of the House of Hope, "I, John Underhill, do seize this house and land for the State of England, by virtue of the commission granted by the Providence Plantation." The Dutch were glad to leave a place which had become so uncomfortable, and long ago the river wore away the last vestige of the fort, of which the only relic remaining is a tired-looking yellow Holland brick with the halves of two others, which are now among the relics of the Connecticut Historical Society at Hartford.

We must now go back to the story of the settlers from Boston Bay. The people of Watertown, Dorchester, and Newtown (Cambridge) were growing restless under the Massachusetts authority, and the lure of Connecticut appealed strongly. The master mind of this migration was Thomas Hooker, a man of majestic presence and powerful intellect, who had graduated at Cambridge at the age of twenty-two, and continued for a time in residence as a lecturer, at a time when Laud was advancing to become Archbishop of Canterbury, and the policy of "thorough" was developing. Hooker's disposition is seen in his unwillingness to accept a living, for which he would come under obligations to a bishop, and as an alternative he accepted a

living of forty pounds, the gift of Francis Drake. Soon afterward he was appointed to a lectureship, a method of reaching the people when preaching fell into disuse. Laud said that lecturers were "the people's creatures" and "blew the bellows of sedition." Hooker's influence appears in a letter written to Laud's chancellor by a minister who said, "His genius will still haunt all the pulpits where any of his scholars may be admitted to preach. There be divers young ministers about us that spend their time in conference with him, and return home and preach what he hath brewed. Our people's pallets grow so out of tast, yt noe food contents them but of Mr. Hooker's dressing." The lectures were delivered on the market-days and Sunday afternoons, and on one occasion in the presence of the judges and before a large congregation, he "declared freely the sins of England, and the plagues that would come" for such sins. Mather quotes one as saying of him that "he was a person, who while doing his Master's work would put a king in his pocket."

In 1629, Laud turned his attention to the lecturers, and among the first to feel the weight of his heavy hand was Thomas Hooker of Chelmsford, who was compelled to retire to a village four miles away, where he taught school in his house, and the next year he was cited to appear before the High Commission, but he escaped arrest, he went to Holland and, in 1633, we find him in Boston. Hooker's sister was wife of John Pym, who pleaded for the restoration of the Puritan clergy, but the opposition was too strong and Laud's influence was growing. The voyage was of eight weeks' duration, and the conversations must have been interesting, for besides Hooker was Samuel Stone, a lecturer, and later associate pastor with Hooker, and also John Cotton and John Haynes. Cotton stayed in Boston, while Hooker and Stone went to Cambridge. On October 11, 1633, Hooker was chosen pastor and Stone teacher, and Hubbard says that "after Mr. Hooker's coming over, it was noticed

that many of the freemen grew to be very jealous of their liberties." Cambridge was prospering with its hundred families; its tax was as large as that of Boston, and John Haynes was chosen governor in 1635, but an uneasiness arose. The town "complained of straitness for want of land, especially meadow." Enlargements were granted to include what is now Brighton, Brookline, Newton, and Arlington, but the uneasiness continued. Hubbard, who lived within fifty years of these events, says that other motives did "more secretly and powerfully drive on the business. Two such eminent stars as were Mr. Cotton and Mr. Hooker, both of the first magnitude, could not continue in one and the same orb." In a letter written to John Wilson, a writer says that he heard "that ther is great diusion of judgment in matters of religion amongst good ministers and people which moued Mr. Hoker to remoue." He also wrote: "You are so strict in admission of members to your church, that more than half are out of your church . . . and that Mr. Hoker, befor he went away, preached against yt." John Winthrop, the grave, scholarly and deeply religious Moses of the Puritan migration to America, found John Cotton, his gifted minister, an able yoke-fellow in the position that it would be calamitous to allow any one who was not a member of the Congregational Church to vote or hold office. This combination of the aristocratic and the political was not popular in some of the towns. Samuel Stone said it was a "speaking aristocracy in the face of a silent democracy."

The number of freemen had increased so rapidly that in 1630, they could not all meet in one place to transact business, and a board of assistants was appointed to choose the governor and make laws, and in May, 1631, it was further decided that the assistants need not be chosen every year, but might keep their seats during good behavior, or until set aside by the vote of the freemen. This was not agreeable to Cambridge, Watertown and Dorchester, and they sent a deputation to Boston to inspect the charter, to see

if such power was authorized by it. The method of electing assistants was changed, but Cotton was ever strenuous in a position, in which he had with him a majority of the ministers, that democracy was no fit government either for church or commonwealth. Chief in opposition was Hooker, who maintained against the proposition that "the best part is always the least, and of the best part the wiser is always the lesser," that "in matters of greater consequence, which concern the common Good a General Council, chosen by all to transact businesses which concern all, I conceive, under favor most suitable to rule, and most safe for relief of the whole."

It appears thus that the motives leading to the migration were political, democratic, and commercial, for there were many who preferred a more popular basis for the government than that which prevailed at Boston Bay, where the right to vote was so strictly guarded that only one man in six had suffrage. Land hunger also impelled many, not so much through lack of pasturage, of which there was sufficient in eastern Massachusetts, but the fertility of the Connecticut valley appealed strongly to the enterprising. Although theoretically there was scanty place for freedom in Massachusetts, especially for extremists like Mrs. Hutchinson, Roger Williams, and the Quakers, the actual condition was not as trying as one might think for most people, because of the sturdy common sense of the settlers, who demanded much liberty of discussion. The towns of Cambridge, Watertown, and Dorchester (together with Roxbury, which settled Springfield) developed a more energetic local self-government than elsewhere, and in 1631, Dorchester and Watertown led the way in organizing town government by selectmen. In that year a tax of sixty pounds was assessed upon the settlements to pay for building frontier fortifications in Cambridge, and the inhabitants of Watertown at first declined to pay their share of this tax, on the ground that English freemen cannot rightfully be taxed, save by their

consent, a protest which led to a change in the constitution of the colony. In view of these facts it is not strange that in May, 1634, the congregation at Cambridge petitioned the General Court for permission to move to some other quarter within Massachusetts. The petition was granted, and messengers were sent to Ipswich and Merrimac to look for a location, but after the invitation of the Indians on the Connecticut, a petition was presented to the Court in September for leave to go outside Massachusetts, and it was rejected by the assistants, though the deputies favored it. In the spring of 1635, some of the Watertown and Dorchester people were more successful with their application, and it was voted to allow them to go, provided that they continued under the Massachusetts authority.

We have given an account of the building of a trading house at Windsor in September, 1633; in the autumn of 1634, ten householders and planters, called "Adventurers," including the venturesome and trying pioneer, John Oldham, settled at Pyquag, or Wethersfield; building huts they broke the land and sowed some rye, thus starting agricultural life on the Connecticut, and during the following May about thirty more took up land there. In 1635, Windsor received the first installment from Dorchester, and a company direct from England. In October, some sixty men, women, and children, driving before them cows, horses, and swine, set out by land and reached the Connecticut "after a tedious and difficult journey," but the river froze over by November 15, and the vessel that carried provisions for the winter for the colonists was stayed at Saybrook. Fearing starvation, most of the settlers went to the mouth of the river, loosened a sloop from the ice, and returned to Boston. When the spring came many Cambridge people sold their lands on the Charles River, and in June, 1636, a large number of people took the "Old Connecticut Path," through Wayland, Framingham, Oxford, and Springfield, the path over which Oldham went three years before, "lodging

in Indian towns all the way." It was not an imposing-looking procession: men, women, and children on foot, though, because of ill health, Mrs. Hooker was carried in a litter; the only band of music that attended it was the lowing of a hundred and sixty cattle and the squealing of the pigs; but the presence of Hooker, Haynes, Stone, and Bull gave dignity to this movement of American democracy. Through the summer of 1636, people traveled to Connecticut, and almost daily a few would take up land and build their houses. Fever for change also seized some of the Roxbury people, and Agawam, or Springfield, was settled by a company of people under the leadership of William Pynchon.

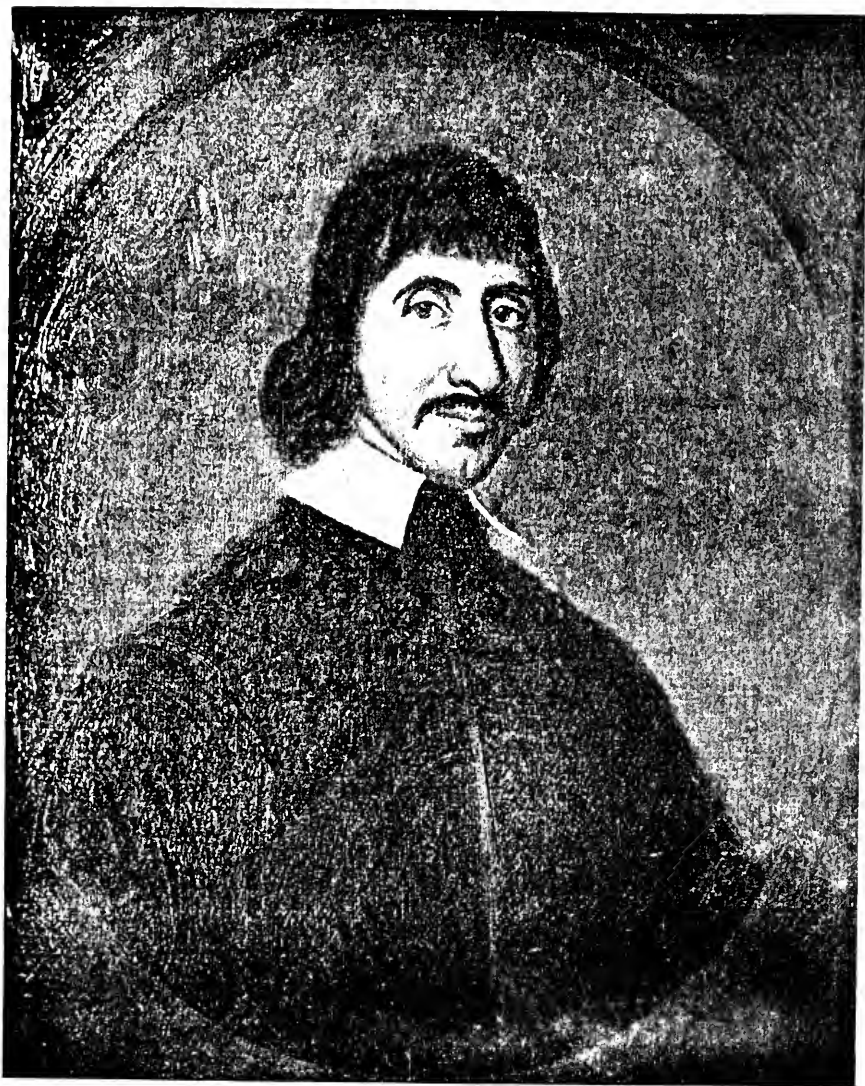
The site of Hartford was deeded by Sachem Sequasson to Samuel Stone, William Goodwin and others, and while the original deed of 1636, was lost, a deed confirming the first and extending the original grant westward, executed by the heirs of Sequasson, is recorded in the *Hartford Land Records*. The settlers were known as *proprietors*, and to every one were allotted a house lot, a piece of meadow land and a wood lot; the remainder of the land was called the *Town Commons*. These lots were not recorded until October 10, 1639, when the General Court ordered that the three towns should provide a "ledger Booke, with an index or alphabett unto the same: Also shall choose one who shall be a Towne Clerke or Register, who shall . . . record every man's house and land already graunted and measured out to him." This book, known as the *Book of Distribution*, is the first book of land records in the town clerk's office in Hartford. Here is a sample entry: "Severall parsilles of land in Hartford upon the River of Conecticott belonging to John Steele, Sinor, and to his heirs forever. VIZ: One parsill on which his now dwelling house standeth with other outt houses, yardes and gardins." The name of Hartford at first was Newe Towne, but within a year it was changed, since Stone and many other settlers were from Hertford, England, and the capital

of Connecticut was called "Harteford Towne. And likewise the plantacon nowe called Watertowne shall be called Wythersfield, and the plantacon called Dorchester shall be called Windsor." There are two landmarks remaining from the earliest times: the graveyard back of the First Church, where many of the famous settlers were buried, and the well of Thomas Hooker, still in use in a foundry on Arch Street.

The coming of the Dorchester people to the neighborhood of the Plymouth fort at Windsor gave the Pilgrims there no little uneasiness in the spring of 1635, and Jonathan Brewster, in a letter from the fort in July, tells of the daily arrival by land and water of small parties of settlers. At length these newcomers, headed by Roger Ludlow, one of the ablest and richest men in Massachusetts, claiming that the land was theirs as the "Lord's waste" by "the Providence of God," moved into the midst of the Plymouth people, who protested against the Dorchester settlement on the Plymouth Great Meadow. As the Plymouth men had ignored the claims of the Dutch, so now the Dorchester people ignored the Pilgrim claims to the property, and proposed to allow the Plymouth people only one share, "as to a single family." A protest against the Dorchester intrusion was reported by Brewster at Plymouth, and Bradford entered his objection, contending that it was an attempt to "thrust them all out." Winslow went from Plymouth to Boston and had a fruitless conference with the Dorchester leaders. The negotiations with the Bay magistrates came to nothing. "Many were the letters and passages" that were indulged in by the sturdy combatants. Pious phrases and greedy purposes furnish interesting reading. Both appealed to God's good providence, and while Plymouth had the better argument, Dorchester had the greater power. The Plymouth men would not resort to arms, as it was "far from their thoughts to live in continual contention with their friends and brethren, though they conceived that they suf-

ferred much in the thing"; accordingly they entered into a treaty, insisting only that the Dorchester people should acknowledge their rights to the territory. "After much ado," the Plymouth house was retained by the Plymouth men with a sixteenth of all the land bought of the Indians, and the project of abandoning the "barren place" on Plymouth sands was given up.

While these settlements were forming on the river, steps were being taken to secure the mouth of it. There arrived at Boston on October 5, 1635, the ship *Abigail*, bringing among her passengers three men of note, representing the *Lords and Gentlemen*. These were John Winthrop, Jr., Sir Harry Vane, and Rev. Hugh Peters. Winthrop bore a commission from the Lords and Gentlemen, dated July 15, 1635, and this commission named the bearer "Governor of the River Connecticut, with the places adjoining there unto, for and during the space of one whole year, after the arrival there," with "full power to do and execute any such lawful thing . . . as to the dignity or office of a governor doth or may appertain." Learning that the Dutch were bent on gaining the same place, twenty men went to the river and soon a fort was erected by Lyon Gardener, an expert military engineer, who had seen service in the Netherlands, near the point where Hans den Sluys had affixed the Dutch arms to a tree two years before. Hardly had the English mounted two cannon, when a Dutch vessel appeared, but finding the place occupied it returned to New Amsterdam. Winthrop was a superb leader of an enterprise which was designed to establish a home for some of the English gentry and plain folks after the persecution of the Puritans by the royal government had reached its height. Gardener was an able officer and skillful in laying out the town. He was just in his dealings with the Indians, whose prowess he did not slight, and whose cruelty he understood. When some Bay men spoke lightly of the Indian arrows, Gardener sent them a dead man's rib, with an arrowhead, which had



John Winthrop, Jr., of New London, 1606-1676; Governor 1657-1676,
with the Exception of 1658

From a Painting by George F. Wright of Hartford, in Memorial Hall Connecticut State Capitol

gone through the body, and stuck so fast that no one could draw it out. An effort was made to persuade the English up river to acknowledge Governor Winthrop of Saybrook, and though the appeal was skillfully and courteously made, the "loving resolutions," which the politicians at the mouth of the river longed for, never floated down stream, the question being adroitly evaded or quietly ignored. The Hooker and Haynes contingent "carved largely for themselves." George Fenwick went to Saybrook in the summer of 1635, while Winthrop was in control, and three years later he returned with more parade, two vessels, and wife and family. His home on Saybrook Point was described, in 1641, as a "faire house" well fortified. With the Fenwicks was John Higginson, a young minister who was chaplain, and after his death at ninety-three, his eulogist sang:

Young to the pulpit he did get,
And seventy-two years in 't did sweat.

Fenwick maintained his independent state till the end of 1644, when he ceded his possessions to the up-river colony, with the jurisdiction of all the territory claimed under the Lords and Gentlemen's patent, on condition of a tribute for ten years of certain duties on corn, biscuit, beaver-skins, and live stock exported from the river, and while the carrying out of this agreement brought Connecticut into conflict with Massachusetts over the question of taxing Springfield, the question was decided by the commissioners of the colonies in favor of Connecticut, which continued the tax for ten years.

In 1643, Winthrop was admitted to the first conference to form the New England Union, and as that body recognized only four colonies, Plymouth, Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New Haven, Connecticut wisely appointed him one of her commissioners in 1643, and 1644, with Edward Hopkins as the other. Fenwick was as closely identified with

Connecticut as he could be, and he rendered an important service to Connecticut, when Massachusetts laid claim to the Pequot country after the war with the Indians. He interposed a protest against any decision in 1644, which would impeach his principal's title, and thus gained time for the Connecticut Colony to secure a stronger hold on the conquered lands; with the conclusion of the agreement of 1644, Saybrook became a Connecticut township.

CHAPTER III

SETTLEMENT CONCLUDED

FIVE years after the colonists began to build their log houses on the Connecticut, another settlement started on the Sound at Quinnipiac, or New Haven, under the leadership of Theophilus Eaton, Edward Hopkins, John Davenport, and several other well-to-do and most serious men. Massachusetts authorities made every effort to persuade these desirable emigrants to tarry there; Charlestown making them large offers, and Newbury proposing to give up the whole town to them; the General Court promising them any place they might choose. But this friendliness did not persuade them, and after a stay of nine months, they chose to have a colony after their own ideas. Resulting from the Pequot war was the discovery of land west of Saybrook, and in the autumn of 1637, Theophilus Eaton and others explored the region; so well pleased were they that in March, 1638, a company settled at New Haven, and on April 18, they kept their first Sunday there, gathering under an oak to listen to John Davenport, their minister.

A leading reason for the settlement was to be away from the general government of New England should there be any, and also because there were so many able men in office in Massachusetts that newcomers had scanty opportunity to build a state after their own ideas. On reaching New Haven, the wealthy leaders, accustomed to elegant houses

in London, put up elaborate homes; Governor Eaton built one on Elm Street, large enough to contain nineteen fireplaces, and Davenport's opposite is said to have had thirteen fireplaces.

Determined to establish the colony according to the Scriptures, a meeting was called soon after the arrival, and at the close of a day of fasting and prayer they made a "Plantation Covenant," in which they solemnly bound themselves "that, as in matters that concern the gathering and ordering of a church, so also in all public offices, which concern civil order, as choice of magistrates and officers, making and repealing laws, dividing allotment of inheritance, and all other things of like nature, they would all of them be ordered by the rules which the Scriptures held forth to them." This was the general platform on which all were to stand, until they could elaborate the details of state. It was a backward spring, and corn rotted in the ground, but at length warm weather came and the crops were generous. The purpose was to have an extensive colony, and if possible to keep on friendly terms with the Indians. On November 24, 1638, they bought of Momaguin, the sole sachem of the region, a large tract, paying for it twelve coats of English cloth, twelve brass spoons, twelve hatchets, twenty-four knives, twelve porringers, and four cases of French knives and scissors. In December, they bought a tract ten by thirteen miles, north of the former, a tract which now includes parts of New Haven, Branford, Wallingford, East Haven, Woodbridge, Cheshire, Hampden, and North Haven. For the second lot the payment was thirteen coats, with liberty granted to the Indians to hunt within the lands. In the summer of 1639, they met in Robert Newman's barn, and in a formal way laid the foundations of their permanent government. It was on June 4, that the free planters gathered, and Davenport preached from the text, "Wisdom hath builded her house; she hath hewn out her seven pillars," and from this he gathered that the church



W. H. B. 1771
L. 1771

should be formed of seven principal men. He proposed a series of propositions, and Robert Newman was asked to "write in characters, and to read distinctly and audibly," six questions, which were discussed, and the results were adopted "by holding up their hands." The following resolutions which were subscribed and signed by the one hundred and eleven present, were the fundamental articles of New Haven Colony.

I. That the Scriptures give a perfect rule for direction and government of church, family, and commonwealth.

II. That churches, public offices, magistrates, making and repealing laws, and inheriting of property should be governed by Scripture rules.

III. That all who had come into the plantation had done so with the purpose of being church members.

IV. That all free planters bound themselves to establish such civil order as might best secure peace and purity to themselves and posterity, according to God.

V. That church members only should be free burgesses; and that they should choose magistrates among themselves to transact all public business, make and repeal laws, divide inheritances, decide difficulties, and attend to all else of a like nature.

VI. That twelve men should be chosen to select seven to begin the church.

A solemn charge or oath to give to all freemen was drawn, and it was ordered that all candidates for citizenship in the colony should subscribe to the foregoing agreement. After due term of trial, Theophilus Eaton, John Davenport, Robert Newman, Matthew Gilbert, Thomas Fugill, John Punderson, and Jeremiah Dixon were chosen to be the seven pillars of the church, and they proceeded to organize church and state. They first set up the church by associating with themselves nine others, and on October 25, 1639, they held a court at which those sixteen men elected Theophilus Eaton as governor for a year and four others to aid him as

deputies; those officers were addressed by John Davenport in what was called a charge. There were no statute laws for many years, and for the time the only restriction on the rulers was the rules of the Mosaic law. The body of free burgesses was cautiously enlarged. This government of New Haven disfranchised more than half of the settlers, and the laws afterward enacted gradually brought the government into close resemblance to that of Massachusetts.

The next half-century saw the settlement of twenty-five other towns, three of which began in 1639—Guilford, Milford, and Stratford. The people of New Haven were hardly established before Guilford, sixteen miles east of New Haven, was settled in August by a company of forty planters from Surrey and Kent; they had left England in full sympathy with Davenport, and formed their government on seven pillars, with Henry Whitfield and Samuel Desborough as leaders. The first town to settle on the Housatonic was Milford, whose Moses and Aaron were Peter Prudden and William Fowler. They chose their seven pillars and formed their government after the New Haven model, except that they admitted six planters who were not church members. Their land was purchased by four men who went in advance of the rest and purchased a tract two miles long, paying six coats, ten blankets, one kettle, and a number of hoes, knives, hatchets, and glasses. The settlers in Milford came from Essex and York, with the addition of a few who had been unhappy in Wethersfield—forty-four in all. The Stratford lands were purchased in 1639, settlement made at once, and in 1673, after a church quarrel, about fifteen families, constituting half the congregation, taking their minister, settled in Woodbury. In the political isolation of these towns we see the principle of church independence advocated by Davenport and his followers. Branford was purchased in December, 1638, by the New Haven colonists, a few days after they had bought New Haven, and in 1644, a tract of this land was sold to William Swaim and others for some



The Old Home of Hon. John Webster, Fifth Governor of
Connecticut, at Hartford



A Typical Chain Ferry

people in Wethersfield, who wished to move; and at the same time with the coming of the Wethersfield people, Abraham Pierson appeared on the ground with a part of the church and congregation of Southampton, Long Island, and a church was formed with Pierson as minister, but they soon became discontented with the New Haven style of government and moved to Newark, New Jersey, a migration in which Milford, New Haven, and Guilford had a prominent part. Another ancient town, Fairfield, is in the territory discovered when the troops were in pursuit of the Pequots in 1637. Roger Ludlow, who was with the troops when they went to the great swamp in the town, was so well pleased with the fine land in the vicinity, he planned a settlement, and, in 1639, he, with eight or nine families of Windsor, began the settlement of Fairfield, being reinforced in a short time by pioneers from Watertown and Concord.

Greenwich was bought of the Indians in 1640, and was under the Dutch government for several years, which was unfortunate for the settlement as the Dutch were hostile to the Indians, and the settlers were in consequence exposed to dangers. The year 1640, also saw the purchase of land on Long Island and the beginning of Southold. In 1641, Rippowams or Stamford was purchased for twelve coats and as many hoes, hatchets, and knives, together with two kettles and four fathoms of white wampum; some of the settlers coming from Wethersfield, under the leadership of Rev. Richard Denton.

In April, 1643, fear of the Indians and of the Dutch caused a union of New Haven, Guilford, Milford and Stamford, and this confederacy became a member of the larger confederation of New England, which formed that year. In October, 1643, a constitution was agreed upon, which limited suffrage to church members and established three courts—the Plantation Court for small cases, consisting of "fitt and able" men in each town; the Court of Magistrates, consisting of the governor and three assistants for weighty cases; and

the General Court, consisting of the magistrates and two deputies for each of the four towns, and this was to sit in New Haven twice a year, to make laws and annually elect magistrates. As trial by jury was not found in the Mosaic law it was dispensed with. In 1649, Southold, in 1651, Branford, and in 1656, Greenwich were admitted to the New Haven Confederacy. These seven towns—New Haven, Guilford, Milford, Stamford, Southold, Branford, and Greenwich—were the only towns that ever belonged to the New Haven Confederacy. Knowing that they were not to be far from Massachusetts, Eaton and Davenport had not brought a military officer, but while at the Bay they discovered a valuable man who had been in the Pequot war, Captain Turner, whom they persuaded to attend the expedition to Quinnipiac, and on November 25, 1639, thirty days after the organization of the court, it was

ordered that every one that bears arms shall be completely furnished with arms; viz., a musket, a sword, bandoleers, a rest, a pound of powder, twenty bullets fitted to the musket, or four pounds of pistol-shot or swan-shot at least, and be ready to show them in the market-place, before Capt. Turner, under the penalty of twenty shillings fine for every default or absence.

Attracted by the fertile meadows ten miles to the west, settlers from Hartford went over the mountain ridge and laid out a beautiful town on the banks of the Tunxis River, buying lands of the Indians, and in 1640, Farmington was incorporated; people from Boston, Cambridge, and Roxbury taking part in the enterprise. In 1646, New London was settled, and two years later more than forty persons joined those who were there, and among them was John Winthrop, Jr. The next town to organize was Stonington, which was settled in 1649, under the leadership of William Cheesborough, a member of the Plymouth Colony. It was at first a part of Massachusetts and was named Southerton; in 1662, it became a part of Connecticut, and was named Stonington.

Norwalk was settled in 1649, and incorporated in 1651. A committee was appointed in March, 1650, to explore Mattabesett, and it reported that fifteen families might get a living there, and in November, 1653, planters from Wethersfield, Hartford, and England established the settlement of Middletown. The center of every one of these plantations was the meeting-house, which was built after about the same style and composed of wood (except in Guilford where stone was used), and the one in New Haven was fifty feet square, with a roof like a pyramid, ending in a tower and turret. There were also "banisters and rails on the meeting-house top, whence the drummer could summon the people on the Sabbath or when Indians attacked the town."

Preparations for the settlement of Norwich began in Saybrook as early as 1654, under the leadership of the famous and martial Captain John Mason, with whom were associated thirty-four others. Mason had been the friend and adviser of the wily Uncas for twenty-four years, and having frequently visited him, was thoroughly acquainted with the country, and it was doubtless by Mason's influence that Uncas and his two sons appeared at Saybrook in June, 1659, and signed a deed of conveyance, which gave the company of thirty-five proprietors a title to a tract of land of nine square miles at Mohican. There was another reason, for in 1645, Uncas was closely besieged by the Narragansetts, and Captain Mason, who was in command at the Saybrook fort, sent a boat-load of beef, corn, and peas by night, under the command of Thomas Leffingwell, and Uncas never forgot the favor. Seventy pounds was the price for the land, and since Connecticut had bought it before and paid for it, the English were more than fair with the Indians. Mason was then commissioned by the legislature to buy the rest of the Mohican country, which he did, and a deed of cession was signed in August, 1659, and in the following November, a few settlers made their way to the new town and spent the winter there. The Mohicans assisted them

in carrying their goods, and soon the town was laid out. The earliest act recorded on the town book was on December 11, 1660, and the name Norwich was given to the place about 1662. The settlers were the church of Rev. James Fitch of Saybrook, and the minister was a leading spirit in the enterprise. There was much trouble and litigation in later years between the settlers and the Indians over the title to the lands, since it was claimed that Uncas had made over the title to the lands to Mason to secure them to his tribe, of which Mason was the guardian. One phase of this was the act of Mason in 1671, in making over to the tribe a tract of more than four thousand acres, usually called the *sequestered lands*. But disputes continued for seventy years over the lands occupied by settlers in Colchester, Windham, Mansfield, Hebron, and some other towns, and it was not until 1743, that the case was settled by a decision to refer the matter to the king in council. The final decision was given in 1767, and it was against the Mohicans, who soon faded away. The same year of the settlement of Norwich, 1660, Suffield was settled, the land having been bought of two sachems for one hundred dollars.

There is a curious story about Lyme, which was settled about 1664, taking at first the name of East Saybrook, that in a controversy with New London over the ownership of a tract of land claimed by both Lyme and its neighbor, it was decided to settle the difficulty by a fight with fists by two champions of the towns rather than to go to the expense of an application to the legislature, and as the advantage was with Lyme, it took possession of the land.

The river towns are the mothers of eleven daughters: Windsor of five—East Windsor, South Windsor, Simsbury, Ellington, and Windsor Locks; Hartford of three—East Hartford, West Hartford, and Manchester; Wethersfield of three—Glastonbury, Rocky Hill, and Newington. In 1662, Windsor began to overflow into East Windsor; the same year the lands forming Haddam and East

Haddam were bought for thirty coats, worth perhaps a hundred dollars, being soon taken up by twenty-eight young men, mostly from Windsor, Hartford, and Wethersfield, and Haddam was incorporated in 1668. In 1663, the legislature approved of a proposition for a town in what is now Killingworth, and twelve planters from Hartford, Windsor, and Guilford moved into it at once, living on friendly terms with the Indians. In the process of filling in around the older towns, land west of Windsor was bought of the Indians in 1670, and the town of Simsbury settled, though six years later, the inhabitants, alarmed by the hostility of the Indians, buried their goods and went back to Windsor, and the savages destroyed every vestige of improvement so completely that on the return of the settlers they could scarcely find their property. As we have seen, in 1638, "New Haven village" was purchased, and it was not until 1670, that it was settled, and then it was called Wallingford, and four years later it received its own minister.

In 1672, the legislature granted liberty to William Curtis and others to make a plantation at Pomeraug; two years later, the settlement was constituted a town with the name of Woodbury, and Southbury was settled the same year. In 1673, a number of the inhabitants of Farmington obtained permission of the legislature to investigate the lands on the Naugatuck, then called Mattatuck, now Waterbury; the distresses of King Philip's war delayed the purchase and settlement, but in 1677, there were a few temporary huts on the east bank of the river, and in 1686, it was incorporated and the name changed to Waterbury. The settlement of Danbury, one of the county seats of Fairfield County, began in 1683. In 1675, Joshua, son of Uncas, the Mohican sachem, gave by will to Captain John Mason and fifteen others the tract containing Windham, Mansfield, and Canterbury, and in May, 1686, the main streets of Windham were laid out. In 1659, Governor Winthrop obtained permission of the legislature to buy a large tract of land, which in 1689, was

sold to people from Massachusetts, who settled Plainfield, and lived on friendly terms with the numerous Indians in the neighborhood.

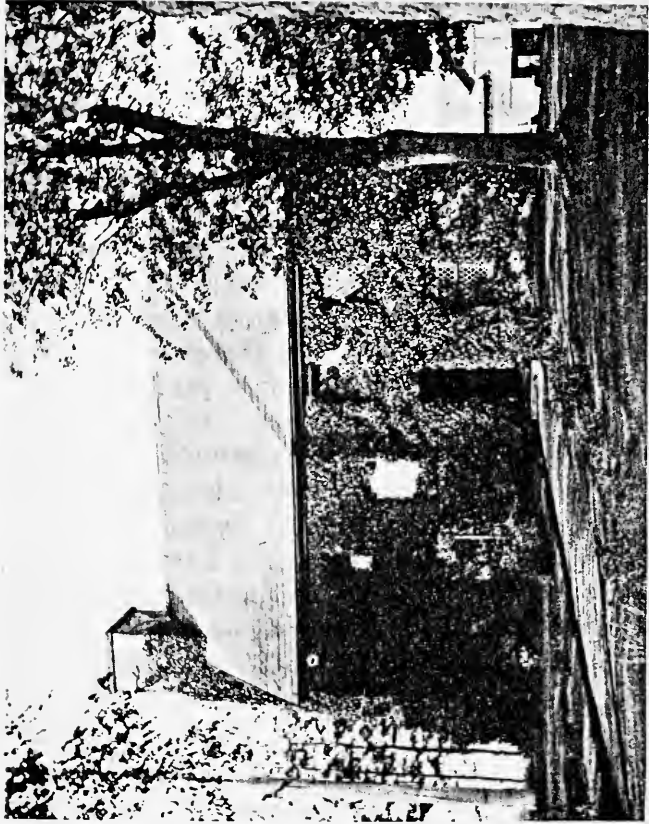
The organization of the towns stimulated vigor and individuality, furnishing a bulwark of singular pertinacity, and one method of strengthening this was the giving so many people something to do in public affairs. "Every town had two or more townsmen, or, as they came to be called toward the end of the seventeenth century, selectmen, also justices of the peace, constables, town clerk, treasurer, highway surveyors—sometimes to the number of twenty, fence-viewers, listers, collectors of taxes, leather-sealers, grand jurors, tithing-men, haywards, or guardians of the boundaries, chimney-viewers, gaugers, packers, sealers of weights and measures, key-keepers, recorders of sheep marks, branders of horses, and others. These offices gave more or less of influence and authority, and a little salary to many men. If the oldest office in the town was the constable, the oldest institution was the pound, which is said to be older than the kingdom in the history of England. Before the community was recognized as a civic or religious unit, the settlers were given permission to "make and maintain a pound," sometimes without conditions, sometimes subject to the approval of the town from which the settlement was made. The next step was often a request for "winter privileges," with a remission of one half of the ministerial taxes; this was the case where the settlement was six or eight miles from the center. Sometimes the "liberty of a minister" was asked for at first, and sometimes, when the call was made for a pound there was also a petition for a separate church. Then followed the incorporation of the society by a charter from the legislature, following which was election of officers. Glastonbury stepped at once into the possession of the full privileges of a town. Towns were less republican than now, more overshadowed by the General Court, and questions regarding religious differences, choice of sites for meeting-

houses, organization of ministers, and settlement of ministers were decided by the legislature, with or without the request of the town. In the first sixty years it was easy to obtain permission to form a new town, but later on it was different, and some towns petitioned years for the privileges of incorporation. The settlement of the commonwealth was promoted by the coming of many settlers from England during the disturbances of the Puritan uprising, as well as by church quarrels and Anglo-Saxon enterprise.

CHAPTER IV

THE INDIANS

ONE of the most powerful influences affecting the early life of the settlers was that of the aborigines, the Indians, who belonged to the Algonkin stock, members of which were found from Labrador to South Carolina; King Philip, Powhatan, Pocahontas, and Black Hawk, who have appealed most to our novelists and dramatists, were all of Algonkin lineage. It is believed that widespread pestilences had carried off many of the natives, so that the process of taking possession of the country was less difficult than it would have been a few years earlier. It was trying enough as it was, for the Indians were swift, wary, cruel in war, shrewd in council, ingenious and skillful with their devices. The name Connecticut is the same as the name of the Indians dwelling on its banks, and it vividly reminds us of the tribal title of the people, whose rude faces looked on the first boat-load of settlers ascending the river. It is pure guesswork to try to estimate the number of the Connecticut Indians. There is evidence that the Pequots could muster six hundred warriors, and it is probable that they were as numerous as all the other tribes of Connecticut combined. The Quinnipiacs extended along the shore from Milford to Madison, holding the bay of New Haven and the little rivers that empty into it as fishing-places. Yet when they sold their country in 1638, to Davenport and his associates, they could state that the number of men of their tribe was



Whitefield House, Guilford, in 1640. This Is the Oldest House in Connecticut,
and the Oldest Stone-house in New England

only forty-seven, their total population being but two hundred souls. The sea-coast was the most thickly peopled, and next to this the river courses, on account of the fishing. The Paugussetts, who inhabited Stratford, Huntington, and the surrounding townships, and the Wepawaugs, who lived opposite them on the east bank of the Housatonics, were similar people, and were not very numerous. Litchfield County, the northern part of Fairfield County, and the western part of Hartford County were an uninhabited wilderness. On the Farmington River, ten miles west of Hartford, lived a small tribe, the Tunxis Indians, who, according to tradition, had been conquered some years before by the Stockbridge Indians. There was evidently a considerable tribe in the vicinity of Hartford, or it may have been a confederacy, as some of the same names are found attached to deeds in the town records from Windsor to Middletown. They embraced the bands that Blok in 1614, described as the "nation called the Sequins," with lodges on both sides of the river at or above the great bend at Middletown, and also the Nawaas with their fortified town at South Windsor. The capital of the Sequins, or Wangunks as they were afterwards called, was Middletown, and their chieftain Sowheag sold Wethersfield to the settlers. Allied with him was Sequasson, sachem of Hartford. In East Hartford and East Windsor lived the Podunks. There was a small clan in Haddam and East Haddam, much given to religious ceremonies, and who "drove a prodigious trade at worshipping the devil," being aided in their superstitious ceremonies by the earthquake shocks, or whatever else it was—the famous "Moodus noises"—prevailing in early times. Tolland and Windham counties had a scattered population of Nipmucks, who were peculiarly degraded and repulsive.

The Pequots, the most numerous, the fiercest, the bravest of all the tribes of Connecticut, had two forts at Mystic, but their wigwams extended for miles along the stony hills

of New London County, a district of about five hundred square miles; their northernmost community, the Mohicans, living on the Thames where Norwich and the neighboring towns are now. Pequots and Mohicans were of the same race as the Hudson River Mohicans, and not much before 1600, it is supposed that they abandoned their lodges on the Hudson and fought their way into southeastern Connecticut, killing and driving out the Indians there, going by way of Massachusetts, as Pequot traditions agree in asserting that they migrated from the north shortly before the arrival of the English. It is probable that the predecessors of the Pequots and Mohicans were of the same family as the Narragansetts; and since the Niantics of Lyme were connected with the Niantics of Rhode Island, and Sequasson, chief of Farmington and Connecticut River countries, was a connection of the Narragansett sachems, and the Indians of Windsor were closely united to the Wepawaugs of Milford, it appears reasonable that before the Pequots came upon the scene, the Rhode Island and Connecticut Indians were of one great family or confederation.

The interloping Pequots found themselves in a large and attractive country, furnishing ample food supply, and their fierce war parties swept into the Narragansett country on the east; and thrice their armies came into collision with Sequasson, the most powerful of the sachems of central Connecticut. Sequasson was completely overthrown, and became their subject until relieved by the English. The Pequots conquered as far as the bay of New Haven, compelling the Quinnipiacs to pay tribute. Then they crossed in their canoes to Long Island and to Block Island and extorted tribute there. The sagamore of the Mohicans was Uncas, a man of powerful build, and heir apparent to the Pequot sachemdom through the female line, his mother being aunt to the reigning sachem when the English moved to the river. Growing proud, and becoming treacherous, it is said, to the reigning sachem, he suffered repeated hum-

blings, and was driven from his country, and permitted to return only on the promise of submission.

After Wapegoot, the Pequot sachem, was slain, Uncas made claim to the sachemdom, but the aggressive Sassacus was chosen, and he with his twenty-six war captains became a terror to Uncas and the River Indians. The Narragansetts were the only tribe in New England which the Pequots had not conquered, and there was perpetual war between the two tribes. Canonicus was chief of the Narragansetts, but his wily nephew, Miantonomo, was the ruling spirit.

There was another reason why Uncas and the Indians on the river cordially welcomed the coming of the English, and that was the hostility of the Mohawks, fierce members of the Five Nations of the Iroquois in central New York, who were the leading Indian power in North America. The Connecticut Indians were in deadly fear of the Hudson River Indians, and when a band of those warriors appeared they fled with the cry, "The Mohawks are coming." The Mohawks would cry out, "We are come, we are come to suck your blood." When the Connecticut Indians could not escape to their forts, they would run into English houses for shelter, and sometimes the Mohawks would pursue so closely as to enter with them, and kill them in the presence of the family, if there was not time to shut the door, but they would never enter by force, nor would they injure the English. Every summer, two old Mohawks would visit the River Indians, issuing orders and collecting tribute. Up and down the Connecticut valley they passed, seizing wampum and weapons, and proclaiming the last stern edict of the savage council of Onondaga, heedless of the scowling Mohicans and Sequins, ground between Mohawks and Pequots.

The Indians were large, straight, well-built men, capable of enduring excessive hardships and torture. They could run a hundred miles in a summer day. They were unclean in their habits and cruel to the last degree. As a warrior

the Indian was a master, reveling in war. The approved tactics of our day are those which Indians developed, which the whites learned from them at large expense. Discipline was preserved, yet there was abundant opportunity for personal initiative. Their methods of signal service, finding and using cover, scouting, gaining information, keeping in touch with the enemy, learning as much as possible of the foe without self-betrayal, became a revelation to men familiar only with European ways. It is too much to say that the United States owes to Indians its independence, but they emphasized the value of individual effort, and taught a new science of warfare, by which the colonial troops harassed the British regulars to desperation, and overmatched English pluck and endurance.

The claim that a few Indians—perhaps six thousand—had a property right over great forest lands which they did not clear and till, whose boundaries they did not mark, on which they had no fixed habitation, about whose ownership they did not fight with one another, except over game, is about as reasonable as would be the claims of the bears of the wilds. As a rule the whites paid the Indians all the lands were worth, and saved not a few from death at the hands of other Indians. Pequots were interlopers equally with the English; they tortured captives to death, cut large gashes in the flesh and poured in live coals, and made sufferers eat pieces of their own bodies. True, it was a cruel age; torture was a civil institution in England and Scotland. As late as 1646, a woman had her tongue nailed to a board at Henley-on-the-Thames, because she complained of a tax levied by Parliament. Frontenac burned prisoners at the stake in 1692. It was a common thing for European armies to kill all prisoners.

It is not strange that the Indians should have been jealous of the English. It could not be otherwise when men determined, aggressive, and not too gentle, came in contact with a people little above the brutes, whose religion

was a kind of pantheism; the sun a god, the moon a goddess; every fish, bird, reptile, tree, endued with mysterious powers; whose religious leaders were conjurers; whose good god Kiehtan was a cloudy bewilderment of goodness, whom they thanked for favors; whose devil Hobbamocke received the majority of their prayers and offerings; whose women were slavish beasts of burden; whose ruling passions were ambition, envy, jealousy, revenge; whose treachery was surpassed by their suspicion of the treachery of others. "They are a people," wrote Edward Winslow, "without any religion or knowledge of God." Mather and Eliot were obliged to use the English word for the supreme being in describing their beliefs. They had no sacred days or machinery of religion, hence nothing entitled to the name of religious sentiments. The medicine-man or powwow was not so much a priest as a conjurer, a healer of diseases, and supposed to control the elements by virtue of mystic arts. The Algonkins had a myth-cycle of the rabbit, like the *tar-baby* tales. From the burial customs it is evident that Indians had some idea of a future life, but the belief in a happy hunting-ground is more radiant in the imagination of sentimental writers than in the faith of "these dregs of mankind," as their faithful friend, Roger Williams, called them; after extended experience with them, he said, "There is no fear of God before their eyes; and all the cords that ever bound the barbarians to foreigners were made of self and covetousness." In a letter to Winslow, Williams wrote, "Lying, stealing, lying and uncleanness are Indian epidemical sins."

The head chiefs were in absolute authority, surrounded by courtiers, the largest, wisest, bravest men, a bodyguard firm and undaunted, trained from boyhood by coarse fare and whips. The mugwump was head of a subtribal band, the boss of the concern; the hereditary sachem entertained travelers and ambassadors; he was brave, subtle, and sometimes eloquent, careful to move in accordance with the

wishes of the people. Indians usually hunted alone, but sometimes grand hunts were organized. Their dwelling places were made of poles set firmly in the ground, bent together and fastened at the top; the sides were covered with boughs, thatched with rushes or bark. Sanitary laws and cleanliness were unknown, and the diseases few but deadly, for want of proper treatment, and when the small-pox appeared it swept away hundreds of the people. Quinsies, pleurisies, rheumatisms, and quick consumption were common, and toothache a dreaded malady; Roger Williams records the fact that while they could endure every other pain with fortitude, this was too much for their resolution, and they would cry and groan after the most piteous fashion.

For curatives they used sweating, and sometimes purged the system with herbs, which they knew how to select. One mode of sweating was by standing closely wrapped over a hole in the earth containing a heated stone. Another was to remain an hour or more in a little cabin or sweating hut, which was always on the bank of a pond or stream, so that when the patient had perspired sufficiently, he could finish the prescription by a swift plunge in the water. But another method was considered vastly more efficacious, and the practitioner was the powwow, who began his treatment after receiving a present, the size of which regulated his violence and effectiveness. Attiring himself like a wild beast or gorgon, he entered the presence of the patient and began in a low tone to invoke the deities, singing and gesturing; becoming frantic and violent he closed with furious howls and shouts; the sick man, forgetting his pain, joined in the hideous song. After the powwow had exhausted himself and worked out his gift, he breathed a few times on the patient, and went away. If the disease was too deep and death came, friends would visit the mourners, stroking gently cheek or head and saying, "Be of good cheer." Then a respected man would adorn the body with such ornaments

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as the relatives could afford, swathe it with skins and mats, and it was buried, and with it dishes of food and implements of war, while the relatives stood by with faces freshly painted in black.

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In buying lands from the Indians there was a curious ceremony called *turf and twig*. In February, 1639, Ansantawae, sachem of the Paugussetts, sold to the English a considerable tract near the center of Milford. The purchasers laid down before the sachem six coats, ten blankets, one kettle, and a quantity of hoes, knives, hatchets, and looking-glasses. A twig and a piece of turf were handed to the chief by a follower, he stuck the twig into the turf and gave both to the English, indicating that he had passed over the soil and all it sustained. An instrument of sale was also drawn, and signed by leaders of both parties. The Indians were a trial in the early period, entering houses freely and sometimes causing accidents by their eagerness to handle firearms, hence penal laws were passed ordering that for handling weapons an Indian was to pay a fine of half a fathom of wampum. An Indian who came to a settlement by night might be summoned by the watchman, and if he refused to obey, he might be shot down. In times of Indian warfare it was sometimes ordered that no one except a magistrate should receive a native into his house. In 1647, Indians were forbidden to hire lands of the English, because of their corrupting influence on young men. Since the Indians complained of being cheated out of their territories, a law was passed in 1663, forbidding private individuals buying lands of them.

Connecticut was an Indian country, its colonies only two or three days' march on both sides from the most cruel and dangerous tribes in North America, and there were times when braves would lurk in the neighboring forest for three months waiting for the right opportunity to strike. It was stiff discipline: grim and bloody is the story of those bitter years; it was a rough experience for both races in that

stern age, and at length the English killed, drove out, or enslaved most of the Indians, after more than a century of fear and struggle.

Just how much the settlers owed the Indians, and how far the presence of the aborigines affected the settlements and the history, are questions it is hard to answer. No doubt the fact that there were powerful tribes had a decided influence on the method of procedure of the whites. Had the land been unoccupied by human beings, the English might have swarmed over America in a short time, and the compact settlement on the Connecticut and its neighborhood with the resulting government would perhaps never have existed. One of the important contributions of the Indians was the system of trails, camping-places, and trade-routes which they had established. The Bay Path was learned of the Indians by the first pioneers to Connecticut. Indians were an agricultural people and cultivated maize, squashes, pumpkins, beans, and tobacco. It was possibly due to the raising and storing of Indian corn that the occupation of the continent at that time was made possible. The general distribution of the plant brought from the south had long before taken place, and this, with wild roots and beans, often eked out the food supplies of the conquering race. The English learned from the Indians to plant corn in hills and to fertilize with fish. Governor Bradford says that in April, 1621, "They began to plant their corne, in which service Squanto stood them in great stead, showing ye manner how to set it and after how to dress and tend it. And he tould them, excepte they got fish and set with it (in these old grounds) it would come to nothing." Thomas Morton in his *New England's Canaan* says, "You may see in one township a hundred acres together set with fish, every acre taking 1000 of them, & an acre thus dressed will produce and yield as much corn as 3 acres without fish." In the early history of the English settlements there is frequent mention of the "barns" of the Indians. These

were holes made in the ground in which corn and other foods were cached, and these helped out the settlers. The corn-cribs set on posts are an Indian invention, and have been slightly changed by the white settlers. The hominy-mortar and the device of preserving corn on the cob by braiding the husks are mentioned by early chroniclers as Indian devices.

The influence of the Indians on the whites is suggested by the prevalence of such names as "Indian file," "Indian corn," "Indian summer," hickory, chipmunk, mugwump, moccasin, squash, woodchuck, toboggan, Saratoga, skunk, hominy, Tammany, and more than two hundred others. Indian in origin are such expressions as these: "fire-water," "paleface," "medicine-man," "Great Spirit," "happy hunting-grounds," "Great Father," "to bury the hatchet," "to smoke the pipe of peace," and "to take his scalp." The Indians were familiar with valuable febrifuges, purgatives, astringents, balsams, and stimulants, and the "Indian doctor" was sometimes called in by the settlers to stanch wounds and alleviate pain. Upon the Indian reputation in medicine many quacks and impostors have ventured their claims to cure dozens of diseases. Sweat-baths, corn-poultices, lobelia, witch-hazel, cascara, and scores of other terms suggest the wealth of Indian "folk-medicine." Ropes and strings were made of "Indian hemp." Corn-husk mats are of Indian origin, and the European settlers learned from their neighbors of many durable ways of staining and dyeing. The white settlers owed much to the Indians.

CHAPTER V

WARS WITH THE INDIANS

REFERENCE was made in the previous chapter to the influence of the Indians upon the English in training them for war, and the discipline came hot and heavy at the very start, for the settlers had barely secured a foothold and a covering when they were met by a sharp challenge and stern defiance from the most dangerous tribe in New England. During the sixteen years since the settlement of Plymouth the Indians had been in the main friendly, but so numerous were the English becoming that the Pequots from their forts at Groton determined to strike for their hunting-grounds. Outrages opened in 1634, when Captains Stone and Norton were killed by allies of the Pequots, while ascending the Connecticut to trade; the Pequot chiefs Sassacus and Ninigret were in the conspiracy and shared the plunder. In 1636, John Oldham, who had been appointed collector of tribute from the Pequots, was killed by them off Block Island, and his boat seized; the murderers were attacked by John Gallop, another trader, killed or driven off, and the body of Oldham, still warm, was found in the boat. The fugitives fled to the Pequots, where they gained protection. Although the Pequots had nothing to do with the affair, the Massachusetts government sent Captain Endicott with a force to avenge the murder, and after stopping at Block Island and destroying some Indian houses and two hundred acres of corn, he went to the mainland

and burned some of the Pequot wigwams, which, as Gardener, the commander of the Saybrook fort, told Endicott, was outrageous and would serve only to bring the Indians "like wasps about his ears," a prediction that came true. Sassacus tried to draw the Narragansetts into a general war, which might have annihilated the English settlements in Connecticut, but an ancient hostility toward their fierce rivals was too strong, reinforced as it was by the diplomacy of Roger Williams, who, at peril of life, visited the forts, and persuaded the Narragansett chiefs to go to Boston in the autumn, and conclude a treaty of peace and alliance with the English.

The formidable Pequots, left to battle alone, spared no pains to provoke resentment. Early in October, they attacked five haymakers from the Saybrook garrison; seized a man named Butterfield and tortured him to death, and a few days after, they took two men from a boat,—one they killed, the other, Joseph Tilly, was tortured to death by cutting off hands and feet. The Saybrook fort was in a state of siege all winter; outhouses and haystacks burned; cattle killed or wounded. It was worse in the spring as Indians watched roads and river. In March, Gardener, the commander, went out with ten men to work on the land; they were waylaid, three slain, the rest escaped to the fort, which was at once surrounded by a great number of Pequots, who challenged the English to come out and fight; mocking the groans and prayers of tortured men; boasting that they could kill the English "all one flies," until grape-shot drove them away. Not long after this, three men sailing down the river were overpowered, one man was killed and he fell overboard; the others were cut in two lengthwise and hung up on the river bank. In April, Indians went as far as Wethersfield and waylaid some farmers while going to their fields, killed two men, a woman, and child; they carried away two girls, killed twenty cows, and destroyed much other property.

In the midst of these calamities, the General Court met at Hartford, May 1, 1637, representing the little republic of eight hundred souls. It was a momentous time for the company of fifteen—six magistrates and nine committeemen, who were to decide the fate of Connecticut, at least for a time. They were surrounded by Indian tribes, scattered through the country from Hudson River to Narragansett Bay; these tribes united could have fallen upon the whites with a force of four or five thousand warriors. The Pequots had five hundred fighting men and no one could tell how soon fresh allies would join their forces. The Indians already had killed thirty people, and were growing bolder; there seemed to be no alternative. We are not surprised to read on the record the following vote, "It is ordered that there shall be an offensive war against the Pequots, and there shall be ninety men levied out of the three plantations of Hartford, Windsor and Wethersfield." Hartford was to furnish forty-two, Windsor thirty, and Wethersfield eighteen men. There have been longer sessions, and less pointed legislation since then, but none more effective. Busy days followed, and on Wednesday, May 10, the little army of ninety Englishmen and seventy Mohicans embarked in three small vessels, with the queer names of "a pink, a pinnace and a shallop." The commander was Captain John Mason, who had served in the Netherlands under Sir John Fairfax, and the chaplain was Samuel Stone. The vessels ran aground so frequently in the shallow waters of that season that Uncas begged leave to go ashore; when the English reached Saybrook fort on Monday, May 15, they found Captain John Underhill, with twenty men from Massachusetts, with Uncas, happy over a battle with the Pequots, in which seven had been killed and one captured. The last was handed over to the Mohicans, who tortured, roasted and ate him.

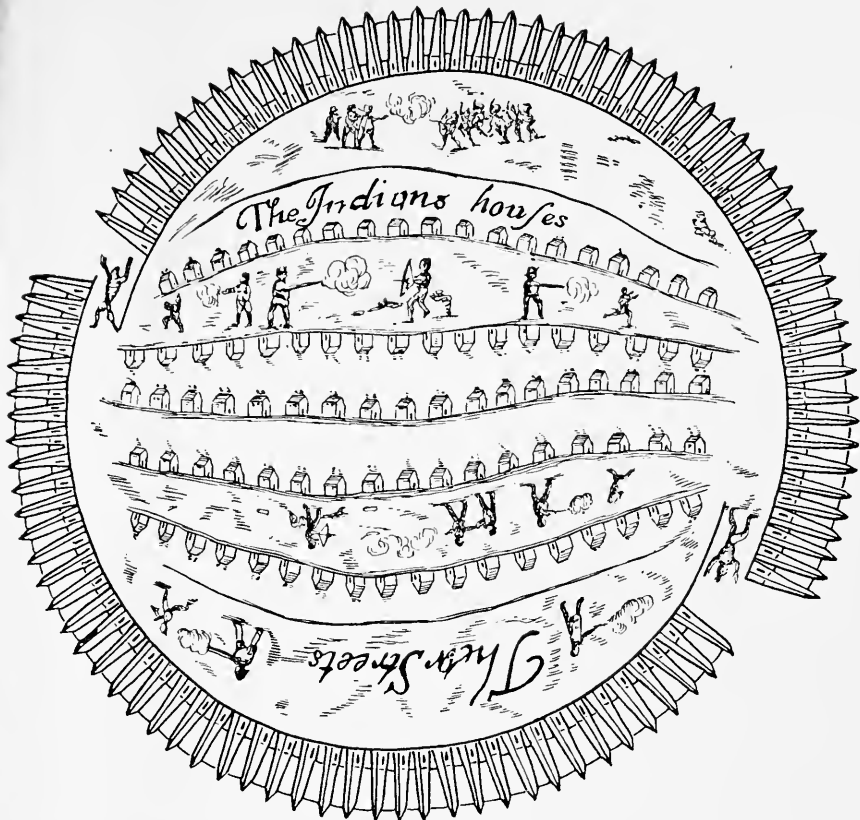
It was an anxious time for Captain Mason and his slender army, lying wind-bound from Monday until Friday in front

of the fort, knowing well that every motion was watched by sharp Pequot scouts, that his passage into the Thames would find the enemy well prepared, that the moment he landed his men on the rocky shore, Pequot warriors would hasten by the hundreds from the woods. His orders were to land near the mouth of the Pequot, now the Thames River, and attack the enemy from the west. The keen officer knew that it would be suicidal to leap into a swarm of arrows with his little band. There was delay, for the other officers and the men were in favor of obeying instructions to assault the Indian fort at once; they shrank from the long march through the woods on the east, and the long exposure of their homes through their absence. In the division of opinion, Chaplain Stone played a valuable part: urged by Captain Mason to pray for guidance, he spent most of Thursday night in prayer; the next morning he reported the harmony of the captain's plan with the divine will. It was decided to send twenty men to Hartford to strengthen the home guard, while Captain Underhill, with nineteen men, took their places.

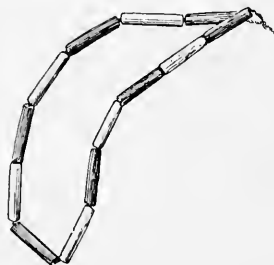
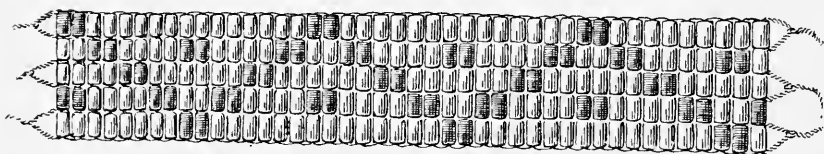
It was a stiff undertaking, for it was learned from the two Wethersfield girls, captured by the Indians and brought back by the Dutch, who had exchanged for them six Indians, that the Pequots had sixteen muskets, and knew how to use them. Following the good judgment of Captain Mason, backed up by the prayers of the chaplain, the tiny fleet set sail for Narragansett Bay, determined to march through the woods across Rhode Island, and crush the Indians by night. They passed Watch Hill and Point Judith and on Saturday evening reached Narragansett Pier, and came to anchor near Tower Hill, where they spent Sunday on shipboard, a northwest gale preventing the landing before Tuesday at sunset. Then the captain led his army to an Indian village, not far away, where was a Narragansett chief, who approved of the design of the expedition and the program, but thought the force too small

to deal with an enemy, which was, as he said, "very great captains, and men skilful in war."

During Tuesday night, an Indian runner came from Providence to tell Mason that Captain Patrick was on his way from Massachusetts with a small body of troops, but Mason balanced the value of surprise against the importance of additional troops, and decided to push on at once. He set out through the wilderness Wednesday morning, May 24, with "seventy-seven brave Englishmen, sixty frightened Mohicans, and four hundred terrified Narragansetts and Niantics." They marched twenty miles to Niantic, a village of the Narragansetts, on the borders of the Pequot country. The chief, fearing the enmity of the Pequots, refused admission to the English for the night. On Thursday, Mason advanced fifteen miles to a place five miles northwest of Stonington, near a hill, where stood the principal stronghold of the Pequots, a few miles from the residence of Sassacus. The day was sultry and oppressive, some of the men fainted from heat, and most of the Narragansetts, "being possessed with great fear," fell behind. Evidently the Pequots had not been alarmed, since the sentinels of the English could hear the noisy revels in the fort, celebrating possibly the departure of the English in fear. Had there been a seer among those fierce men in that fort on the hill a mile west of Mystic, he might well have thrilled his companions with a tragic tale, for it was the last night of the Pequot tribe on earth. It was a clear, beautiful evening in spring, and amid the weird shadows cast by the trees in the bright moonlight, the soldiers, exhausted by the march, threw themselves on the ground and slept. "The rocks were our pillows," said Mason, "but rest was pleasant." About an hour before light, the men were roused and bidden make ready for battle. The moon still shone on them as Chaplain Stone prayed softly for the help of God, and soon the little army was in motion for the fort two miles away on Pequot Hill. They feared



The Plan of the Pequot Fort



Belt and Strings of Wampum

at first that they were on the wrong track, but were reassured when they saw a field of corn newly planted, and soon Uncas the chief and Wequash the guide came near. "Where is the fort?" asked Mason. "On the top of that hill," was the answer. "Where are the rest of the Indians?" asked the commander. "Tell them not to fly, but to stand off as far as they please, to see whether Englishmen will fight."

The fort was a nearly circular area of several acres, enclosed by trunks of trees set firmly in the ground close together, and rising to the height of twelve feet. Within were seventy wigwams in two rows. There were two entrances, one on the northeast side, the other on the west. Mason led at one, and Underhill at the other. The Pequots had no sentinels, and the garrison was sound asleep. When the storming party was within a rod of the palisade, an Indian dog barked, and a voice of an Indian was heard shouting, "Owanux! Owanux!" (Englishmen, Englishmen). No time was lost. Mason pushed away the brush before the entrance and led sixteen men into the enclosure; a desperate hand-to-hand struggle began with the Indians who swarmed from the wigwams like bees. Some of the Pequots began to shoot from the doors of their lodges. One of them was on the point of shooting Mason through the head, when a soldier cut the bowstring with his sword. Soon the captain saw two soldiers lowering their swords toward the earth as though the undertaking were hopeless; the attacking party was getting out of breath as it swept through the area, killing the braves right and left; some of the whites were wounded, two were dead. "We shall never kill them this way; we must burn them," shouted Mason, touching a firebrand to the mats which covered a hut. The fire, fanned by a rising northeaster, spread through the fort. Underhill set the other side afire with a train of gunpowder, and the English were driven from the furnace. In an hour the fort was in ashes; English muskets shot down a part of

those that escaped, and the native allies brought down nearly all the rest. "It is reported by themselves," said Underhill, "that there were about four hundred souls in this fort, not above five of them escaped out of our hands." Mason said that seven hundred perished, and seven were captured. Of the English, two were killed and twenty wounded.

There was another Indian fort a few miles farther west, near the path to Pequot harbor, where Mason had arranged to meet the vessels; food and ammunition were almost spent; the surgeon was on shipboard; the heat was overpowering, and early in the day, the Indians from the other garrison, seeing the smoking ruins of their neighbors, tore their hair, and working themselves into a frenzy, rushed upon the Englishmen to avenge the slaughter, but Mason, hiring his allies to carry away the wounded, drove back the enemy, and at evening the soldiers embarked and returned to Hartford, after an absence of three weeks.

On the day after the battle, the last council of the Pequot nation was held, at which a program for the future was adopted. It was decided, after a stormy debate, to burn their wigwams and supplies and join the Mohawks on the Hudson. Thirty men, with as many women and children, took refuge in a swamp near their former home. Stoughton of Massachusetts with one hundred and twenty men found them there and killed all the men but two, who were kept for guides to lead the English to Sassacus, the fugitive chief-tain. Thirty-three of the Pequot women were given to the Indian allies; the remainder were sent to Massachusetts and sold as slaves. The captured women reported that thirteen sachems had been slain, and that thirteen survived.

In June, the Connecticut Court met at Hartford and ordered Mason to go with forty men to carry on the war. He joined Stoughton with his Massachusetts men at New London. It was decided to follow Sassacus in his flight to the Hudson. Grim, persistent, relentless attack and pursuit were the program; the conduct of the Indians in their flight

did not dull the edge of the sword; Sassacus and Monotto with the main body of the tribe, while crossing the Connecticut, killed three men in a canoe and hung their bodies on trees; Mason, Stoughton, and Uncas were on their track. Sachem's Head gained its name from the fact that Uncas cut off the head of a Pequot chief and hung it in an oak there. In hot pursuit Mason overtook the foe in a swamp in Fairfield, where the Indians made a stand; a cordon was formed about the Pequots; all who were not red-handed from the murder of whites were offered life; it was specially desired to save local Indians who had fled to the swamp in terror of vengeance, and also the women and children of the Pequots. Some availed themselves of the offer, but not the men. In a thick fog the Indians fell upon the English, but were repulsed; in the hand-to-hand struggle which followed many Pequots were killed, and one hundred and eighty captured. A massive block of granite has been recently placed in the swamp with the inscription:

The Great Swamp-Fight
Here Ended
The Pequot War
July 13, 1637

Sassacus was not present at the swamp fight. Accused by his people of being the author of their misfortunes, he fled westward to the country of the Mohawks, with a few warriors. The Mohawks, hating the Pequots as cordially as did the English, and wishing to conciliate the latter, beheaded Sassacus, his brother, and five sachems, sending their scalps to Connecticut. In the autumn a black, glossy lock of hair was received in Boston; it was from the head of Sassacus, who was more fortunate than Uncas, who lived to be a degraded, drunken dependent of the English.

This victory benefited Uncas, who with Miantonomo, sachem of the Narragansetts, met the magistrates at Hart-

ford, September 21, 1737, and a treaty was formed between Connecticut, the Mohicans, and the Narragansetts, according to which there was to be perpetual peace. Connecticut was to have the territory of the Pequots, remnants of whom were to be absorbed by the Mohicans and Narragansetts, and the name Pequot was to cease, save in that slightly elevation, Pequot Hill, on which stands a rude boulder crowned by a bronze statue of Captain John Mason, and the stately soldier is in the act of drawing his sword. The later years of Uncas were not enviable, though he had the pleasure of giving away or selling for a trifle large tracts of land about Norwich, often with boundaries covering previous grants, until in 1680, becoming alarmed at approaching poverty, he applied to the legislature to take jurisdiction over his remaining property, allowing him compensation for sales; agreeing to keep the peace and to assist the colony in case of attack. The Assembly accepted the trust, promising to give good advice if Uncas were attacked, and furnish ammunition at a fair price. Uncas lived only two or three years to enjoy this one-sided arrangement, dying in 1682, or 1683. His son Owenico was in a still more pitiful state at the end. In 1680, he made over all the lands his father had given him on the Quinnebaug to James Fitch, his loving friend, as he called him, giving as a reason for the deed the fact that some of the English extorted land from him by importunities, and others by inducing him to sign papers while he was under the influence of strong liquors. James Fitch was son of the Norwich minister, but unlike his father was grasping and eager for land. One night Owenico became very drunk, fell out of his canoe, and would have drowned had it not been for two settlers, to one of whom he gave one hundred acres of land. This princely Owenico, the brave warrior in early manhood, fighting gallantly the Pocomtocks, Pocanokets, and Narragansetts, became a vagabond in his old age. With squaw, blanket, gun, and a pack on his back, he wandered about the settle-



The Monument at the Scene of the Swamp Fight, Westport

ments, presenting to strangers who could not understand his English the following doggerel:

Oneco, king, his queen doth bring,
To beg a little food;
As they go along his friends among
To try how kind, how good.

Some pork, some beef, for their relief,
And if you can't spare bread,
She'll thank you for a pudding, as they go a-gooding,
And carry it on her head.

The question now arises, can we justify this fearful campaign? The war would not have been waged at that time had not the Endicott expedition, carried on in defiance of the judgment and wishes of Connecticut, enraged the Pequots. After thirty murders by the savages, Connecticut was obliged to take the field. It was clear to the wisest and best men in Connecticut that the question was squarely before them, either to slay or to be slain.

The next Indian war was in 1675-76, and the Indians were far more dangerous than the Pequots of thirty-eight years before. Their weapons were no longer confined to the spear, the arrow, the tomahawk, and the scalping-knife; firearms with powder and shot were in their hands. They were also better acquainted with the methods of the English, who in turn had been studying the ways of the Indians. While many armed men went forth from the Connecticut villages in King Philip's war, the battle scenes were outside the colony, though heavy losses fell within. King Philip, the Indian leader, was sachem of the Wampanoags, and his chief fort was at Mount Hope, in the eastern part of the town of Bristol in Rhode Island. For several years it had been supposed among the colonies that the Indians were forming a general conspiracy, with the purpose of ridding their hunting-grounds of people

who seemed to the independent sachems as intruders and usurpers. John Sausaman, a Christian Indian, who had once been a subject of Philip, told the English of the plot. Philip secured the murder of Sausaman. The murderers were tried by English laws and executed. Philip armed his subjects and began to march up and down the country. In June, he made an attack on Swanzy near Mount Hope, killing nine and wounding seven of the people. Other places in the neighborhood were attacked, and the colonies sent soldiers against them. The Narragansetts did not enter very cordially into the alliance, which Philip sought to make as general as possible. They did harbor the old men and women of their warlike neighbors. The chiefs of the Narragansetts, with Canonchet at their head, for a time resisted the appeals of Philip, and a treaty was forced from them which they soon violated. The commissioners of the United Colonies, convinced that the Narragansetts were aiding Philip, decided that an army of a thousand men should be sent against the Indian headquarters in the Narragansett country. Of these Connecticut furnished three hundred Englishmen, and one hundred and fifty Pequot and Mohican Indians, with Major Treat in command.

On December 18, 1675, these made a junction with the Massachusetts and Plymouth forces. Wading through the snow until about one o'clock, they reached the vicinity of the Indian fort, which was on a hill in the center of a great swamp. The fort was attacked with spirit, and after considerable loss was taken and given to the flames; hundreds of the Indian warriors were killed, many captured, and many perished in the snow. It was a costly victory for the colonists, as eighty were killed or mortally wounded, and the sufferings on the return were extreme. Of the five Connecticut captains, three, Seely, Gallup, and Marshall were killed, and Captain Mason died of a wound nine months afterwards. It was a fearful winter for many towns in Massachusetts, as the enemy had lost their dwellings and

provisions, and there was little to detain them in Rhode Island. March brought disasters to Northampton, Springfield, Chelmsford, Groton, Sudbury, and Marlborough; Northfield, Hadley, and Deerfield were also sufferers. Connecticut troops with many faithful Pequots under Majors Talcott and Treat ranged through the country back and forth, destroying many warriors and capturing others, and at length the war came to an end. It is impossible to estimate the number of Indians engaged. About six hundred of the sturdiest men in the colonies were killed and wounded, and the country was in mourning. Connecticut suffered nothing from the ravages of the enemy in this war, but it was a time of dread; palisades were erected, guns kept within reach, garrison houses built, heavy expenses incurred, but the country was rid of a dangerous enemy by a campaign determined and thorough. The most serious loss was incurred in the great swamp fight, and the valor of the soldiers was thus described by the General Assembly:

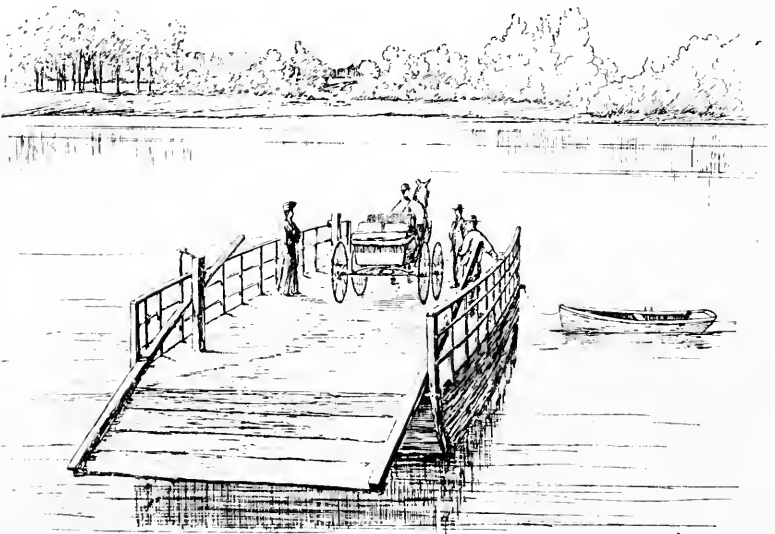
There died many brave officers and sentinels whose memory is blessed, and whose death redeemed our lives. The bitter cold, the tarled swamp, the tedious march, the strong fort, the numerous and stubborn enemy they contended with, for their God, King, country, be their trophies our death. Our mourners over all the colony witness for our men that they were not unfaithful in that day.

Despite all that has been said to disparage the treatment the Indians received at the hands of the whites, the careful student of the times must admit that it was fair. In the nature of the case there were cases of meanness, cruelty, and revenge. There were men, who, after seeing wife and children butchered in cold blood in midnight assault, spent the remainder of their days in killing with a kind of mania, a method which partook of the severity of the savage race, and there were many whites who fell below the purpose which filled the minds of some of the noblest of the Puritans when

they came hither: "the glory of God, and the everlasting welfare of these poore, naked sonnes of Adam." But there were efforts made to teach and evangelize them. In 1650, the colony made some provision for their religious education. In 1654, the General Court, lamenting that so little had been done through want of an able interpreter, ordered that Thomas Myner of Pequot (New London) send his son John to Hartford "where this Court will provide for his maintenance and schooling, to the end that he may be, for the present, assistant to interpret the things of God to them as he shall be directed." Rev. Abraham Pierson of Branford learned the Indian language and preached to the Indians; Fitch and Narber did likewise. Gookin and John Eliot entered the colony for the same purpose, but only the scantiest results followed. In 1657, John Eliot, "the apostle to the Indians," was in Hartford at a council of ministers, and desiring to preach to the natives, some of the Podunks across the river were gathered to listen to him. He spoke to them in their own language, and when they were urged to become Christians, they answered angrily, saying that the English had taken away their land and now they were attempting to make the Podunks their servants. It is not strange that men who were addicted to war, revenge, and laziness should have found little in the Bible to please them. The friendly and patient Rev. James Fitch of Norwich did everything in his power to Christianize the Mohicans, preaching to them in 1671, and later, but he was forced to admit that "Uncas and Owenico at first carried it teachably and tractably, till they discerned that practical religion would throw down their heathenish idols, and the tyrannical authority of the sachems; then they went away and threw off their people, some by flatteries, some by threats." Embittered by their poverty and misery before the advancing prosperity of the English, the Indians were in no mood to receive, with the humility required, the teachings of their conquerors, though the commissioners of the



A Pastoral Scene in Woodstock. Pulpit Rock in Foreground, from which John Eliot Preached to the Indians in 1670



Eissell's Ferry in Windsor, in Continuous Operation since about 1645

Redrawn from an Old Print

United Colonies voted money for their education in New Haven. Stone, Newton, and Hooker taught in Farmington an Indian school from 1648, to 1697, and further records of the school are dated 1733-36. At one time there were fifteen Tunxis Indians in the school, and in the list of church members of the Farmington church are the names of Solomon Mossock, admitted June, 1763, and Eunice Mossock, admitted in September, 1765. In 1728, a grandson of Captain John Mason taught the Mohicans English and religion, receiving for his services fifteen pounds, and in 1727, a law was passed ordering masters and mistresses to teach their Indian servants to read English, and also the Christian faith by catechizing them, under a penalty of not over forty shillings. In 1733, the legislature made an appropriation for the Indian school at Farmington, and in 1736, contributions for Indian education were ordered from the churches at the next Thanksgiving.

The most celebrated school for the Indians was the "Moor Indian Charity School" in Lebanon. Samson Occum, who had been converted in 1740, in the Great Awakening, applied to Rev. Eleazer Wheelock, the pastor in Lebanon, who began preaching to the Indians in 1735; the application was made in 1745, and for three years the young Mohican received instruction from Wheelock. In 1754, Joshua Moor left, after death, his house and two acres for a school. Wheelock gathered pupils in that house, beginning, in 1754, with two Delawares; soon others followed. In 1762, there were over twenty: one Mohican, six Mohawks, and the rest Delawares. Contributions came in from various quarters. Four Indian girls were taught sewing and housework. Occum was ordained by the presbytery of Suffolk Long Island in 1759, and he became a successful preacher to his people, though it is painful to be obliged to say that this lonely and comparatively respectable product of Christianity among the Indians vibrated between drunkenness and repentance. Thackeray would

say that he wept over his sins until he grew thirsty, then drank again.

Like similar schools in later days, the treasury was usually empty, and in 1766, Occum and Nathanael Whitaker went to Great Britain for money. The presence of the Mohican there made a decided sensation, and there were large contributions to the Lebanon school; the king gave two hundred pounds, Lord Dartmouth fifty pounds, and soon seven thousand pounds was gathered from England and two thousand from Scotland. In 1770, the school moved to some lands that were opening in Hanover, New Hampshire, and it became the foundation of Dartmouth College. Here and there the Indians lingered in Connecticut, with an occasional "praying Indian" like good old Mamousin of the Mattabesetts, but most of them were ignorant, poor, degraded, and licentious—miserable relics of a barbarous race.

This story from that stern, fierce age is too bloody to be romantic, too bitter and cruel to be proud of, too sad to dwell upon longer. It is a story of courage and daring on both sides. It is not strange that the Indians should have hated the English, when they saw their hunting-grounds vanishing. Nothing short of miracles could have prevented injustice and ill-feeling. The destruction of the Pequots and the Narragansetts has been stigmatized as cruel by critics, sitting in their studies or on their verandas, but there was only one issue—to destroy or be destroyed. The struggle had to come, soon or late. Indians, wolves, and panthers were doomed to death or exile. The work of extermination was done in a grim age thoroughly, save for a few that yielded to the civilizing influences so patiently exerted: some went to newer parts of the country; some stayed in Connecticut communities, as slaves or thievish, drunken remnants of a race in which civilization found thin soil. The descendants now living in the state are hardly enough to count.

CHAPTER VI

FORMING THE GOVERNMENT

THE process of establishing a government over a new state by men of such decided ideas and keen consciences was a difficult one, and they could not take the mother colony of Massachusetts as a model in every respect because, as we have seen, their settlement on the Connecticut was due in part to a protest against the methods of the Bay State. New ground had to be broken in the forming of constitution and laws, and the process was necessarily one of evolution. As soon as the sharp collision with the Pequots was over, the able men, with whom the young commonwealth was well supplied, addressed themselves resolutely to the task of establishing a system of laws which would make permanent and secure the principles which had led to the migration.

It is impossible to understand the early conditions without taking notice of the fact that Springfield was settled at the same time with Windsor, Hartford, and Wethersfield. In 1635, William Pynchon, the principal man of Roxbury, Massachusetts, with the main body of the church and community, followed the Indian trail, the famous Bay Path, westward until he reached Agawam or Springfield, at the intersection of a trail north and south,—a convenient center for trade in furs; and near Enfield Falls, Pynchon built a warehouse, at a place now called Warehouse Point, convenient for the Agawam settlers. From the first, the emigrants on the Connecticut were recognized as four distinct

companies, and William Pynchon and Henry Smith represented the Roxbury party.

There is one thing to be made clear at this point and that is that the towns did not migrate as towns; not one half of the Dorchester people went to Connecticut; of the ten townsmen elected in 1634, only three went; of the nine elected in 1635, only three went, and of the thirteen later, only four migrated. There is nothing in the records to indicate a removal or reorganization. The assessment lists of Massachusetts contain the names of Newtowne, Dorchester, and Watertown after 1636. Companies from those towns migrated and not towns. In each of the three settlements on the Connecticut there was the embryo of a town, which in four years came into organization, having of course local management from the first, but the government was purely democratic, and not the government of an independent town. The settlements were forced to form a provisional government early, for the dreams of trading with the Indians as a lucrative line of business in addition to farming soon changed into the stark proposition of fighting the fiercest tribe in New England. The agricultural settlements changed into armed camps, and farmers into soldiers.

The first government was provisional, and was under the authority of Massachusetts, which gave her first recognition of the Connecticut plantations in June, 1635, appointing one of the settlers as constable, "sworn constable of the plantations, till some other be chosen." Three months later, permission was given by the mother colony for the loan of military stores, and the election by each plantation of its own constable, who was to be sworn in by a magistrate of the Bay Colony. The constable was a commander of militia, and the first organization was for defense. When Massachusetts was forced to allow the churches to emigrate, the Newtowne church came to Hartford in the spring of 1636, with its two ministers, and a new stage of organization began. It is clear that the church organiza-

tion did not coincide then with the town organization; it certainly did not in Wethersfield, where seven men constituted the legal church, while there were more than fifty in the plantation. At a later time town and church were one, but at first the township was broader than the parish.

In March, 1636, the Massachusetts Court instituted a provisional government under a commission, or in the quaint words of the time, "graunted to severall prsons to governe the People att Connecticott fr the Space of a Yeare nowe nexte comeing," and it ordered that Roger Ludlowe, Esquire, William Pynchon, Esquire, John Steele, William Swaine, Henry Smith, William Phelps, William Westwood, and Andrew Ward, "or the greatr pte of them shall haue full power and authoritie." It was a court for the investigation of questions that might arise, and for the decision of all public matters pertaining to the settlements. This was the first General Court, and its authority came from the mother colony, which expected these eight magistrates to issue decrees and govern the towns. This Court met eight times between April 26, 1636, and May 1, 1637, Agawam not being represented until the fifth meeting on November 1, 1636. The Massachusetts Court provided that after the close of a year for which the eight commissioners were appointed, there could be held a convention of the inhabitants "to any convenient place that they shall think meet, in a legal and open manner by way of court." It came to pass that on March 3, 1637, Connecticut ceased to acknowledge political dependence on Massachusetts, and in the next Court the people were represented by committees to the number of nine men, who were present with the magistrates at the session of May 1, 1637, to take action concerning the Pequots, the additional men being called to act with the magistrates on account of the gravity of the situation. Under this arrangement the Connecticut people were governed for three years, war being undertaken, troops equipped, heavy taxes levied and collected and the Pequots destroyed, with

but little help from Massachusetts. The inhabitants signed a written compact of local government May 14, 1636, and by action of the court which met in February, 1637, Newtowne became Hartford, Watertown Wethersfield, and Dorchester Windsor. The basis of this government was the assumed consent of the grantees under the alleged Warwick patent, represented by John Winthrop, Jr., rather than on any inherent authority of the Massachusetts Bay Colony.

One of the earliest acts of the court was to declare officially that the government of the towns was determined by the constables—the military officers, with cannon, watch, and train-band, and this was done in April, 1636, when it was voted that the three plantations could each appoint a constable. It thus appears that the towns drew their authority from the government established by Massachusetts, and this Court went on to bound and name settlements, increase the powers for self-support and defense, and legally organize the church in Wethersfield. Hartford was more advanced than the other plantations, and was probably first to establish a town organization, which was started in December, 1639. There is no evidence of official organization in the towns in the first years, and the only officers were probably a constable, collector, and commissioner for each town, selected by the central authority. In short, there was a provisional government in 1636–37, an independent government in 1637–38, and a regularly organized government in 1639.

At the court of March 8, 1637, Pynchon and Smith represented Agawam, and again at the court of March 28, 1638; a tax for the Pequot war was levied upon the up-river settlement, the separation of which from the others came in 1638, being hastened by a business difficulty. The General Court gave a monopoly of the trade with the Indians to Pynchon, on condition that he supply Connecticut with five hundred bushels of corn at five shillings a bushel. A bitter

controversy followed, as Pyncheon was charged with bad faith, and was fined forty bushels of corn, but an olive branch was offered him in the shape of a monopoly of the beaver trade. The four towns evidently worked together through the fall of 1648, for an Agawam culprit was then punished by the General Court, and Hooker spoke in the fall of that year of magistrates from the four towns. On January 14, 1639, the court met, but Agawam had no part in it, and two days later, the fine was demanded of Pyncheon. Massachusetts hesitated to take Agawam, which seemed as far away as the Philippines do now; Cotton Mather expressed the opinion many held in Massachusetts of the settlements on the Connecticut when he said that "worthy, learned and genteel persons were going to bury themselves alive on the banks of the Connecticut." The colonists decided the question for themselves and on February 14, 1639, Agawam voted to cast in her lot with Massachusetts, and on April 16, 1640, it was voted to wipe out the Connecticut name and "call the plantation Springfield." It was several years before the matter was entirely settled; Haynes and Hooker went to Boston to propose a renewal of the treaty, though nothing came of it, and it was ten years before Springfield delegates were received at the Court at Boston.

The earliest place for the assembling of the Court may have been at the home of one of the magistrates, and after a little while at the meeting-house, probably not far from the site of the Hartford Post-office. Some have held that the place of assembling until 1661, was in an upper room in the meeting-house, but others have insisted that since that room was but ten feet square it is improbable that such was the case. There is no certain information on the subject of the meeting place until September, 1661, when the General Court took up its abode for nearly fifty years in Jeremy Adams's tavern, which was situated on a lot of two or three acres south of "Meeting house Yard," a little south of the present City Hall Square. There was a well on the

north of the lot one hundred and twenty-five feet from Main Street, and the tavern stood fifty or sixty feet back of the well. There is a record of 1661, that "Jer. Adams hath mortgaged his house and home lot whch. he bought of John Mouice with all other ye buildings erected thereon since his Purchase (unto Capt. John Talcott as Treasurer to Connecticut Collony)," and in the Colonial Records of May, 1662, "It is granted and ordered by this court upon the motion and desire of Jeremiah Adams that ye house that the said Jeremy doth now possess and improve for an Ordinary, or house of common entertainment, shalbe and remaine to ye said Jeremie and his successors, provided as hereafter expressed." This license was perpetual, obligatory, and irrevocable, and the colony was mortgagee of the tavern. Among the requirements aside from the usual "accommodation and provision for the entertainment of Travellers with horse and otherwise and that both respecting wine and liquors and other provision for food and comfortable refreshing, both for man and beast," was this, that Adams was to provide "a chamber for the meeting of the court, furnished with chairs and tables, a large leather chair and carpet, with accommodation for forty or fifty people." In that court chamber the committee of the Indian Court met in 1678; there laws were enacted to establish new towns and settle difficulties in older ones; to provide for taxes for King Philip's war and guard against the dreaded Quakers; to settle estates and allay church quarrels; to arrange treaties with Indians and determine the policy toward England and the other colonies; to decide on post roads and decree the ordinances of trade and commerce. There Winthrop described his brilliant success with Charles II., and there it is probable was held the controversy with Andros over the charter and the government of the colony.

Jeremy Adams died in 1684, and the following year the court appointed a committee to make sale of the house and lot, authorized the treasurer to sign the deed of sale,

indicating that the colony was proprietor in fee; on December 2, 1685, the lot was conveyed by the treasurer to Zachary Sanford, grandson of Jeremy Adams, and the Court continued to sit in the Court chamber of the tavern. In 1713, Landlord Sanford died, and by his will the tavern and home lot passed to his daughter Sarah and her husband, Jonathan Bunce. The tavern had grown dilapidated, and soon after the death of Sanford the court moved to the new tavern of Caleb Williamson, which stood on the site of the old Travelers' Building. As the colony advanced in wealth and importance, it became evident that more suitable provision should be made for the General Court, and in October, 1717, the Colonial Records tell us it was voted "that a quantity of the ungranted lands of the Colony be sold to procure" six hundred and fifty pounds for a state-house, besides money for county court-houses. A year later it was voted to allow five hundred pounds toward the state-house, and a building committee was appointed to consist of William Pitkin, Joseph Talcott, and Aaron Cook. In 1719, it was voted that this committee

with all convenient speed proceed to carry on said building according to the dimensions given or agreed upon by this Assembly, viz. 70 foot in length, 30 foot in width, and 24 foot between joyns & that in pursuance thereof the said committee are ordered to receive of the committees appointed for the sale of land the sum of 500 pounds, which the said committees are hereby ordered to pay to the said committee for building the State House: and that the county of Hartford shall pay toward the finishing of said State House the sum of 250 pounds, and it shall be requisite to the finishing said house, which sum this Assembly empower the judges of the county court of Hartford to levy upon the polls, and what is wanting, draw on the public Treasury.

The further specifications of the building were as follows:

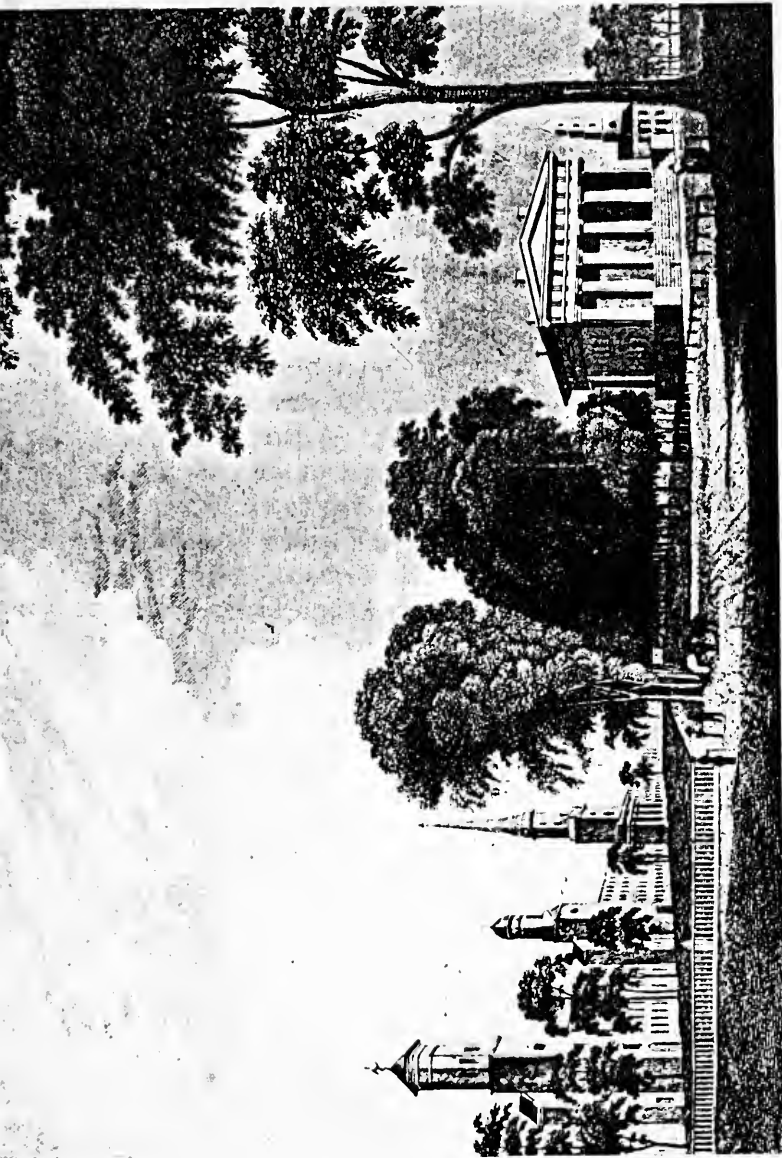
With a range of pillars under the middle of the beams of the chamber floor, a door on each side, & at each end, a staircase at

the south-west, and another at the south-east corner; two chambers of 30 foot long at each end, one for the Council and another for the Representatives, with a space of 12 foot between the 2 houses, and a staircase into the garrets, and on either side a lobby to the council chamber will serve the occasions designed by the Assembly.

This building stood on the west side of the square, near Main Street, and it had a gambrel roof. In 1792, the General Assembly appointed a committee to build a state-house of brick, and Hartford County bore part of the expense that it might have a room in the building for its courts. This well-known state-house was completed in 1795, and was in use by the Assembly from 1796, to 1878. The present state-house was completed in January, 1880, and it is upon a site bought by the city of Trinity College. The cost of erection was three million three hundred and forty-two thousand dollars, and it is the custom to emphasize the fact that it was finished within the appropriation.

The place of meeting in New Haven for the legislature was the meeting-house; in 1717, the first county house was built on the northwest of the Green, to accommodate the General Court and also the Superior and County Courts. In 1763, a state-house of brick was built between Center and Trinity churches; in 1827, the imposing structure west of the Center Church, modeled after the Parthenon, was erected, and was in use until 1875, after which Hartford became the sole place of meeting of the General Assembly. The salary of the early governors was modest, since on November 9, 1641, it was ordered "that one hundred and sixty bushels of Corne shall be sent in by the County to the Governor, to be levied upon the towns by the proportion of the last vote." Four years later the salary was thirty pounds in "wheat, pease and corne."

We do not know when the settlers of the three towns discovered that they were not within the limits of Massachusetts, but on January 14, 1639, the fathers of the colony



Yale College at the Left and State House near the Middle, Center Church at the Right, New Haven. Early in the Nineteenth Century

met at Hartford, either in a popular gathering as Trumbull says, or through the Court, which is more probable, and drew up a form of government for the colony, a system similar to that of Massachusetts, except that it came into shape at one time, instead of through a course of years. The "Orders" have been called a "Constitution," but they were more like statute law, for they contained no provision for amendment, and when amended later, it was through the ordinary process of legislative action. It was really a plantation covenant with the addition of eleven legislative statutes.

The seed of the Connecticut government was in a sermon preached by Hooker, May 31, 1638, of which Henry Wolcott, Jr., of Windsor took notes, and from those notes we learn that the Hartford minister laid down the doctrine: I. That the choice of public magistrates belongs unto the people by God's own allowance. II. The privilege of election must be exercised according to the blessed will and law of God. III. Those who have power to appoint officers and magistrates have also power to set the bounds and limitations of the power and place unto which they call them. The reasons are as follows: 1. Because the foundation of authority is laid in the free consent of the people. 2. Because by a free choice the people will be more ready to yield obedience. 3. Because of the duty and engagement of the people.

The lesson taught is threefold. 1. Thankfulness to God for his faithfulness in permitting these measures. 2. Of reproof—to dash the counsels of opposers. 3. Of exhortation—to persuade us, as God hath given us liberty, to *take* it. 4. Lastly, as God hath spared our lives, and given us them in liberty, so to seek the guidance of God, and to choose in God and for God. There is no reference in the sermon to the king of England, no sign of deference to any class, every one exercising his rights "according to the blessed will and law of God," and to hold himself responsible to God alone.

Seven months after Hooker's sermon, the leaders of the three plantations met in Hartford, on January 14, 1639, and put into form Hooker's teachings for the orderly government of the settlements on the river, "the first example in history of a written constitution, a distinct organic law constituting a government and defining its powers." The three settlements regarded themselves as one people, one sovereignty, and, as all the writers agree, the Fundamental Orders were adopted at a mass-meeting of all the people. It is significant that the framers of this constitution—Hooker with his passion for democracy, Haynes with his liberal spirit, and Ludlow with his profound legal knowledge and insight—arranged that the sovereign rights of the people be given up and vested in the General Court, declaring that since the inhabitants of the three settlements are dwelling together on the Connecticut, and the Bible requires peace and union, therefore,

we do associate and conjoin ourselves to be one public STATE or COMMONWEALTH; and do, for ourselves and our successors, and such as shall be adjoined to us at any time hereafter, enter into combination and confederation together to maintain and preserve the purity of the Gospel of our Lord Jesus; as also in our civil affairs to be guided and governed according to such laws, rules, orders and decrees, as shall be made, ordered and decreed, as followeth:

first, the state consists of towns, each town regulating, to a certain extent, its own affairs as a pure democracy; *secondly*, elections in the state are annual, all powers going back to the people once in every year; *thirdly*, legislation is by the representatives of towns, acting coördinately with another body of men chosen by the people at large; *fourthly*, the judicial and executive powers are distinguished from the legislative, though committed to men having a share in legislation. Later, a distinction was made between the judiciary and the other branches, but this was not required

in the infancy of the government, when it was natural and safe to identify judiciary and executive. The following are the provisions of the Fundamental Orders of 1639:

1. The right of suffrage was broad. Neither the possession of real estate, nor the payment of a tax, nor the performance of military duty, was placed among the qualifications of a voter. The choice of magistrates was to be "made by all that are admitted freemen, and have taken the oath of fidelity," living within the jurisdiction, "and admitted inhabitants by the major part of the town, or by the major part of such as shall be then present." It was not universal suffrage, but near it.

2. The executive and judicial power was vested in a governor, and at least six assistant magistrates; to be elected on the second Tuesday in April, annually. No person could be elected governor who was not "a member of some approved congregation," or who had not formerly been a magistrate within the jurisdiction, nor could any person be governor oftener than once in two years. The only qualification for the magistracy was that the persons chosen should be "freemen of this commonwealth."

3. Elections were held in a general assembly of all the freemen of the colony. Magistrates were chosen thus: At a preceding General Court, within the year, the names of those who were to stand as candidates for the magistracy at the ensuing election were propounded to the people for consideration. This was done, not by a caucus, or a party convention, but every town had the power of nominating, by its deputies, any two names, and the General Court could add to the nomination at its own discretion. On election day the secretary read the names of all who were to be voted for; after that, every name was voted upon by ballot, a paper with any writing on it being an affirmative vote, and a blank paper negative. Every person was voted for in turn. If at the close, six, in addition to the governor, had not received majorities, six should be made

up by taking the one or more for whom the greatest number of votes had been cast.

4. The legislature consisted of the governor and his assistants in the magistracy, together with the representatives of the towns. Each of the three towns included in the jurisdiction was empowered to send four of its deputies to the General Court; and the towns that should afterwards be added were to send as many deputies as the Court should judge meet in view of the number of freemen in the new towns. Though the deputies did not sit in a different room for the transaction of ordinary business, it was provided that they should meet by themselves before the opening of any General Court, to judge of their elections, and "to advise and consult of all such things as concern the public good."

5. Another feature of this constitution is its implied renunciation of the laws of England, the common law as well as the statute law. The magistrates were empowered "to administer justice according to the laws here established, and for want thereof according to the word of God." This was a prophecy of the Declaration of Independence. It has been easy to ridicule this provision, but, since the colonists had cut loose from the mother-country, with its royal government, prelacy, and liturgy, and had gone beyond the reach of laws which had been trying, the freemen determined that not even common law should burden them without express enactment, and to prevent the necessity of falling back on the common law in cases where no express statute had been enacted, the magistrates were to administer justice according to the principles of equity laid down in a book of universal authority—the Bible.

6. The religious cast of this constitution, its connection with the religious opinions and institutions of those who framed it, appears in the preamble, which asserts that the end of the commonwealth is "to maintain and preserve the liberty and purity of the Gospel of our Lord Jesus which we now profess, as also the discipline of the churches, which,

according to the truth of the Gospel, is now practiced among us." More explicit is the provision, which requires that the governor be "a member of some approved congregation within the jurisdiction." In Massachusetts and New Haven, only church members could have political power, and the breadth and freedom of the "Orders" of Connecticut were due to men like Thomas Hooker, John Haynes, and Roger Ludlow.

It remains to notice the provision by which this primitive constitution would secure its own perpetuity, and keep the supreme power inalienably in the hands of the people. In all ordinary cases, the General Court, of which there were to be two sessions annually, was to be convened by the governor, sending out a summons to the constables of every town, upon which they were to call upon the inhabitants to elect their representatives. The governor was also empowered to convoke a special session of the Court on any emergency, with the consent of a majority of the magistrates. But if, through the neglect or refusal of the governor and magistrates, the General Court should not be convoked, either at the stated time of meeting, or at other times when required by "the occasions of the commonwealth," then the freemen, or a major part of them, might call on the magistracy by petition to perform its duty; and if that petition should be ineffectual, then the freemen, or the major part of them, might give order to the several towns, which order should have the same validity as if it proceeded from the governor. And the Court thus convened, without a governor and without magistrates, should consist of the major part of the freemen present or their deputies, with a moderator chosen by them; and the General Court so constituted should have "the supreme power of the commonwealth," including, among other things, "power to call in question courts, magistrates, or any other person whatsoever, and for just causes to displace them, or deal otherwise according to the nature of the offence." Thus

if magistrates should destroy the government, or interfere with the rights of the freemen, full provision was made for reorganization, whenever the people should choose.

In August or September, 1639, the Court appointed a committee to complete the town organization, and this was finished in October, and a schedule of powers delegated to the towns was adopted at that time, securing to the people of the towns power to sell lands, choose officers, pass local laws, assess, tax, and distrain, hold local courts for minor offenses, to record titles, bonds, sales, and mortgages, and to manage the probate business in the several towns. The relation of the towns to the General Court was clearly declared by the Supreme Court in 1864, when the chief justice announced the judgment of the Court as follows:

That extraordinary instrument [the constitution of 1639] purports on its face to be the work of the people—the residents and inhabitants of the three towns. It recognizes the towns as existing municipalities, but not as corporate or independent, and makes no reservation expressly or impliedly in their favor.

The towns never failed to recognize the fact that power ran from the commonwealth downward, and there is no instance of their passing the bounds of the Court orders. Toward the end of the seventeenth century, Hartford said, "If the General Court see cause to overrule in this case, we must submit." At first the legislature recommended to the towns, and later it did not hesitate to order.

To the question, "Did the deputies represent the towns as equal entities, or the body of the freemen as a whole?" it must be said that in theory the freemen and inhabitants were separated only by an oath of allegiance, which the electors of magistrates and deputies were required to take, but in practice not one half of the men availed themselves of the privilege. It was ordered that the three original towns should have four deputies each, and that when other towns were formed, they were to have as many deputies as

the Court should judge meet—a reasonable proportion to the number of inhabitants, indicating that the General Court proposed to keep in its own hands the number of deputies, and that the towns were not to have necessarily an equal number. Thus the deputies, who came to form a lower house in 1698, were considered the representatives of the freemen of the colony, and no town except the first three has ever sent more than two, and since the time when the charter was read before the legislature, even the three river towns have had but two deputies.

We come now to a consideration of citizenship in Connecticut towns, and the official system that prevailed. As is well known, the early settlers could not agree to the method which prevailed in Massachusetts of restricting freemanship to church members. It was a radical and far-reaching principle that was stated in the first section of the Orders of 1639, that choice of the governor and magistrates "shall be made by all that are admitted freemen and have taken the oath of Fidelity and do cohabit within this jurisdiction (having been admitted Inhabitants by the major part of the Towne wherein they live or the major parte of such as shall be present)." This laid upon the different towns the power to regulate the admission of citizens.

We are to bear in mind the close union of church and state, that while in theory they were separate in those first sixty years, in practice they were interwoven, though not in the strict way that prevailed in Massachusetts and New Haven. It was the opinion of the colony that "loathesome Heretickes, whether Quakers, Ranters, Adamites or some other like them," had no place in Connecticut, though it was not until 1656, that the General Court, following the recommendations of the commissioners of the United Colonies, passed an order forbidding the towns to entertain such people. But no one became a permanent resident of a town until he was admitted as inhabitant, and transients found scanty hospitality. To say that the suffrage in Connecticut

was universal up to 1657, would be nearly correct, for freemanship was conferred upon all above sixteen in a town and upon others who brought certificates of good behavior from other towns; the oath being administered in both instances. This is the more significant from the fact that in Massachusetts only freemen (chosen by the General Court) could "have any vote in any town in any action of authority or necessity, or that which belongs to them by virtue of their freedom," which means, as we have noticed, that only about one-sixth of the inhabitants there were allowed any voice in the business of a town, though all were taxed.

In 1657, there came a change in the passage of the law, which defined inhabitants who were mentioned in the seventh Fundamental of 1639, as householders that are one and twenty years old, and have borne office or have thirty pounds estate. This was a large sum when ratable estate averaged about sixty pounds for every inhabitant. But why was it that suffrage was restricted in 1657? The colony was losing faith in the people as the first generation passed away, and more questionable immigrants were coming in, and in 1659, it was voted in Hartford that no one was to be admitted as an inhabitant "without it be first consented to by the orderly vote of the inhabitants."

With the narrowing of the elective franchise, the right of voting for colonial officers was taken from a number of inhabitants, though the towns clung to their democratic principles longer than the colony, and paid little attention to the order of the Assembly of 1679, which declared that no one except an admitted inhabitant, a householder, and a man of sober conversation, who had at least fifty shillings freehold estate, could vote for town or county officers or for grants of rates or lands.

The growth of the official system in the towns was after this fashion. We have seen that the first officer was the constable, and the first mention of town officers is January 1, 1638, when Hartford chose four townsmen, and defined

their duties, which were soon widened to cover powers as a court for petty cases (for which a separate body might be chosen), supervision of estates of deceased persons, taking inventories of wills and similar duties. About the same time Hartford, following out the order of the Court, elected two constables, and in December, 1639, gave the townsmen liberty to appoint two men to "attend them in such things as they appoint about the town affairs and be paid at a publique charge." These men were to view the fences about the common fields when requested by the townsmen, and to receive threepence an hour, and fourpence if obliged to spend time repairing. This was to be paid by the owner of the broken palings. They were to survey the common fields, and if any stray cattle or swine were found, they were to do "their best to bring them to the pound," for which they were to receive extra pay for every animal impounded. They were also to "warn people to publick employment or to gather some particular rates or the like," for which they were to receive threepence an hour. We have here the germs of the fence-viewer, hayward or bound-viewer, the public warner, and the rate-collector. Highway surveyors had been appointed just before this, whose duty it was to supervise the roads. In 1640, the town officers of Hartford were two constables, four townsmen or selectmen, two surveyors, and a committee of two to attend to a number of things. Of these the constables and townsmen were elected annually; the surveyors were a committee appointed for an indefinite period, and the two others were chosen as a temporary expedient. As highways were called for more and more, surveyors became regular officers, and in 1643, chimney-viewers were elected, as the town had already established the requirement that every house should have its ladder or tree for use in case of fire. In some of the towns the townsmen had charge of the fences, highways, animals, and rates, but gradually various officers were appointed to meet the increasing needs, and in nearly all cases,

save that of townsmen, town officers were the result of an order of the Court to that effect.

Special officers were needed to regulate the finances. There were at first three rates and afterward a fourth. The first was that paid to the colony; then there was the town rate, and it was paid according to the estate of each inhabitant; there was also the minister's rate, and afterwards there was the school rate. The lister made up the list of the estates, and his associates made up the rate; the collector or bailiff was the officer to whom the inhabitants brought wheat, peas, and Indian corn; the inspector, who was to see that no one's estate was left out of the list, was a short-lived officer. There soon came into existence a large number of other officers, such as packer of meat, brander of horses, sealer of leather, examiner of yarn, sealer of weights and measures, the standards of which were procured from England, public whippers, cattle-herders, sheep-masters, tithing-men, ordinary-keepers, ensign of the train-band, town criers, town warners, and town clerk.

The most important set of officers in the town was the townsmen—the executive board of which appeared on the records of Hartford, January 1, 1639. At a meeting of that board, two weeks before the Constitution was adopted, it was ordered that the townsmen, for the time being, should have the power of the whole to order the common occasions of the town, with certain limitations; they could not receive new inhabitants without vote of the whole; could make no levies on the town except concerning the herding of cattle; could grant no lands save in small parcels to a needy inhabitant; could not alter any highway already settled and laid out; in the calling out of persons and cattle for labor they must guarantee in the name of the whole the safe return of cattle and a reasonable wage for the men, and should not raise wages above sixpence a day. They were required to meet once a fortnight, under penalty of two shillings sixpence for every offense. The number of townsmen differed

in the several towns: in New Haven the number was ten, and later seven; Hartford regularly had four; Wethersfield, in seventy years, had at different times five, four, and three; Windsor had seven and then five. Their business, according to the records, was "to agetat and order the townse occasions for the present year." Since town affairs included church affairs, the townsmen had on their hands the care of the meeting-house, superintending those who were chosen by the town to clapboard, underdaub, sweep, and dress it, and also the construction of porch, seats, and pulpit. Through the townsmen the expenses of the town were met, such as paying the herders, watch, drum-beaters, building and repair of bridges, setting the town mill, surveying lands, repairing the minister's house, payment of minister's salary, occasionally supporting poor persons, repair of town property, as ferry, town stocks, payment of bounties for wolves and blackbirds, payment of town officers, and such extra expenses as "liquor for boundgoers." There was no law that required the townsmen to make an annual statement of receipts and expenditures, and they sometimes failed to square accounts and hand over the surplus to their successors.

The townsmen gradually changed into the selectmen. This name does not appear in Hartford and Windsor until 1691, and for twenty-five years after that there was a comingling of the terms. The title *selectmen* might be used in recording the election, but the old name of *townsmen* was often used in the further accounts. After 1725, *selectmen* was the generally accepted term.

The constable was the right arm of the law, and a very important officer, and since the river towns were of a military character, the earliest act of the provisional government was directed against a laxity of military discipline, and the next forbade the sale of arms, powder and shot to the Indians, following which is the appointment of constables as military officers. Then the constable was to patrol a town to guard

against Indian attacks, and also to view the ammunition, which every inhabitant was ordered to have in readiness; soon also every town was to be put into military condition by monthly trainings under the constable, with more frequent meetings for the "unskilful." The constable was to examine the arms to see "whether they be serviceable or noe," a duty which was afterward given to the clerk of the train-band. After the war was over the inhabitants were ordered to carry to the constable "any armor, swords, belts, Bandilers, kittles, pottes, tooles, or anything else that belongs to the commonwealth," and he was to return them to the next Court.

After Captain John Mason was appointed general training officer, the constable became a purely civil officer with many police duties. The town meetings were held at first monthly, but later they were held less frequently in the summer, and the autumn and winter meetings were of the greatest importance, for then the officers were elected, rates proclaimed, and laws read. The town meeting was usually called together by the beating of the drum or blowing of the trumpet from the top of the meeting-house, as is suggested by a Windsor record, "determined that provision should be made from the top of the meeting-house, from the Lanthorn to the ridge of the house, to walk conveniently to sound a trumpet or drum to give warning to the meetings." There were also warners in Wethersfield who went from house to house, to give notice to the inhabitants. The time of meeting was nine in the morning, and at first fines were imposed for absence. Officers were generally chosen by ballot, though at times, for "dispatch of business," show of hands was employed.

The government formed in 1639, was steady in its working; at the first election on April 11, 1639, John Haynes was chosen governor; in a period of twenty years, Haynes was governor eight times and Edward Hopkins seven times. In 1657, John Winthrop, Jr., was chosen governor, and he

AN HOLY CONNEXION,

Or a true

AGREEMENT

Between Jehovahs being a WALL of
FIRE to his People, and the GLORY
in the midst thereof:

Or a Word in Season to stir up to a solemn Acknowledgement of
the gracious Protection of God over his People; and
especially to a Holy Care that the Presence of
God may yet be continued with us.

As it was delivered in a

S E R M O N

Preached at Hartford on Connecticut in N. E. May 14. 1674.
being the Day of ELECTION there:

By JAMES FITCH Pastor of the Church of Christ
in Norwich.

Psalm 33: 15, 16. And he said unto him, Is thy profane game with us, as not up Lemus
For we are in his house, and he said, I will thy People as it is, and for us only, for it is not in that
thing, it is not.

1 King 8: 57, 58. The Lord our God be with us as he was with our Fathers, let him not leave us
nor forsake us, that he may incline our hearts unto him, to walk in his statutes, &c.

Job 9: 19. Yet thou in thy wrath shalt make us afraid, thou shalt be angry, the Pillar of the
Cloud shall be before us by day to lead us, and the Pillar of Fire by night to go
before us, and the way wherein we should go.

Isa. 4: 5. And the Lord will create upon every dwelling place of Mount Zion, and upon her
Hills a Cloud and Snow, Day, and the shining of a flaming fire by night: for upon all the Glory shall be
a Day.

C A M B R I D G E :

Printed by Samuel Green. 1674.

The Title-Page of the First Election Sermon Preached in Connecticut

This sermon was the first of the famous series of election sermons delivered to the General Assembly at the opening of the annual session. A copy is in the possession of the Connecticut State Library

held office for eighteen years. Early in the next century, Gurdon Saltonstall was governor for seventeen years.

The ecclesiastical excrescence on the constitution, natural at the time, though contrary to the spirit of the document, remained to trouble the commonwealth until the political system came up to its own standard in 1818. The wisdom of Hooker is seen nowhere else more clearly than in the third proposition of the sermon that "they who have the power to appoint officers and magistrates, it is in their power also to set the bounds and limitations of the power and place unto which they call them." The government was a creation of the people, and governor, legislature, and judges were to have a *limited* power, and that limiting element afterwards developed into the Supreme Court. This feature of Hooker's sermon is probably the most important development of our political system. There had been democracies before, but the supremacy of the law, coming directly from the people, limiting the government created by the people, is original here, and is a principle which found expression in the Constitution of the United States, a fact which has led many admirers of the Connecticut system to declare that the former can be traced to the constitution of 1639. This is an alluring view, which is not now accepted by those who have examined the subject, though, no doubt, the Connecticut government had a decided influence at the convention of 1787, because of the presence there of Sherman, Ellsworth, and Johnson.

The fact that there was no sovereignty of the towns before 1639, enhances the glory of Connecticut as the birth-place of American democracy, and it is enough honor for this commonwealth to have been the first organized government to draft for itself an organic law, and first to build that law on the theory that the sovereignty of a state is in the people of the state.

It is not a gracious task to criticize so great an instrument as the famous "Constitution" of the colony, but the

open suffrage provision was found in practice to be too *doctrinaire*, and had to be changed in twenty years; the throwing off of all connection with English law made New England inferior to the South in the production of able lawyers, and the equality of representation in the towns has left a legacy which has retarded progress, and permits the injustice of a town of a hundred voters having as many representatives in the legislature as a city of a hundred thousand souls. Then, too, the refusal of the founders to grant larger power to the governor has led to an excessive development of the legislative factor, which in the judgment of many has proved a detriment to colony and state.

The question now arises as to the authorship of this remarkable document. An easy answer is the common one—Thomas Hooker—and we are not to lessen the glory of that great mind, but there was one other man, and only one, who had the training and the ability to fashion the Fundamental Orders, and that was Roger Ludlow of Windsor. Ludlow came of a distinguished, liberty-loving family, a family of soldiers, lawyers, and statesmen. From 1547, to 1660, six Ludlows studied law in the Inner Temple, and Roger Ludlow, after two years at Balliol College, Oxford, became a student at the Inner Temple in 1612, and for the next period, until at forty he sailed for Massachusetts, he was engaged in legal training and research; mastering principles and precedents; becoming an expert in handling constitutional forms, thus commending himself to his critical associates as the one man to whom they could look to grasp and form the laws of the new state; to serve as magistrate and jurist, and to put into final shape the colonial statutes. Ludlow married Mary Endicott, a sister of the Massachusetts governor. He sailed in the spring of 1630, in the first ship of the fleet, and landing in May at Nantasket, he went to Dorchester with a group known as the Dorchester Company,—“a godly and religious people, many of them persons of note and figure, being dignified

with ye title of master, which but few in those days were." When, in 1630, the famous charter of Massachusetts Bay was secured from King Charles, Ludlow was chosen an assistant by the stockholders in London, "that his counsel and judgment might aid in preserving order, and founding the social structure upon the surest basis." Among his associates were the Earl of Warwick, Lord Say and Sele, Winthrop, Vane, Mason, Underhill, and Wareham. To be chosen assistant in association with such men marks Ludlow as a man of superior ability and knowledge. His service in Massachusetts for five years as magistrate in the Great Charter Court and as deputy governor, brought him opportunity for many important duties and to meet questions of the gravest concern, to which he brought all the resources of his powerful mind.

Remembering the situation at Boston Bay, the disposition of Winthrop, Cotton, and the other leaders to keep the reins of government in the hands of the few, it is significant that when the struggle began between magistrates and commons, Ludlow, an assistant, stood with his associates, but when the freemen demanded a sight of the charter, and appointed deputies to advise the magistrates, Ludlow took his place with the people, and in 1634, was elected deputy governor, from which office he graduated to cast in his fortunes with the settlers on the Connecticut. We need not repeat the story of diplomacy and force by which the Dutch were ousted, the Pilgrims checkmated, and the younger Winthrop led to abandon his claim to the upper Connecticut. We have seen that Ludlow was at the head of the Massachusetts commission to govern the colony for a year, was practically the first governor; when the Court assembled at the opening of the second year, May 1, 1637, Ludlow presided, and "offensive warr" against the Pequots was voted. He was in charge of the defenses about Windsor while the soldiers were absent; he was in the army at the Swamp Fight, and when the Fundamental Orders were

adopted at Hartford January 14, 1639, who was the man who put into form that immortal instrument? Ludlow was a lawyer—the only one in the colony; he was trained in the best English schools; had served on the government of Massachusetts for four years; had drawn the main acts of the colonial government, and while Haynes, Wyllys, Webster, Mason, Goodwin, and Steele had part in the deliberations, we cannot refrain from the belief that Ludlow was the leading mind in framing the Fundamental Orders. This cannot be proven, for there is no record of the meetings, but it is a natural inference from the facts cited above, and from the fact that in 1646, it was ordered by the General Court that

Mr. Ludlowe is requested to take some paynes in drawing forth a body of Lawes for the government of this Commonwelth, and p^rsent the same to the next Generall Court; and if he can provide a man for his occasions while he is imployed in the said searvice, he shall be paid at the country chardge.

While the three plantations on the Connecticut were forming their government, New Haven, Milford, and Guilford were laying their civic foundations with sermons and prayers. On reaching New Haven in 1638, the settlers first bound themselves by a "plantation covenant," similar to that of the Plymouth Pilgrims, making a temporary government, and thirteen months later, in the barn of Robert Newman, the civil and ecclesiastical foundations of New Haven were laid. In 1643, the neighboring colonies of Milford and Guilford were admitted into the jurisdiction of the New Haven colony, and at that time a written constitution, consisting of certain "fundamental orders," appears upon the record. This differed from the constitution of Connecticut in that it insisted that none but church members could vote; the number disfranchised in New Haven was probably a majority; in Guilford nearly a half. It also guarded carefully the independence of the churches, and

established various courts whose powers were carefully prescribed. At New Haven as at Hartford, the settlers felt that they were not founding colonies but states. During many of the earliest years, the records of New Haven contain no recognition of the English king. This was natural, for the twelve years from 1628, to 1640, were a period when the prospects of liberty in England, under Laud and Strafford, were at the darkest; when freedom existed only in a memory or a hope. During those years, when the realm was governed, not by Acts of Parliament, but by Orders in Council, twenty thousand Puritans emigrated to New England; and it is not strange that a knowledge of the condition in England should have colored the constitutions forming here.

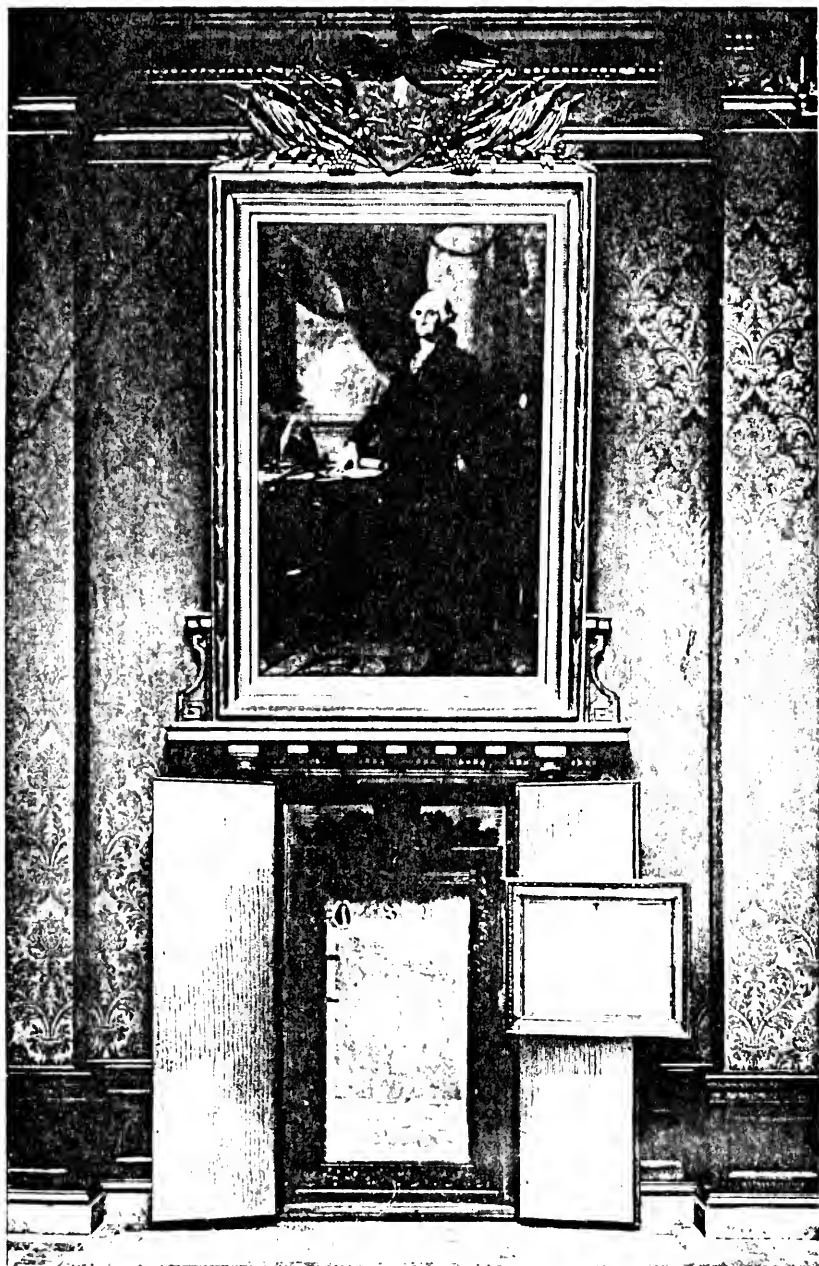
On March 14, 1661, the General Court of Connecticut voted to acknowledge allegiance to Charles II., with request for a charter, and in August, John Winthrop, Jr., sailed in quest of the boon. He was to ask for the renewal of the patent, or for a charter. There was a happy combination of influences working for the good of the colony; Lord Say and Sele was interested in Winthrop and in the community he represented, and the scientific tastes and scholarly bearing of Winthrop commended him to the English government, so that it came to pass that a charter was obtained more democratic than was ever given by another king, by which was constituted the Governor and Company of the English Colony of Connecticut in New England in America. The boundaries of the territory were: on the east,

the Narragansett River, commonly called Narragansett Bay, where the said river falleth into the sea; on the north, the line of the Massachusetts Plantation; on the south, the sea; and, in longitude, as the line of the Massachusetts Colony runneth from east to the west, that is to say, from the said Narragansett Bay on the east, to the South Sea on the west part, with the islands thereto adjoining.

These boundaries included the whole of New Haven colony, as well as the territory of Rhode Island.

The government was to be administered by a governor, a deputy governor, twelve assistants, and a house of deputies, which was to consist of two members from each town, to be elected annually by the freemen of the colony. The only limiting clause was that the local legislature could not make laws contrary to those of the realm of England, but this had little weight, for there was a method in the English government of annulling laws passed by colonial legislatures. It was an extraordinary document to be issued while Lord Clarendon was minister, and one reason for its quality may have been the desire to punish New Haven for harboring the regicides. The king issued a sign manual bearing "Charles R," February 28, 1662, and the charter passed the great seal, as is indicated by the chancellor's "recipe," April 23. The arrival of the charter in New England four months later, created a decided sensation. Great was the joy; it was read in Hartford, October 9, committed to Wyllys, Talcott, and Allen; the General Court declaring in force all the laws and orders of the colony, making a declaration of the same to all civil and military officers. Westchester, lying within Dutch territory, received notice of the claims of Connecticut, and the dwellers at Mystic and Stonington were notified that they were within Connecticut. Border towns that had been allied with New Haven waited on the legislature of Connecticut and asked admission to its citizenship. A committee of two magistrates and two ministers was appointed to go to New Haven, to say they hoped that a happy union might be formed, and the reply was that the New Haven colony preferred to hear the particulars from the lips of Winthrop. Meanwhile meetings of the freemen were held, and protests made against the union which was thrust upon them, and votes were taken in the towns to defer action until Winthrop's home-coming.

Connecticut made no response to the remonstrance of



The Charter of 1662

This is from a photograph of the charter issued to the colony in 1662, by Charles II. For a short time it was secreted in the famous Charter Oak. At the right is the Constitution of 1818. Above is Stuart's Washington. The group is in the south end of Memorial Hall Connecticut State Library

New Haven until some four months later, when it sent a committee of four magistrates to New Haven to settle the matter of union and incorporation. They were instructed to consent to no concessions and to make no compromises. New Haven, at a meeting of its General Court, resolved to recognize no changes of the government, and to go on as usual. In the face of the advice of Winthrop in the communication he sent to Deputy Governor Mason of Connecticut, that colony proceeded to appoint magistrates for the New Haven towns, and invited from those towns deputies to the Connecticut legislature. Since New Haven declined to treat with Connecticut, that colony addressed the several towns of New Haven. At the meeting of the federal commissioners in Boston in 1663, the question of union was the most important matter of consideration. New Haven presented its grievance over the usurpation of Connecticut, and the representatives of Massachusetts and Plymouth gave it as their opinion that

the colony of New Haven might not by any act of violence, have their liberty of jurisdiction infringed by any other of the United Colonies without breach of the Articles of Confederation and that, wherein the act of power had been exerted against their authority, the same ought to be recalled, and their power reserved to them entire, until such time as in an orderly way it should be otherwise disposed.

Meanwhile the New Haven alliance tended to disintegrate; the plantation covenant excluded forty per cent. of the population from citizenship, and this element was friendly to a change. It was not easy for the New Haven confederacy to pay the expenses of the government after all but three towns seceded, but the order received from England at that time, requiring the observance of the navigation laws, was addressed to the governor and assistants of New Haven, and that was considered by the authorities as a virtual recognition of their separate capacity, and they made it the basis of a claim for taxes on the seceding towns.

To bring the intolerable situation to a close, the General Court of New Haven prepared a paper to transmit to the Connecticut authorities, entitled *New Haven's Case Stated*, wherein the full history was set forth, and the Connecticut authorities were requested no longer to force a union. To this plea Connecticut made no reply, and the contest continued until the summer of 1664. The leading men of Massachusetts advised New Haven to yield, saying that the *Case Stated* justified its position and it could yield with dignity, and this advice was followed after a few concessions had been made. The movement toward union was not retarded by the fact that Charles II. granted to his brother, the Duke of York, March 12, 1664, New Netherlands and all Long Island "and the land from the west side of Connecticut to the East side of Delaware Bay." Royal authority had disposed of New Haven without her knowledge. Between the two powerful claimants, Connecticut and the Duke of York, there was no hesitation about the decision. It was better to be connected with a people of their own faith than become the property of a prince of the House of Stuart. When Colonel Richard Nicolls came with three ships of war and troops to secure possession from the Dutch, the charter of Winthrop was a welcome resource. Winthrop preferred to yield Long Island rather than the west, and the boundary on the west was declared to be "the creek or river called Mamoronock, which is reputed to be about twelve miles to the east of Westchester, and a line drawn from the east part or side, where the fresh water falls into the salt at high water mark, northwest to the line of Massachusetts." Thus Connecticut kept substantially all she had formerly claimed on the mainland in return for the loss of Long Island. By that time New Haven saw that union could no longer be delayed, and on December 13, 1664, she held her last General Court and adopted resolutions dissolving the colony. Davenport was bitterly disappointed, and said the independence of his colony was "miserably lost."

CHAPTER VII

COURTS AND LAWS

AT first the legislative and judicial powers of the colony were vested in the General Court, whose authority came, as we have seen in the previous chapter, from the Massachusetts legislature. In accordance with the commission from Boston, a "Corte" was organized, consisting of magistrates from Hartford, Windsor, and Wethersfield on April 26, 1636, at Hartford, and the following men were present: Roger Ludlow, John Steele, William Swain, William Phelps, William Westwood, and William Ward, and this Court had power to make and repeal laws, grant levies, admit freemen, dispose of unappropriated lands, and discipline any one, even a court magistrate. There was no check upon its power, except the provision that its acts must not be contrary to the laws of England, and within such lines it had absolute power over life, liberty, and property. As we have seen, it gave little thought to the common law of England, but Roger Ludlow was there, a man thoroughly trained in English precedents and the methods of the courts of the mother country; and he was probably the most powerful influence in those early meetings of the magistrates; if not, he would know the reason why, for Ludlow had a temper as well as brains and scholarship, and he was practically the first governor. This Court made a very modest beginning at its first meeting, and did little but elect constables and forbid "trade with the natives or Indians any peece, or

pistoll, or gunn, or powder, or shott." It was ordered that any stray swine should be confined two weeks, and if they were then unclaimed, they should be sold. This suggests the policy of the settlers in their court procedure: to make their laws to fit the cases as they arose, meet all occasions with common sense and practical measures, and let their jurisprudence evolve with the growth of society. At New Haven it was somewhat different, for the Old Testament laws had a stronger hold there, and of course there was a large supply of common sense on the Sound as well as on the Connecticut. In both colonies it was the policy to face the intricate often vexing questions of the new government, and to undertake the laborious duties of society with calm deliberation and good judgment.

The second session of this Court was held in Windsor, and the third in Wethersfield, and as we shall see, this plain gathering of straightforward magistrates became in 1639, the General Court, the heart of authority in the commonwealth, and the mother of all the other courts that came into existence as occasion required. Since the "Corte" for which the mother colony so thoughtfully arranged was the only legal authority there was the first year, it fined a citizen for cursing, and ordered that no one should "drink" any but home-raised tobacco; it also passed regulations concerning courting, but by degrees it divested itself of a part of its judicial power by constituting local tribunals for settling of estates and to try cases whether of witchcraft, theft, sailing a boat on Sunday, or murder. The election of deputies after the adoption of the Fundamental Orders in 1639, was the beginning of the two houses of the legislature, the germ of which is found in the committees from the towns which had met previously with the magistrates. In 1645, a step was taken toward the ultimate division into Senate and House by the provision that no act of the General Court should become a law, without the concurrence of the magistrates and deputies. When Connecticut and New

Haven were united in 1664, the *General Court* became the *General Assembly*, and in 1698, the distinction between the governor and council as one house and the deputies as the other was made distinct.

In accordance with the only sensible course, there was a division of labors as early as 1638, a year before the adoption of the Orders, when the General Court organized a Particular Court to meet in Hartford on the first Tuesday in May for the trial of two persons charged with misdemeanors. This Court was doubtless made up of magistrates, and it became a tribunal less formal than the General Court, meeting more frequently for the trial of cases. It had no stated time for its sessions and was held once in Wethersfield, once in New London, and the rest of the time in Hartford. It was probably held in the meeting-house or the house of a magistrate at first, and as the years passed court-houses became necessary. The methods were simplicity itself, as lawyers were rare; rules of evidence hardly thought of; magistrates conducted the examination of witnesses; arguments were infrequent; judgment was based on conscience rather than on legal precedent. The Fundamental Orders make no reference to it, but it continued to hold sessions at irregular times until May, 1642, when it was enacted that it should meet only once in three months, and should be known thereafter as the Quarter Court. The times of meeting were the first Thursdays in March, June, September, and December. When held at other times, it was called the Particular Court.

The earliest record of the definite formation of a court is in May, 1647, when the General Court enacted that it should consist of the governor, deputy governor, and two magistrates: and in the absence of the executive officers, three magistrates should hold court. Its jurisdiction extended to all minor disputes and it was purely judicial in its construction, though its functions included both civil and criminal cases. While it was a court of appeal from

inferior tribunals, its decisions could be appealed to the General Court. In civil cases, where the amounts involved exceeded forty shillings, the trial, at the discretion of the magistrates, could be submitted to a jury of six or twelve, and two thirds of their number could render a legal verdict. If, in the opinion of the magistrates, the verdict was not in accordance with the testimony, they could empower the jury to reconsider its decision, or impanel another, if the jury had not "attended to the evidence." In suits for damages, if the magistrates deemed the sum allowed exorbitant or inadequate, they had power to alter it, if done in open court. In July, 1643, provision was made for a grand jury of twelve or fourteen able men to present breaches of laws or misdemeanors. As the magistrates received only fees for their services, a statute was passed to oblige persons to pay the costs of prosecution before leaving court, or suffer imprisonment. The inferior judicial bodies were limited to the township, and were called town courts, consisting of three, five, or six men, who were called *principal men*, or *town's men*, afterwards *selectmen*, who were elected annually, and one of their number was chosen moderator, whose presence was required to form a quorum. Their judicial powers were confined to claims of debt and trespass, where the amount involved was less than forty shillings, and before the execution was issued the case could be appealed. Sessions of the town court were held once in two months. Thus we see that up to the time of the charter there were three courts, General, Particular, and Town—tribunals to decide cases according to "conscience and righteousness."

After the charter there were changes as settlements multiplied, and counties were formed, with courts according to the new divisions. In 1665, the colony was divided into four counties—Hartford, New Haven, New London, and Fairfield. The old Particular or Quarter Court gave way to the Court of Assistants, so called because it was composed

of a majority of the assistants, the successors of the magistrates of the old General Court, and this was constituted in October, 1665, with jurisdiction over crimes relating to life, limb, banishment, and appellate, also questions of divorce and admiralty. It was held semi-annually, one week before the General Assembly. When the counties were organized, a County Court was established in each, of three assistants and two commissioners, afterwards called *justices of the peace*. In 1698, it was voted that in each county, four of the most able and judicious freemen should be justices, three of whom, with a judge appointed by the General Assembly, should have power to hold a County Court. In October, 1698, it was voted that three justices could hold court. From that time until 1821, the formation of County Courts was unchanged with one judge and from two to five justices of the peace, all commissioned by the General Assembly. From 1821, to 1839, there were three judges. In 1839, a *county commissioner* was added; in 1853, the County Courts were abandoned, to give way to one judge and two or three commissioners. The jurisdiction of the County Court was at first substantially the same as that of the Particular Court. It had power in settling property, and probating wills, and also over prerogative powers that were transferred to it. It could try all cases, "real, personal or mixt," and all criminal cases, "not extending to life, limb, banishment, adultery or divorce." In 1798, it was prohibited from trying cases whose punishment extended to confinement in Newgate, except horse-stealing.

In 1669, the Town Courts were reorganized, to consist of an assistant or commissioner and two selectmen, and appeals could be taken to the County Court, thence to the Court of Assistants, then to General Assembly. In 1711, the Court of Assistants was superseded by the Superior Court, with powers of the older tribunal transferred to it, namely, punishment of offenders, civil causes, appeals, and writs of error. It held sessions in each of the counties, having a

chief judge and four others,—the governor as chief judge and the rest from the council. The power of the Superior Court gradually increased; in 1762, authority was given to it to grant new trials on discovery of new evidence and afford equitable relief up to one hundred pounds; later to four hundred pounds and in 1778, to eight hundred pounds, while cases relating to sums under one hundred pounds went to the County Courts. In 1784, it was enacted that the lieutenant-governor and council should be a Supreme Court of Errors, to which questions of law and equity from the Superior Court should be referred,—to meet annually, alternating between Hartford and New Haven, and in 1795, the governor was added. The docket became so crowded with the increase of the population that in 1806, the Supreme Court of Errors ceased, and judges of the Superior Court assumed the duties of the court of last resort, and the number was raised to one chief judge and eight assistants, meeting annually in alternate years in Hartford and New Haven. In 1819, this court consisted of one chief judge and four associates. In 1855, the Supreme Court was changed to consist of a chief and two associates. In 1859, the associates judges were increased to three, and in 1865, to four. From the foundation of the Superior Court in 1711, the appointment of the judges was by the General Assembly year by year, and with the adoption of the constitution in 1818, it was ordered that they serve during good behavior until seventy years old; in 1880, it was voted that the governor nominate the judges. Owing to the accumulation of cases in the Superior Court, the Assembly in 1869, established a Court of Common Pleas in Hartford and New Haven; New London and Fairfield in 1872; Litchfield in 1881, with jurisdiction in legal and equitable relief in sums from one hundred to five hundred dollars, and later five hundred to one thousand dollars, with the concurrence of the Superior Court.

The growth of the Probate Courts has been as follows:

Ludlow's code made provision for the settlement of the estates of deceased persons under the title of *records*. By the statute of October 10, 1639, on the death of a person possessed of an estate, leaving a will in writing, or by word of mouth, those men who were "appointed to order the affairs of the town where any such person deceaseth" were to make and report a true inventory of the estate, and record the will and names of children and legatees within three months. The court intended was the Particular Court, which exercised probate duties until abandoned. Sometimes there were three witnesses, sometimes two, sometimes none. In case a person died intestate, the town officers distributed the property to the family, or "for the good of the common." After the abandonment of the Particular Courts, the probate powers went to the County Courts, and in 1698, these powers were lodged with the respective judges with two justices, and there began the separate Probate Court, in that one less judge was needed than for the County Court. In 1702, the duty of making an inventory was taken from the selectmen and given the executors or administrators. In 1716, it was enacted that Courts of Probate be established in the several counties, with one judge and a clerk. The first probate districts were coextensive with the four original counties; the first change to a district less than a county was made in 1719. There were one hundred and twelve Probate Courts in 1913.

The office of justice of the peace began in 1669, when an act was passed to empower an assistant or commissioner, with the selectmen, to hear and determine cases at which less than forty shillings was at stake, with right to appeal to the County Court. Various changes in the powers of these officers were made from time to time, and it was not till 1848, that a justice of the peace could sentence a criminal to imprisonment, and never over thirty days. Appeals could be taken to the higher courts for everything, except convictions for profanity or Sabbath-breaking. The right of trial

by jury (though declared by the Constitution inviolate) does not exist in justice suits, and is only exercised by special statutes; when permitted, six persons are selected from the jury list of the town.

As we have seen, the oldest office in Connecticut is the constable, originally the military center, and afterwards the conspicuous and authoritative peace officer of the colony, to put forth hue and cry after murderers, thieves, and robbers; to arrest Sabbath-breakers and vagrants without warrant; to keep the oversight of taverns and lock up loiterers. He could call on any citizen to aid him, under penalty of ten shillings, and, if obstinate, forty shillings. He summoned town meetings, enforced the collection of taxes, and helped the tithing-men guard the Sabbath. In 1715, the General Assembly ordered that "constables and grand jury men shall on the evenings after the Lord's day, and after public days of religious solemnity, walk the street, and duly search all the places suspected of harboring and entertaining any persons assembled contrary to law." These three officers, tithing-men, constables, and grand jurors, met in January and June to "advise, consider and use their joint interest in suppressing profaneness, vice and immorality." These officers received two shillings a day for their services as police, and their pay came from fines upon offenders. Only one was paid for one arrest. The symbol of office was a black staff, furnished by the selectmen. There were no sheriffs until 1702, though the office had existed from earliest times under the name of marshal, and the code of 1650, assumes it. The marshal was a civil officer, appointed by the General Court to preserve order. After the union of Connecticut and New Haven, there was a marshal in every county, appointed by the County Courts. In 1702, the sheriff superseded the marshal, and in 1722, his duties were defined: to conserve peace, suppress riots and tumults and summon militia. In 1724, his powers were still further enlarged, and he could summon any one to assist him.

Deputy sheriffs were appointed from time to time in the eighteenth century, and in 1766, several deputy sheriffs were appointed in every county by the sheriffs. In 1724, the sheriff was appointed to have charge of the jail, with the right to appoint keepers.

The code of 1650, contains an act, which first appeared in 1643, by which it was ordered that a grand jury of twelve or fourteen men was warned to appear at every court yearly, in September, or as the governor or court found necessary to present breaches of laws. When County Courts were established, this provision was made applicable to them, and twelve grand jurymen were to meet in each of the four counties. In 1680, it was ordered that they should serve for a year. By 1702, clerks of the several County Courts were directed to summon one or more men from every town to serve as grand jurors, to report once a month all misdemeanors to the next assistant or justice of the peace. These men became informing officers, with power to make complaints individually. They were liable to a penalty of forty shillings if they failed to take office when summoned. In 1712, it was voted that two or more grand jurors be appointed at town meetings, and their names reported to the clerk of the County Court. The Superior Court summoned its own grand jury of eighteen. In capital cases it was necessary that indictment should be made by a jury of eighteen, in which twelve must agree. The constitution of 1818, declared that "no person shall be holden to answer for any crime, the punishment of which is death or imprisonment for life, unless on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury."

This sketch of the development of the courts and various offices as occasion arose needs to be supplemented by an account of the growth of common and statute law. After the adoption of the constitution in 1639, the General Court built on that foundation numerous enactments needed to perfect the civil organization of the new colony. In October,

1639, Wyllys, Webster, and Spencer were appointed a committee to "review all former orders and lawes, and record such of them as they conceave to be for publike concernment; and deliver them into the secretaries hands to be published to the several townes; and all other orders that they see cause to omit, to be suspended until the Court take further order." There was one manuscript statute book for every town, in which the new laws were copied after every session. For more than a generation, the laws were conveyed to the towns by word of mouth, and once a year the constable read the laws to the assembled freemen. New Haven taught the advantage of circulation of the statutes, which were printed in 1673, and after January, 1674, every household was required to have a copy. The first time that the incorporation of towns was recognized was in Ludlow's code, which regarded them as component parts of the body politic, but there was no special title given to the subject. In the code of 1672, their duties and powers were gathered and established. On them was laid the burden of supporting the poor, making and repairing roads and bridges, and, by taking impost, the responsibility for military defense.

The criminal code was taken with few exceptions from that of Massachusetts, which was based on the English law. The code of laws was put into shape, as has been said, by Roger Ludlow, who was requested to "take some paynes in drawing forth a body of Lawes," by the General Court of April 9, 1646, a work which he completed in four years, taking fourteen articles from the Body of Liberties of Massachusetts, adopted in 1641; but sixty-three of the articles were new and distinct, and the seventy-seven articles from the hand of Ludlow were adopted by the General Court in May, 1650, and the only recognition of his great service is certified by a minute in the records of February 5, 1681: "This Court grants and orders that the secretary shall be allowed and paid the sum of six pounds, being in p't pay-

ment of his great pains in drawing out and transcribing the country orders, concluded and established in May last." There is no record of a compensation to Ludlow, other than the statement that "it is the mynd of the Court that he be considered for his paynes." Ludlow's code covers fifty pages of the Colonial Records, and his classification was retained until 1854, when fifty-eight of his titles, somewhat modified, were still used. Ludlow was a man of iron will and unyielding integrity, but his tongue was apt to express a sharp temper, which sometimes "grew into a passion," and after his great work of codifying the laws ended, he left Connecticut. In 1654, he carried out a plan he had defined at Boston twenty-two years before, and went back to the mother-country, settling in Dublin, where he served on the first Irish commission under Cromwell, and afterwards was made a Master in Chancery.

A new era began with the union of Connecticut and New Haven, and the revised code went into effect in January, 1664, with suffrage limited, punishments still tainted by medievalism, religious freedom unknown, land held by tenures, which were free from the dangers of forfeiture, since no property reverted to the colony. The subject of education was prominent in legislation by 1672, and many of the regulations then passed remained in force for two hundred years. Divorce became a fruitful cause for legislation, and four divorces were allowed in 1653. The grounds for divorce given in 1677, at a time when no divorces were granted in any other Christian country, were adultery, fraudulent contract, willful neglect of duty, and seven years' providential absence, without being heard from.

In the preface to the revision of 1672, it was declared that it was not the purpose of the planters "to impugn the state laws of England so far as we understand them," and while the legislature was independent, not taking the trouble to ask what was the law of England, the common law of the mother-country slowly and insidiously grew into

the decisions of the colony as the lawyers and judges here became better educated, and it came to pass that Connecticut common law rested on English common law in recognition of its wisdom and propriety. The declaration of the Fundamental Orders of 1639, that the General Court should embody the supreme power of the commonwealth, and the bill of rights in the code of 1650, by which no person should be damaged in life, liberty, and property, "unless it be by virtue or equity of some express law of the county warranting the same, established by the General Court and sufficiently published, or in the case of the defect of a law in any particular case by the word of God," were a practical repudiation of the common law. It was the intention of the settlers to base the government on a code and in harmony with revealed religion. There was a radical departure from English methods, in equipping the government with an executive head without power, and a strong legislature, in combining law-making and law-interpreting, in the recognition of equality among men, and in refusing to admit classes, titles, and aristocracy, though there was quite enough of caste in many communities.

Primogeniture rested on the Mosaic code, and was adopted in England as a military necessity in rude times, but it was never adopted in Connecticut, not even in the code of 1650, which permitted all persons of twenty-one years to make such wills and alienation of land as they chose. The law of 1672, provided that property of persons dying intestate should be divided among wife and children according to equity. In 1699, a law was passed in Connecticut providing that there should be an equal distribution of the whole estate, except a double share to the eldest son. This act was annulled in 1727, because contrary to the law of England, but the colony never paid any attention to the annulment.

In May, 1776, there was passed what has been called "the most important statute in Connecticut history." It was then enacted that the

form of Civil Government in this State shall continue to be established by charter received from Charles II., King of England, so far as an adherence to the same will be consistent with the absolute independence of this State on the Crown of Great Britain, and that all officers civil and military heretofore appointed by the State, continue in the execution of their several offices, and the laws of this State shall continue in force until otherwise ordered; and that for the future all writs and processes of law and equity shall issue in the name of the governor and company of the State of Connecticut, and that in all summonses, attachments and other processes before any Assistants or Justices of the Peace, "one of His majesty's Justices of the Peace" be omitted, and that instead thereof be inserted "Justice of the Peace," and that no writ or process shall have or bear any date, save the year of our Lord only, any law, usage, or custom to the contrary notwithstanding.

Of all the laws of Great Britain, under which the colonists lived when the supreme head was an English king, only one has remained in force: an act of Parliament passed in 1762, establishing the Gregorian calendar. The steadiness of the Connecticut temper is seen in the lack of radical changes in the laws up to the Revolution. After the revision of 1702, forty years passed before there was another.

There has long been a keen interest in the Connecticut "Blue Laws," and after years of attack and defense, it is possible now to consider the subject reasonably. Before the Revolution, there existed the phrase, current in New York, Massachusetts, and even New Haven—"Connecticut Blue Laws." It is a colloquial term applied to severe and antiquated laws found on the statute books of the older colonies, of which Connecticut was believed to possess an unusually stern edition. Soon after the Revolution, this state was made still more conspicuous by the publishing of a history by an Episcopal minister, Samuel Peters, who was born in Hebron in 1735, became rector of the little church in his native town, where he lived until the Revolution.

A
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lar Part taken by the People of Connecticut in its Promotion.

By a GENTLEMAN of the PROVINCE.

(*Samuel A. Peters*)

Plus apud me ratio valebit, quam vulgi opinio.

CIC. PARAD. I.

L O N D O N :

Printed for the AUTHOR ;

And sold by J. BEW, No. 28, Paternoster-Row,

MDCCLXXXI.

Facsimile of the Title-page of Peter's History

This history of Connecticut by the loyalist Rev. Samuel A. Peters gave occasion to the Connecticut "Blue Law" tradition. A copy of the first edition, printed in London, 1781, is in the Connecticut State Library

His aggressive loyalist convictions provoked the resentment of the Sons of Liberty, and a party of them threatened him with tar and feathers, and compelled him to promise to refrain from meddling with political affairs. Repeated offenses led to a second visit, and Peters, putting on his priestly robes, addressed the crowd, "quibbling and equivocating," as the story comes down to us through biased minds, but the men pressed into the parsonage and found loaded guns and pistols. Then they seized Peters, tearing his clothes, putting him in a cart, they hauled him by his own oxen to the Green, where they set him on the public horse-block, and forced him to sign a declaration and confession that he repented of his past misdeeds, and promised that he would give no further cause for complaint. He was then made to read the papers aloud to the crowd and give three cheers. Peters says that the mob "destroyed his windows, rent his clothes, almost killed one of his church people, tarred and feathered two, and abused others." Governor Trumbull ordered the civil authority at Hebron to "preserve peace and good order, and put the laws in execution." Peters knew he would be safer and happier elsewhere, and he soon moved to Boston, and in November, 1774, sailed for England, sending back letters to friends in Hebron, but spies behind stone walls overheard his messengers talk about the letters, and securing the missives of the angry minister they offered the unfortunate letter-carriers a whipping or running the gauntlet; choosing the latter, they became the objects of the spite of the Sons and Daughters of Liberty of the neighborhood, and were glad to get through with their lives.

Peters was twenty years in England, and it is not surprising to learn that, burning with rage over the rough treatment he had received, he published in 1781, a history of Connecticut, which no one can read without seeing that there is opportunity for self-control and judgment in coming to a conclusion upon the Munchausen writings of a man who



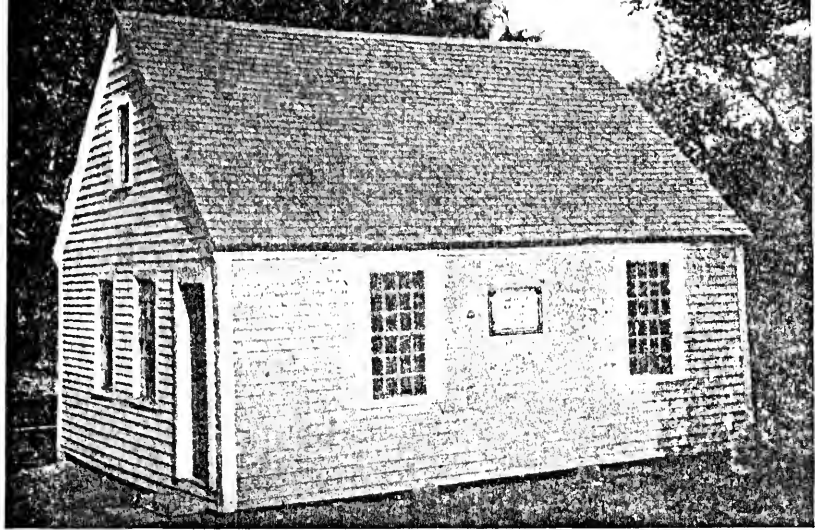
Chief-Justice Oliver Ellsworth and his Wife, Abigail Wolcott
Ellsworth

From a painting by R. Earl, 1792. By courtesy of William Webster
Ellsworth, Sec. of the Cantinn: D. b. l. i. c. e. C.

speaks of the water at Bellows Falls as so "consolidated by pressure, by swiftness, between the pinching, sturdy rocks, to such a degree of induration that no iron crow can be forced into it," and the stream is "harder than marble." He also speaks of the "infamous villainy of Hooker, who spread death upon the leaves of his Bible, and struck Connecticut (a great sachem) mad with disease," and of the conviction and punishment of an Episcopal minister in 1750, for breaking the Sabbath by walking too fast from church and combing a lock of his wig on Sunday. As specimens of the "Blue Code of Connecticut," he says, it "made it criminal in a mother to kiss her infant on the Sabbath-day"; "Every male shall have his hair cut round according to a cap"; "No one shall read Common Prayer, keep Christmas or Saints-days, make minced pies, dance, play cards, or play on any instrument of music, except the drum, trumpet and Jews' harp." It must be admitted that the irritated Peters went beyond his authorities in these statements, but it must also be said that in the large majority of the forty-five laws which he collected, there was a basis not only in the statutes of New Haven and Connecticut, but also in the laws and courts of Massachusetts, whence, as we have noticed, most of the Connecticut laws were derived. The injustice of the Blue Law charge is in singling out Connecticut for derision, and in publishing four ridiculous laws which had a place only in Peters's heated imagination. In 1631, Massachusetts passed a law that no man should court a maid unless by consent of the parents, and Connecticut borrowed it. In 1647, Massachusetts passed a law to banish Quakers, under penalty of death if they returned, while New Haven never threatened Quakers with death, but gave a choice of imprisonment, banishment, whipping, and branding, with the expenses paid by the resolute visitors. The law against card-playing prevailed in Massachusetts as well as in Connecticut, and as late as 1812, seven young men in New Haven were fined for violation of this law. The law that

married people should live together was no bluer in Connecticut than in Massachusetts. The law permitting the rack or torture in examination of witnesses, or, as we should now say, "third degree," was a law of Massachusetts too, though it was not to be "inhumane."

It would be impossible to give more than the faintest idea of the regulations in the different towns, ranging from settling a minister to killing blackbirds and rattlesnakes. Swine appear to have been one of the most fruitful topics. Innumerable were the perplexities that came up year after year. Sometimes they were ordered to be *rung* and *yoked*; sometimes to be confined, then again they could go at large. Here is a sample vote passed in Norwich: "In the time of acorns, we judge it may be profitable to suffer swine two months or thereabouts to go in the woods without rings." Yokes were to be two feet in length, and six inches above the neck. The recording of cattle marks was a serious task, and necessary, as pasture lands were held in common, and private fences often insecure. These marks were made on the ear, and were a cross, a half-cross, and various kinds of slits and notches. The towns were in the habit of making grants of land to those who promoted public improvement. Hugh Amos, who in 1681, first established a ferry over Shetucket River, received one hundred acres of land. Millers and blacksmiths were so valuable that they were given prizes of land. In 1680, Captain Fitch of Norwich was granted two hundred acres on condition that he build a saw mill in a certain place. Thomas Harris of Glastonbury received in 1667, a grant of forty acres of land on condition that he should build a saw mill in Glastonbury. There was much confusion in the deeds and lines, because of imperfect surveys and vague and contradictory deeds. Many of the bounds were transitory, as appears when one considers such bounds as these,—a black oak with a crotch, a white oak, a tree with a heap of stones around it, a boulder, a clump of chestnuts, a walnut with a limb lopped off, and a birch with a gash in it.



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Tapping Reeve (1744 -1823)

From an Old Print

Connecticut has had many distinguished lawyers, as might be imagined from the quality of the settlers, the conditions favoring strong individuality and the establishment, in 1784, of the first American law school in Litchfield. Tapping Reeve was the founder of the school, and after exerting a profound influence upon successive classes of students in his school, he became judge of the Superior Court, and then chief justice. Reeve was a man who "loved law as a science and studied it as a philosopher." It was from Litchfield that the first volume of reported law cases printed in the United States appeared in 1789. Among the graduates of the school were five Cabinet ministers, two justices of the United States Supreme Court, ten governors of states, sixteen United States senators, fifty members of Congress, forty judges of the higher state courts, and eight chief justices of the state.

In the constitutional convention of 1787, the three lawyers from Connecticut, Sherman, Ellsworth, and Johnson, contributed keenness, good judgment, and experience. In 1789, Oliver Ellsworth was sent to represent the state at the first session of the Senate; he was made chairman of the judiciary committee, and drew up the act of Congress under which the courts of the United States were organized after the pattern found in Connecticut, the merit of which appears in the fact that they remained substantially unchanged for a hundred years. In 1795, Chief Justice Swift published at Windham the first general and systematic treatise on the laws of any state, it being the *System of the Laws of the State of Connecticut*. In 1810, Swift became the author of the first American treatise on the law of evidence, it being also the first American *case-book*, for use in legal education, and in 1823, he published the first American work descriptive of the whole body of law and equity.

Jeremiah Mason, who was born in Lebanon in 1768, became United States Senator and attorney-general of New

Hampshire, of whom Daniel Webster said: "Of my own professional discipline and attainments, whatever they may be, I owe much to that close attention to the discharge of my duties, which I was compelled to pay for nine successive years from day to day, to Mr. Mason's efforts and arguments at the same bar." Webster said also: "Go as deep as you will, you will always find Jeremiah Mason below you." From Bozrah went Reuben H. Hyde to be chancellor of New York, and Story called him "the greatest equity judge of his time." Lyme has furnished three chief justices of the Supreme Court of the state, Henry M. Waite, Matthew Griswold, Jr., and Roger Griswold; also Judge C. J. McCurdy and M. R. Waite, chief justice of the United States.

Connecticut has been a leader in making law, of which there are three important instances according to Simeon E. Baldwin:

1. The common law excluded from the witness-stand every one who had a pecuniary interest in the event of the action. The first statute to abolish the rule was by the General Assembly, in 1848, and the author of the reform was Justice McCurdy of Lyme, who, on going abroad later on diplomatic service, brought it to the attention of some men of influence in England; in 1851, Parliament took similar action, and every other state in the Union has adopted the method of McCurdy.

2. The United States inherited an artificial system of legal remedies, and in 1879, Connecticut enacted a brief "Practice Act," leaving all details to be worked out through rules adopted from time to time by the judges of the higher courts. Of this act David Dudley Field, an author of the New York code, said that it was the best form yet devised, and it has remained substantially unchanged for thirty years.

3. In 1895, Connecticut took action to prevent the marriage of the unfit, extending the prohibition to paupers, epileptics, and imbeciles.

R E P O R T S

O F

C A S E S

A D J U D G E D I N T H E

S U P E R I O R C O U R T

O F T H E

State of Connecticut.

F R O M T H E Y E A R 1 7 8 5 , T O M A Y 1 7 8 8 ;

W I T H S O M E

D E T E R M I N A T I O N S

I N T H E

S U P R E M E C O U R T O F E R R O R S .

B Y E P H R A I M K I R B Y , E S Q U I R E .

LITCHFIELD: PRINTED BY COLLIER & ADAM.

M, DCC, LXXXIX.

Facsimile of the Title-page of the First Published Law Reports in
America

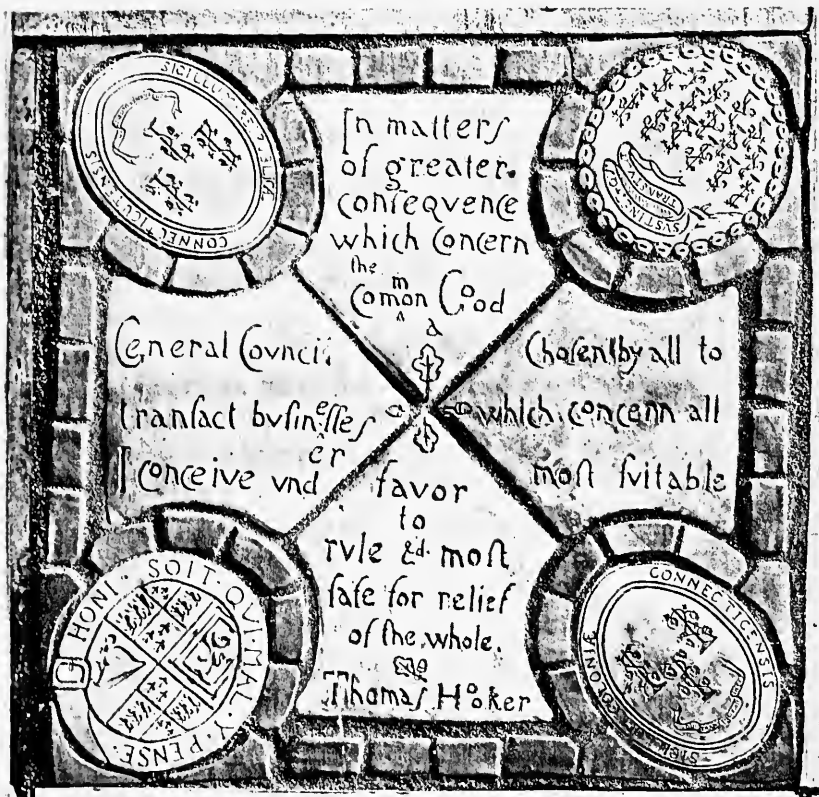
It is from the original volume in the possession of the Connecticut State Library

This is a good place in which to speak of the seal of the state. In a paper by Roger Wolcott, written in 1759, he says that his stepfather, Daniel Clark, secretary of the colony between 1658, and 1666, told him that the seal was given the colony by George Fenwick, agent for the proprietors, under the Warwick patent. There is an impression of this seal in the State Library; it is in wax and is affixed to the commission of John Winthrop as magistrate of New London in 1647. It represents a vineyard of fifteen vines, with a hand above, and the motto, "Svstinet qvi transtvlit." It was ordered in 1662, that the seal previously used remain the seal of the colony, and the first printed revision of the statutes made in 1673, had, by order of the Assembly, an impression of it on the title page. When Andros took the government in 1687, the seal disappeared, and Gershom Bulkley says John Allyn delivered it to Andros. When the charter government was resumed in 1689, a larger seal was made with the motto, "Svstinet qvi transtvlit," and no further change was made until the next century when a new stamp was ordered, suitable to seal wafers. It was larger, and instead of fifteen vines, it had but three, with a hand pointing to them, and on a label below, the motto, "Qvi transtvlit svstinet." Around the seal are the words, "Sigillvm Coloniae Connecticutensis." In 1747, the Assembly ordered that the oval be changed to a circle, and engraved, with corrections of mistakes, but nothing was done. In May, 1784, the Assembly voted to change the words around the seal to "Sigill. reip. Connecticutensis," but the inscription was cut without abbreviation, though the shortened form is in the engravings of that period. In October, 1784, the new seal was approved, and ordered to be kept by the secretary. In the constitution of 1818, it was ordered that the seal be not altered, and now there are two seals: one procured in 1842, for sealing with wax or wafer, a seal with three clusters of grapes on each vine, made of brass; the other, used on paper, without wax, and declared sufficient

in 1851; supposed to have been obtained in 1782. The first issue of bills of credit in 1709, has the seal with three vines. When small bills were issued in 1777, a small seal with one vine was used; it was used also in the secretary's office to seal letters.

Connecticut has always had able political leaders, and statesmen of national renown; the Declaration of Independence was signed by Roger Sherman, Samuel Huntington, William Williams and Oliver Wolcott. Of the more recent are Buckingham, Foster, Jewell, English, Eaton, Barnum, Burr, the Baldwins, Hubbard, Andrews, Platt, and Hawley. Three of these were both governors and United States senators. Buckingham's unsurpassed efficiency during the Civil War is described elsewhere. In the reconstruction which followed the War, General Joseph R. Hawley was as effective as statesman as he had been patriotic while soldier. He was in the United States Senate for twenty-four years, able, eloquent, devoted, sincere. Orville H. Platt was born in Washington in 1827, and he rose swiftly to the office of United States Senator; dying in office after twenty-six years of service—the longest term in the history of the state—after achieving a career, whose solid worth was distinguished for integrity, sagacity, breadth and manliness. He is best known as the author of the "Platt Amendment," which governs the relations between Cuba and the United States.

For years there was but a narrow margin between the Republican and Democratic parties, but after the breezy campaign of 1872, the state became decidedly Democratic, and continued so for years. The famous deadlock of 1890, when Governor Bulkeley held over, was due to a conflict between a Democratic Senate and a Republican House over the question of the recount of votes for governor. This deadlock aroused so much feeling that an amendment to the state constitution was adopted, declaring election to state offices by plurality of votes.



Seals of Connecticut and Hooker's Declaration

This collection of seals, with Hooker's concise statement of the reason for the migration from Massachusetts to Connecticut, is the central panel in the floor in Memorial Hall in the Connecticut State Library. The lower seal at the left is the English seal used during colonial days; that at the right of this was in use, 1711-1784. The upper right-hand seal came into use in 1662, and disappeared in 1787, when Andros was governor. That at the upper left was made in 1784, and the Constitution of 1818, declared that it should not be altered. It is now in use.

CHAPTER VIII

HOW THE PEOPLE LIVED IN THE EARLY DAYS

HOWEVER important we may consider a clear view of the settlement, government, and courts of Connecticut, the question how the people lived appeals to most of us more intimately. The story is an interesting one, because of the vigor of the actors and the variety and strenuousness of the surroundings. It is a story of resolute men and women making their way into a stern situation, and with good sense, ingenuity, steady nerves, and unconquerable resolution carrying their task through. The Puritans, unable to reform the church at home, and unwilling longer to brave the hostility of William Laud, who wielded the despotic power of the star-chamber, came to America to build after their own ideas a state, in which Christian institutions should exist in their simplest forms. None, save the Pilgrims at Plymouth, had renounced the Church of England, or separated from its communion, and only one boat-load of these came to Connecticut, faring so badly at Windsor, that their neighbors at Plymouth preferred to bear the ills there, rather than to crowd in where they were not wanted. The settlers of Connecticut were members of a great religious and political party, in an age when every man's religion was a matter of political regulation. They were in the reforming party in church and state, earnest, determined, practical men, with a keen sense of the presence of God and of the value of their theory of civil government. Though humble

before God, they proposed to follow their convictions without fear or favor. They were plain, shrewd, straightforward people, who usually knew what they wanted to do, and went at once to the point. Even their burial service suggests their dread of ceremony, for Lechford says of the customs about 1640: "Nothing is read, or any funeral sermon made, but all the neighborhood, or a good company of them, come together by tolling bell, and carry the dead solemnly to his grave, and stand by while buried." Their seriousness made it hard for them to enjoy certain jokes as appears from a record of 1648, as follows: "The Court adjudgeth Peter Bussaker for his filthy and profane expressions (namely, that he hoped to meete some of the members of the church in hell ere long, and he did not but question that he should) to be committed to prison, there to be kept in safe custody, till the sermon, and then to stand the time thereof in the pillory, and after the sermon to be severely whipped."

There is a type of mind which cannot think of Puritanism save as "mere acrid defiance, and sanctimonious sectarianism, nor of the Puritans save as a band of ignorant and half crazy zealots." A calmer and clearer view of them leads us to see that they were, as Bradford said, "muskeeto proof," and that they were also men with a passion for God and the kingdom of heaven which often gave to their devotion to righteousness a seriousness which easily became sternness; a devotion like that of Cromwell, a keen conviction of the sovereignty of God as the absolute and invincible authority over all. They believed that things are right or wrong because they are made so by the fiats of their infinite Ruler and King. That they were not depressed by this conception, and did not become weak and dreamy, is due to the fact that with their practical, Teutonic ambition for trade and enterprise they had too much else to do, and while they were idealists, they were too busy to become morbid, and had too much common sense to brood. The

fashion of speaking of them as joyless and hopeless, of dwelling in gloom and severity upon the dismal and the disagreeable, is appropriate for a mind soured as was that of Samuel Peters, but read the quaint humor of that sturdy age. Notice how readily the writers of that day passed into rhyme. Husbands and wives loved each other as tenderly as now, though not every woman could express her affection for her husband as gracefully as Margaret Winthrop. "Faith in God, faith in man, faith in work," this, as Lowell says, is the formula which sums up the teaching of the founders of New England. Our account of Puritan character were incomplete without reference to the Blue Laws, described at length in the preceding chapter, and to the distorted portraiture Samuel Peters made of the Connecticut Puritans, who he said "out-pop'd the Pope, out-king'd the King and out-bishop'd the Bishops."

A more cheerful view of the seventeenth century in Connecticut is found in the daily life of the Puritans. There was much of warfare in it; whether their axes bit their way into the forest, or the night wind brought the howl of the wolf—a sound dreaded by the bravest—there was little time for reverie. Governor Leete, while chief magistrate of the colony, kept a country store for the convenience of his neighbors at Guilford, and his sons were taught to toil in the field. Governor Treat was as well skilled in the faculty of ploughing a cornfield, or mowing a field of grass, as in fighting for the colony or defending the charter, and his father, Richard Treat, one of the first men in the colony, daily crossed the Connecticut in a boat and helped break up the stiff sward of Glastonbury. Winthrop endured severe hardships going from place to place to serve as magistrate, mediating between contending parties, procuring and defending land titles, and fulfilling the office of physician. Industry, frugality, thrift, and honest work were wrought into the foundations of the commonwealth.

The earliest houses of logs soon gave way to frame

houses, or even to stone, as in the case of a house built in 1640, in Guilford, by the Rev. Henry Whitfield, its solid and massive walls still celebrating the fame of one of the founders of Guilford. An occasional style in early times was the old plank frame dwellings, whose sides were commonly of two-inch plank, spiked perpendicularly to the heavy framework, and either clapboarded or shingled on the outside. There was little studding used on the inside, and even the partitions were often of inch lumber carried from floor to cross-beams, with a paneled base. In the central part of the house was a chimney with many flues, being about twelve feet square in the foundations, and sometimes containing a small room on the first floor. The typical house of the first period was of two stories, with two rooms in each story, and the large chimney between. On one side of the chimney was the stairway leading to the second story. The cellar usually extended under only a part of the house. The frame was of oak, and the walls were not sheathed, but the space between the studs was often filled in with clay mixed with hay. The exterior was covered with wide clapboards, and the hand-rived shingles on the roof would last one hundred years; those on the roof of the Farmington meeting-house lasted one hundred and thirty-five years. The interior was ceiled, or sometimes left unfinished. Across the center of each room from wall to chimney ran an immense beam parallel with the front of the house. This beam was called the *summer* or the *summer-tree*, and was either boxed in or left as the axe hewed it. In many of the houses, the second story overhung the first, and was overhung by the attic. The overhanging was produced in this way: the corner oaken posts were placed with the larger part at the top, and, just below the second story, a part of the thickness was hewn away, leaving a scroll-like ornament called a *corbel*, and the second story projecting over the first about four inches, with sometimes a pendant at the corner. As wealth and family increased, such a two-story

house was enlarged by extending the rear roof to the level of the first story, giving a place for three rooms behind the original two rooms, with a loft above. The middle room of these three was the kitchen with its capacious fireplace, and later on a brick oven in the chimney, in which numberless pies were baked. One of the other rooms was a pantry or buttery, and the third a bedroom. Such a house was called a *lean-to*, or in some places a *salt-box* house from its resemblance to the salt-box hanging in the chimney corner. It is said that this form of roof was adopted to avoid an extra tax.

Not far from the time that the lean-to house was introduced the gambrel roof came into fashion—so named because of its fancied resemblance to the hind leg of a horse. After a time, the builders began to put in two chimneys and have an entry run through the middle of the house, though many conservatives clung to the older style, often the lean-to was given up, and instead a shed was built. Houses were usually large, as lumber was plenty and children apt to be numerous. Fireplaces were commonly large. The Shipman House in South Glastonbury contains a fireplace nine feet and five inches in length, four and a half feet high, three feet deep, and two brick ovens. Often there was a porch in front, with a chamber over it. That of Thomas Hooker, had a porch, and the chamber over it was the preacher's study. The early houses were often built of wood put up cob-house fashion, or having posts at the corners with small branches of trees between, and clay mixed with hay. These chimneys were lined with clay, and were inspected often by the chimney-viewers. Brick chimneys were in the houses of the wealthy, but *called chimneys*, as those we have just described were called, were common. In Hartford, it was voted in 1640, that "every householder shall provide a sufficient ladder standing at his houseside, reaching to the ridge of his house, or within two feet, by his chimney." Chimney-viewers were to examine the chimneys every six

weeks in winter and every quarter in summer. It was also ordered in 1640, that "Jo Gening shall sweep all chimneys, and have 6d for brick and 3d for clay."

Later, there was a change in the style of building houses, and the house of Colonel Joseph Pitkin, built in 1726, in East Hartford is a good illustration of the substantial homes before the Revolution. It was built after the old scribe method by which every stud or piece of timber was marked or scribed for the particular place it was to occupy. The sills were of oak, forty-one feet long, eight by ten inches. The building had oak posts nine by nine inches at the bottom and ten by fifteen inches at the top, being mortised about half-way up to receive the cross-beams of white oak, eight by twelve inches. The beams were thirty feet long and carried the weight of the second floor without any studding to support them. The interior finish was heavy paneling of native yellow and white pine. The main plates were of white oak forty-one feet long and seven inches square, which were securely framed into the posts. The king rafters were of white oak, five by six inches and twenty-two feet long. Some of the boards were twenty-six inches wide, and there were five large fireplaces. Several of the sleeping rooms had beds the posts of which were mortised into the floor and extended to the ceiling, supporting a framework from which draped a heavy curtain. The house was studded with three-by-four oak studs, mortised into the sills and plates, to which were nailed the sheathing boards, the edges of the sheathing being beveled so as to make a tight joint, and then reinforced by an inner sheathing upon which the laths were nailed to receive the inner finish of plaster. Paper was in use before the Revolution, and in the room in the Webb House in Wethersfield in which Washington rested, the paper was imported from England, and is rich and heavy. Nails, hinges, and latches were hammered out on the anvil.

Coming now to the food of the people, we start with the

breakfast of the farmers, which often consisted of a soup made of salt meat and beans, seasoned with herbs,—a dish called bean-porridge. Dinner was the substantial meal, and was served at noon; a large Indian meal pudding, with an appropriate sauce, was often the first course, and was so filling that the boiled beef or pork which followed was attacked less ravenously,—a prudent expedient, as meat was not always plentiful, though those living near river and Sound could easily obtain fish, and at certain seasons game was abundant. The waters teemed with fish, and both salmon and shad were caught in great numbers, and salted for home and foreign use. It was an occasional custom of apprentices, in binding themselves to their masters, to stipulate that salmon should not be served oftener than twice a week; and at times shad were so plenty and cheap, that it was considered disreputable for any but "poor folks to eat shad." In all but the most wealthy families, food was cooked in the apartment where it was eaten, at the large fireplace, and a trammel in the chimney, by means of its hook, which could be moved up or down, held the kettle at the right distance above the fire. At one end of the fireplace there came in time an oven, and there were also the gridiron, a long-handled frying-pan, and a spit for roasting before the fire. At the end of the room were pewter platters, porringers, and basins, also a brass ladle, skimmer, colander, and warming-pan. A brew-house was a necessity, and beer as often on the table as bread. Seeds of vegetables were imported, and while potatoes were regarded with suspicion for many years—making their entry into the menu at about 1720, and used sparingly—turnips were much enjoyed, as were peas, beans, and pumpkins. Succotash, name and dish borrowed from the Indians, was soon popular in August and September, when Indian corn was in the milk and beans were plenty. Hasty pudding, consisting of boiled meal of corn or rye, and sweetened with molasses or maple syrup on the table, was a common food.

Brown bread, "rye and injun," a mixture of two parts corn-meal and one part rye, was the bread of the majority of the people.

Very substantial food was served at supper. It was almost always cold, with an occasional variation of cakes of corn-meal, rye, or buckwheat. Samp and hominy were enjoyed by both Indians and English. Baked beans formed a nourishing food from early times and the favorite time for them was Saturday night. The regular dinner on Saturdays (not on Fridays, which would have savored of the papacy) was salted codfish. The dishes were of pewter, wood, and crockery, though there was not much of the last for many years. Chief Justice Ellsworth, who was born in Windsor in 1745, told his son that when he was a boy "all ate upon wooden trenchers, that manners were then so coarse and such as would now in many respects prove disgusting, that men in Windsor assembled in each other's houses and would drink out a barrel of cider in one night." Silver tankards, cups, and spoons were owned by the wealthy, but cups, platters, and pitchers were usually of pewter. At one house a broken pewter spoon was given to Washington, with which to eat bread and milk, he gave the maid two shillings to borrow a silver spoon, and she found one at the minister's.

Yankee cooks early achieved a skill that made them famous the world over, and before long they became experts with berries of all kinds, also with plums, nuts, grapes, and apples, which were put into all kinds of preserves, pickles, and syrups. There was little money in circulation, and little was needed, as most of the living came from forest, field, and river. One cone of sugar, weighing ten or fifteen pounds, with honey, molasses, and maple syrup would sweeten a family for a year. The art of making the syrup was learned from the Indians, who made it in large quantities.

Wind and water were used from early times, though the timber of the earliest days was sawn in saw-pits, the "top-

sawyer" standing on the timber, and the "pitman" beneath it. Clapboards were split with axes and wedges. In 1677, Wethersfield gave Gershom Bulkley, their new minister, "liberty to make a mill pond," since it was informed that he was "minded to build a corne mill." Wind as a motive power was used in grist-mills to some extent. Brick mills were in early use; in 1653, Samuel Dickenson, a youth of sixteen, was employed by Matthew Williams of Wethersfield to assist in making bricks, and was paid sixpence a day "in wampum." In 1635, the Court established the size of bricks. Tanning and curing the skins of cattle, sheep, and goats was an important industry, regulated by law as early as 1640. Farmers usually took the pelts of the slaughtered animals to the local tanneries, and from the hides had boots, shoes, and other useful articles made, as the needs called.

There were few wheeled carriages, besides the rude ox-cart, until the middle of the eighteenth century, and not many until after the Revolution. It is with a feeling of surprise that we read in the will of Jabez Hamlin of Middletown, probated in 1788, of the bequest of "sleigh and riding chair" to his widow; that carriage must have been an unusual feature in the quiet town. The first pleasure carriage in Litchfield was in 1776, and was owned by a prisoner of war. The bridegroom carried his bride home on a pillion behind him, if he had not asked a neighbor to be his helpmeet, and the Sunday worshipers from a distance rode on horseback, or went afoot; in winter, sleds drew the devout worshipers to the icy meeting-house, where the patient hour-glass measured off the long sermons, communion bread sometimes froze, and the foot-stoves gave a slight relief.

The militia in the early period covered all of the sterner sex between sixteen and sixty, except those who were exempt, and men were expected to provide arms and ammunition at their own expense, if possible. Soldiers

wore corselets and coats quilted with cotton. They carried pikes, matchlocks, swords, a pair of pouches for powder and bullets, and a rest, on which to poise the heavy musket when firing. The pikes were ten feet long. The train-band was the unit of the army, varying in number from fifty-four to two hundred. There were twice as many musketeers as pikemen, the latter being of superior stature; trainings began and closed with prayer.

The prominence of warfare is suggested by the prevalence of military titles. Previous to 1654, captain was the highest office in the colony. Captain John Mason of Windsor was the first officer of that high rank in Connecticut; and he was a noble specimen, tall, portly, soldier-like, with the proud consciousness of having served in the Netherlands, under William of Orange. Wherever he went, the boys and girls looked up to him as though he were a visitor from a superior planet. Only a few were called "Mister" or "Missis"; the common word for a person above servitude and below gentility was "Goodman" or "Goodwife," sometimes "Goody." In New Haven colony "Brother" was the common title in early days. There was a decided nasal prevalent, a "Puritan heirloom" due possibly to the climate, which fosters a chronic cold in the head.

From earliest times, the smithy was prized, as axes, chisels, shovels, picks, hoes, nails, spikes, bolts, and iron bars were fashioned there, as well as shoes for oxen and horses. Charcoal was in common use, and coal-pits abounded in the forests. Cordage was manufactured from hemp for the rigging of ships from an early time. Hemp was raised in Wethersfield as early as 1640. Fulling mills came in the seventeenth century; carding and weaving were done by hand, and there were looms for weaving serges, kerseys, flannels, fustians, linsey-woolseys, tow-cloth, dimities, and jeans; flax and hemp were the earliest materials, and after wolves were subdued, wool came into use. The dress was plain homespun and leather, and leather breeches

were so full and free in girth, that the front could be changed to the rear when signs of wear appeared. In winter, the coats of homespun were proof against wind and rain. The well-to-do were dressy, wearing shoes of buff leather, and through the slashes could be seen scarlet or green stockings. Buckles of pinchbeck and silver ornamented with garnets were worn at the knee and on the shoe. Ladies wore elegant shoes, mourning shoes, fine silk shoes, flowered russet shoes, shoes of black velvet, white damask, red morocco, and red everlasting; damask worsted shoes in red, blue, green, pink, and white; shoes of satinet with flowers in the vamp. Those who could afford it wore silks, velvets, and beaver; red was a favorite colour, with blue as a close second; red cloaks were the top of a tireless fashion. Coats of red cloth were much worn by the men, with long vests of plush in various colors; and plush breeches with no suspenders. The test of a well-formed man was his ability to keep his breeches above his hips, and his ungartered stockings above his calves. In the earliest times men wore the sugar-loaf hat; but later, the hats usually had broad brims, turned up into three corners. Laborers wore a coarse linen for shirts, and striped breeches of the same material; working women wore petticoats and half gowns, drawn about the waist with a cord. Hats were made of wool, with the exception of a few in every town who took off a costly "black beaverett" at the church door. The poorer sort of people wore a cap, knit from woolen yarn. The coat was made with a long, straight body, falling below the knee, and with no collar, so that the band, or neckcloth of spotless linen, fastened behind with a silver buckle, was clearly seen. Red woolen stockings were much admired. The shoes were coarse, square-toed and adorned with large buckles, and if any boots appeared, they made a heavy thumping passing up the aisles.

In the years before the Revolution, Connecticut was not celebrated for its economy. There was a passion for gather-

ing and hoarding articles of attire. A woman had an ambition to have a chestful of linen. Here is an inventory of the possessions of a Norwich lady in 1757. There were gowns of brown duroy, striped stuff, plain stuff, black silk, crepe, calico and blue camelot; a scarlet cloak, blue cloak, satin flowered mantle and scarf: a camlet riding hood, long silk hood, velvet hood, white hood trimmed with lace, and nineteen caps; also sixteen handkerchiefs and fourteen aprons, together with fan, necklace and cloak clasps. In 1760, gowns began to be worn with close-fitting bodice, and skirt sewed on with a multiplicity of fine gathers; with petticoats beautifully quilted. Every lady of fashion wore an ornamental case suspended from the waist, in which were thimble, scissors, and scent-bottle. Snuff-box and pomander for both sexes were elegant features of the eighteenth century. As early as 1766, French fashions began to decorate the ladies and empty pocketbooks. Artificial flowers were much worn. The calash was a charming article of dress on the head of a pretty girl; one "looked down a green lane to see a rose blooming at the end." Skirts were expanded by hoops, three or four feet across. For great occasions, the hair was sometimes tortured for four hours, and ladies would sleep in a sitting posture to avoid disturbing the majestic sugar-loaf creation. Wigs were worn for years with long queue, or ending in a silk bag behind.

Furniture was substantial; the cherry desks, high-boys, low-boys, chests of drawers and oaken chairs suggest a sterling age. There was one extravagance which the Puritans were slow to give up, and that was the habit of wearing expensive boots and shoes. Ephraim Williams of Wethersfield was a maker of fine boots and shoes, and his account-book for 1746-60 has come down to us. It gives prices which seem extravagant in these economical times. Colonel Israel Williams of Hartford paid him four pounds for a pair of double-channeled pumps, and for a pair of

An *Astronomical* DIARY,
OR, AN
ALMANACK

For the Year of our LORD CHRIST,

1 7 5 3.

Being the first after BISSEXTILE, or LEAP-
YEAR: And in the Twenty-Sixth Year
of the Reign of our most Gracious Sovereign
KING GEORGE II.

Wherein is contained the Lunations, Eclipses,
Mutual Aspects of the Planets, Sun and
Moon's Rising & Setting, Rising, Setting &
Southing of the Seven Stars, Time of High-
Water, Courts, Observable Days, Spring
Tides, Judgment of the Weather, &c.

Calculated for the Lat. of 41 Deg. North, & the
Meridian of *New-London* in CONNECTICUT.

By ROGER SHERMAN.

Time sprung from Darkness, & from ancient Night
And rush'd along with the first Beams of Light;
In Sol's bright Carr he seiz'd the flowing reins,
And drove his Coursers thro' the *Æthereal* Plains,
Whose Radiant Beams affect our feeble Eyes
And fill our Minds with Wonder and Surprize,
And still his Wheels on their swift Axles Roll
With eager haste to reach the destin'd Goal;
Fast as the Winds their rapid Course they bend,
Crowd on the Scenes to bring the fatal End.

NEW-LONDON:

Printed & Sold by T. GREEN, 1753.

Facsimile Title-page of a Roger Sherman Almanac

The volume is in the Library of the Connecticut Historical Society

double-channeled boots the price was fourteen pounds; an enormous price, but there was leather enough in a pair for six pairs of shoes, and those great hand-made, square-toed casings would last years, and perhaps become heirlooms.

For most of the people life was simple, neighborly, and without parade. Quarters of beef, veal, and lamb were exchanged; wages of unskilled labor in the earlier years were two shillings a day, and double that after the Revolution. There was no glass on the table to break, no tablecloth to wear out, no china to nick; sand was good enough for the parlor carpet, and fashions came to stay. No description of the early life of Connecticut would be complete without a reference to the almanac, for the Bible and almanac were necessary in every home. Long before the almanac became a composite of information on sun and moon phases, pills, salves, jokes, and bitters, it held the place of a small encyclopedia of knowledge concerning the heavenly bodies, court and freemen's meetings, interest tables, distances from tavern to tavern, prophecies about the weather, texts of sermons, household receipts, date of neighbor's birth, wedding, or death, when the big storm occurred, the great tree blew down, and the sheep went to pasture. The first Connecticut man to compile an almanac was John Tully of Saybrook Point, and his series continued from 1687, to 1702, and at the latter date, he "dyed as he was finishing this Almanack."

In 1750, Roger Sherman brought out an almanac; he continued the series until 1761. One gains fresh confidence in Sherman's uncommon common sense as he reads his prophecy of the weather for December 2, 1754, "Freezing cold weather, after which comes storm of snow, but how long after I don't say."

There were then two ways of reckoning time: the historical, which began on the first of January, and the ecclesiastical year, which began on the twenty-fifth of March. In the earlier seventeenth century almanacs

March appears first while January and February follow December. This accounts for the double dates found in books of that period. In 1709, Thomas Short established the first printing-press in Connecticut; it was set up in New London, and that year an almanac by Daniel Travis appeared with the New London imprint.

In the practice of medicine the doctors were helped out by the Indians, but more by the home-made remedies in which "roots and herbs" played a leading part. Since doctors charged extra fee when bleeding was resorted to, it is not perhaps strange that the physicians discovered frequent need of letting out blood that the disease might have less to feed upon. Bills were not very high, as appears from the bill of Dr. Caleb Bushnell of Norwich in 1723, "tords the cure of Christian Challenge:

To 3 travells	7	6
to Lusialig Bolsum	4	0
to 3 times bleeding	1	6"

Fresh air was considered dangerous for the sick, especially night air, and cooling drinks for fevered lips nearly fatal. Dentistry was an undiscovered country, except as the family physician wrenched out a tooth by aid of an instrument of torture called a *turn-key*.

The first artificial light used by the settlers was the pine torch, the idea coming from the Indians. Then came "candle-wood," sections of dry pine logs, cut into lengths of eight inches and split thin, which were used for carrying about the house and to read by, although the pitchy dripings were trying. In 1696, Farmington voted that no inhabitant should be prohibited from felling pine trees for candle wood, and Higginson wrote:

Yea, our pine trees that are the most plentiful of all wood, doth allow us plenty of candles which are very useful in a house; and they are such candles as the Indians use and no other, and they are

nothing else but the wood of the pine tree cloven into little slices, something thin, which are so full of the moisture of turpentine and pitch, that they burn as clear as a torch.

By 1660, candle-making was a common task for housewives, and deer and bear suet was mixed with beef tallow; wax also was furnished by the bees. Rushlights were used instead of candles, when a slight flame would do, and they were formed by dipping rushes in tallow. Fats, grease, and table refuse were combined with vegetable oils and used in the old Betty lamps, and for a century and a half beginning with 1690, the oil in common use in lamps was crude whale oil.

There was plenty of hard work in the early years, and one only needs to think of the toil connected with making cloth to see that the united energies of the whole family were enlisted. After the men had raised and harvested the flax, it was no easy task to break and swingle stubborn fiber before the hands of the women could hatchel and card it. Then it was wearisome to cleanse, separate, and comb out the matted fleece. Children and grandparents were enlisted to wind the quills and turn the reels, while grown-up daughters and sturdy matrons accomplished their "day's work" at loom or spinning-wheel. At length the household was supplied with sheeting, blankets, towels, coverlets, heavy woolen cloth for winter wear, and tow-cloth, linsey-woolseys, and gingham for the summer. Families were large, and there was much good-fellowship in the neighborhoods except when quarrels raged, and then the people were vigorous haters. There were many pleasures mingled with the anxieties and hard work; the people enjoyed going to church, and their nerves were so deep that they were not fretted by long sermons. If bad came to worse they could drop off to sleep, provided they evaded the watchful tithing-man with his long pole with a squirrel's tail at the end of it. Domestic and neighborly festivities, such as husk-

ings and raisings, were merry occasions, and flip increased the hilarity. Thanksgiving was a delightful home feast, and training days were bright spots in quiet lives. There was a kind of spice given to their humdrum existence by the many signs and superstitions they watched and were possessed by. We shall notice later the witchcraft epidemic, but must refer here to the fear lest the moon be looked at over the left shoulder, and the anxiety to plant vegetables and butcher steer or pig in the right phases of the moon. Potatoes, carrots, and beets, growing under the surface, were planted in the "dark of the moon," and corn, peas, and beans in the "light of the moon." Then, too, pig or steer must be slain when the moon was waxing, otherwise it would "shrink in the pot." Brush was cut "when the moon was in the heart"; to see an odd number of crows was lucky; when a cow was lost, a stick was set on end and let fall to see in which direction she went; it was supposed that the place to dig for water could be discovered by a piece of hazel, which would turn toward the springs. A story went the rounds of a scoffer, who started to build a ship on Friday; named it Friday, launched it Friday, set sail on Friday and was never heard from again. To spill salt was sign of a quarrel, but if a little were thrown over the right shoulder, the danger was averted. There were haunted houses in most of the towns, and demons were supposed to inhabit lonely roads to terrify travelers.

One of the most laughable events of those credulous years was the so-called *Battle of the Frogs*, which has come down in ballad and story from the early summer of 1758, when on a dark foggy night, just after midnight, shouts and cries were heard by the people of Windham, coming from a pond a mile east of the village. The whole town turned out and women and children tried to compete with the frogs in their outcries and screams, for some thought the French and Indians were about to make an attack, while others thought the noise was the trump of doom ushering in the

close of history. Toward daybreak, the noise died away, and in the morning hundreds, and some say thousands, of frogs were found dead in the pond. There must have been millions if Samuel Peters of Blue Law notoriety was accurate, for he says they "filled a road 40 rods wide and 4 miles in length." Some have thought that an earthquake killed the frogs, others that they killed one another in a frog Gettysburg, others that they died of over-excitement, since it is supposed that the frog sings only when it is happy.

A suggestion concerning one side of the life of the people is found in the fact that until 1700, there was a winter wolf hunt in Windham County; the last wolf at Woodstock was shot by Pembascus in 1732, and Ashford's last wolf in 1735. Israel Putnam achieved considerable fame by his adventure in a wolf's den, and the story that has come down to us is as follows: There was near his farm a craggy, precipitous hill range with ragged rocks and tangled forest; for years the neighboring country was ravaged, and innumerable sheepfolds robbed, by a wolf from that wild fastness; children feared to go up among the hills for berries. One morning seventy sheep and goats were reported as killed, besides many lambs and kids wounded and torn. Putnam had a bloodhound of superior strength, and with five neighbors the resolute farmer agreed to watch until the wolf was killed. The final hunt was in the winter of 1742-43, when a light snowfall enabled men and boys to track the wolf to his den. A day was spent in fruitless endeavor to persuade the beast to come out. Failing in that, Putnam threw off coat and waistcoat, and with a rope around his body, and a torch in his hand, he was lowered into the cave until he saw the glaring eyeballs; the second time he entered the cave he carried a gun and shot the wolf. The wildness of the life appears also from the fact that rattlesnakes were so numerous that for years a prize of fourpence a head was offered for them. The first fifteen days of May were set apart to hunt them in Windham

County. Bounties were offered for tails of rattlesnakes in various towns, and in Norwich, early in the eighteenth century, twopence apiece was given for all rattlesnakes killed between the fifteenth of April and the first of May, and people turned out in large numbers to hunt them. In 1721, the bounty was claimed for killing one hundred and sixty snakes in Norwich, and in 1730, the bounty was increased to two shillings apiece and three hundred were killed in fifteen days. In 1735, twenty pounds was paid, with the bounty at fourpence. In 1739, the bounty was raised again to ten shillings, and among those who claimed it were the Widow Woodworth, who was paid for twenty-three, and the Widow Smith for nine, and in those years he who claimed the bounty was obliged to take oath that he went out for no other purpose than to destroy them. There was enough to jar the nerves of the timid, and there is an old Norwich tradition that an adventurous lover, going home late one night from a visit to his lady-love below Little Plain, was snapped at by a wolf and hissed at by a rattlesnake.

There was much variety in the early life, and enough to foster brawn, courage, and daring. Struggles with Indians, wild animals, backward seasons, and reluctant soil were reinforced by problems of government, fears of the devil, wrestlings with the claims of a severe theology, church quarrels, and benighted superstitions. The sturdy consciousness of being engaged in doing the will of God, however stern the adversities, trained steady nerves, encouraged sound sleep, and promoted tireless thrift.

CHAPTER IX

THE EARLY RELIGIOUS LIFE

IT is a short step from a study of the way the people lived in the early years to a glance at their religious experience and devotion, so vital and all-pervasive was their consciousness of the presence of God, and so sure their faith in the infinite will, which they believed to be at the heart of the vast system over them. In the preamble to the Fundamental Orders, they said that they joined in one commonwealth "to maintain and preserve the liberty and purity of the Gospel of our Lord Jesus, which we now profess, as also the discipline of the churches, which, according to the truth of said Gospel is now practiced amongst us." Religion was to them a practical and urgent claim. Revolting against the formalism and corruptions of a state church, whose hand had been heavy against them, they crossed the Atlantic with a tireless assurance that everything is controlled by God's sovereignty, and that things are right or wrong because God says so; that nothing escapes the notice of God, whose clutch holds fast the freest choice. They also held strongly to the idea of human helplessness.

No higher authority for this can be quoted than Thomas Hooker, who once likened a "poore sinner" to the "wheele of a clock that is turned aside, and by some contrary poyse set the wrong way," which cannot be set right except by "a kind of holy violence" on the part of God. He says, "If there were a great and old distemper in a mans stomacke,

if a man should put a rich doublet upon him and lay him in a Featherbed, and use all other meanes, this would doe him noe good." Conversion as a violent process was the normal type in that strenuous age. The devil was as real to the settlers as the Lord, and almost as hard to down. "It is a tough work, a wonderfully hard matter to bee saved. It is not shedding a teare at a Sermon, or blubbering now and then in a corner, and saying over thy prayers, and crying God mercy for thy sins, will save thee," says Thomas Shepherd, Hooker's son-in-law. Willingness to be damned for the glory of God, which was developed more fully in the next century, was implied in the faith of the early Puritans. Minute and rigid self-inspection and thorough analysis of the inner life were urged and practiced. Merciless exposure of the naked soul was demanded that all danger of self-deception might be avoided; and candidates for church membership were required to run the gauntlet of fifty searching questions before they could be received. The solemnity and strictness which gathered about the Sabbath, the sharp watch on church-going, and the microscopic scrutiny of the soul by the Almighty and the individual, would have resulted in a piety more morbid than sound, more debilitating than healthful, had it not been for the wholesomeness and common sense of the Anglo-Saxon settlers and the hard work encountered. They believed that an Indian could not kill a settler unless God willed it; they also believed that God willed the settler to fire first if he could.

There is a story that has floated down the years of a settler spending a long evening in argument with a neighbor over the divine decrees, and when he took his gun and stepped out into the darkness, he examined the priming, which led his friend to say, "What is the use of that? If it is foreordained that an Indian should kill you, you cannot help yourself." "True," said the other, "but if it is foreordained that I should kill an Indian, I must be ready."

Wielding ax and swinging scythe helped to modify extreme views of divine control, while diabolic spite, morbid fancies, and torpid liver were corrected in some degree by the healthy outdoor living. Despite the wise teachings of Hooker, it was in the year 1648, six months after the powerful preacher breathed his last, that a woman was hanged in Hartford for familiarity with the devil. Watchfulness for Satan's officiousness in securing the death of a cow, a tempest, rheumatism, or Indian depravity helped correct excessive self-examination. Far more valuable was the daily reading of the Bible and prayer. Recoiling from the supremacy of the Church, they enthroned the Scriptures as the supreme authority.

The New Haven congregation rose while the minister solemnly pronounced the text. The whole Bible, even the Solomon Love Song, carried reverent worshipers straight to the heavenly throne. John Pynchon, the founder of Springfield, wrote a book in 1650, on the Atonement, presenting a view which has since prevailed largely in New England, and the Massachusetts legislature ordered it burnt, because it was supposed to be unfair to the Bible. Mrs. Hutchinson with her teaching of the higher life, and the Quakers with their claim to the immediate guidance of the Holy Spirit, were dangerous, because they seemed to disturb the authority of the Scriptures. The saintliness of the early years was neither morbidly sentimental, gloomy, excessively mystical or hard, considering the age and the heredity, but religion was at the center of everything. Family worship was an important feature of a Puritan household. At the beginning of every meal the blessing was asked, and at the close, thanks were given, every person standing by his chair in both instances. The day began and ended with Scripture and prayer, all standing during prayer.

From about 1660, there appeared symptoms of a decline from the austerity of the first years. Hardship, severe toil, worry over food, wolves and Indians, poor schools, and

the natural reaction, which our changeful human nature practices, brought in what has been called *The Puritan Decline*. This is clearly indicated in a book published in 1701, *A Testimony to the Order of the Gospel, in the Churches of New England*, by John Higginson, who taught school in Hartford in 1638, and preached in Guilford and Salem. When he was eighty-five years old, he joined with William Hubbard, the pastor at Ipswich, in a statement which contains the following sentences:

We are sensible that there is Risen and Rising among us, a Number who not only forsake the *Right wayes of the Lord*, wherein these holy churches have walked, but also labor to carry away as many others with them as they can. It is too observable, That the *Power of Godliness*, is exceedingly Decaying and Expiring in the Country.

That this is not the gloomy brooding of a depressed old age appears from the fact that in sermons, legislative enactments, records of the courts and of the churches, the decline was generally recognized as widespread and serious. In 1679, a "Reforming Synod" was called by the General Court of Massachusetts, and it pointed out a "great and visible decay of the power of Godliness" in the churches. It specified as evils of the times, neglect of divine worship, disregard of the church sacraments, pride, profanity, Sabbath-breaking, family lawlessness and irreligion, intemperance, licentiousness, covetousness, and untruthfulness.

In the words of Thomas Prince: "A little after 1660, there began to appear Decay, and this increased to 1670, when it grew very visible and threatening and was generally complained of and bewailed bitterly by the pious among them: and yet more to 1680, when but few of the first generation remained." The colonists had passed into a life of strain; religious ties between them and the strong religious life of England were severed by the Restoration; they were no longer the vanguard of a great religious movement.

Their religious life ceased to interest any considerable section of England; left to themselves in the wilderness, their zeal flagged and their moral life fell away. There had been a falling off in the ability and scholarship of the pulpit and the intelligence of laymen; land-grabbing had crowded out self-examination in that vigorous town-planting period, over eighty Connecticut towns being incorporated between 1660, and 1735. To get more land was a fever which dulled the anxiety to checkmate the devil and get to heaven. Political worry, military activity, and heavy taxation made the strain so stern and constant as to interrupt self-investigation and obscure the great White Throne. King Philip's war carried fire and slaughter to many towns. It was hard to grow in grace when the church was transformed into a fortress. Action under James II. to take away the charter, the trying sway of Andros, the French War, expedition to Albany, another to Canada, witchcraft craze, Queen Anne's War, controversies over colonial boundaries, commercial and currency problems and embarrassments, smallpox and diphtheria epidemics, together with a thousand questions arising with the settling of new towns, gave the people enough to think about without spending too much time in morbid duels with their inner corruptions.

There was also much contention in the churches, which went far to paralyze the religious life. Church quarrels were fruitful sources of migrations to form new towns; there were disagreements in Wethersfield which led to the settling of Stamford in 1641, and Hadley in 1659. There was a protracted quarrel in the Hartford church from 1653, to 1659. The union of church and state was the occasion of numberless difficulties, which hindered the religious life. The action of the Half-way Covenant, which will be described later, seriously blighted the spirituality of the times. Religious controversies, which were fought out in the legislature, the courthouse, and the town meeting, with the

jail standing near by as a threat, furnished poor soil for a vital spiritual life. The domineering spirit of the churches, which brooked no disagreement with their vicious conception of the nature and province of the church, helped on the decline. The uncharitable severity with which conscientious dissent on matters of religion was treated chilled the tender plant of piety, and converted churches, distinguished at the start for brotherly love, into refrigerators which the people must attend, or be fined. The people in democratic Connecticut seem to have had an average amount of human nature, and it was not conducive to piety that, despite the reaction against class distinctions in England and Massachusetts, they should have preserved and established the caste system in seating the meeting-house. An illustration of this is found in the fact that in 1698, the townsmen and Goodman Elderkin, the carpenter, were engaged in Norwich to arrange the pews into eight classes, according to their dignity, and then five of the most respected men were directed to seat the people with due regard to rank: "the square pue to be considered first in dignity; the new seats and the fore seats in the broad ally next, and alike in dignity."

In view of all this we do not wonder that Higginson, Hubbard, and others joined in the lament. The Rev. Samuel Mather of Windsor, writing in 1706, says in a pastoral letter to his people:

It is a time of much Degeneracy . . . In great measure we in this wilderness have *lost our first love*. . . . We do not walk with God as our Fathers did, and hence we are continually from year to year under his *Rebukes* one way or another; and yet alas, we *turn not unto him that smites us*: these considerations call for the utmost of our endeavors, for the reformation of what is amiss amongst us: and for the upholding and *strengthening of what yet remains*, and is perhaps *ready to dy*.

In East Windsor, Rev. Timothy Edwards—father of the famous Jonathan—preached a sermon in May, 1712, on a

topic upon which the ministers of Farmington, Hartford, and Windsor united, namely: "Irreverence in the worship of God, and profanation of his Glorious and fearful Name by Causeless Imprecations and Rash Swearing." In 1714, Samuel Whitman of Farmington preached the election sermon in Hartford before the General Court. In it he said:

Is not religion declining? Indeed 'tis too evident to be denied, that Religion is on the Wane among us, 'Tis Languishing in all Parts of the Land. . . . Time was when the Ordinances of God were highly-prized; Our Fathers had a high Esteem of them, and laid great Weight on them. . . . But now, the Love of many is grown cold. . . . We are risen up a Generation that have in a great Measure forgot the Errand of our Fathers.

Similar in spirit and substance was the election sermon of Stephen Hosmer of East Haddam in 1720, the title of which was: "A People's Living in Appearance and Dying in Reality." In 1730, William Russell of Middletown spoke in the same vein. He challenged his hearers to consider the undoubted fact of "Vanity, Worldliness, Pride, great Unthoughtfulness of God." He asks:

And is there not abundance of Unrighteousness & Unmercifulness among us? Injustice in prices, delays and dishonesty in Payments, Deceit, Falseness and Unfaithfulness in Bargains, Contracts and Betrustments, griping Usury, Evading and Baffling the Laws made for the Security of men from that Oppression? a multitude of Law Suits, Men ready to take one another by the Throat?

Similar reports come from the civil rulers, the courts, the jail records, the church records; all bear witness to an unspeakable laxity of morals. The sins were those of intemperance, lying, slander, and licentiousness. Of the last mentioned Jonathan Edwards, preaching to his well-to-do people in Northampton, speaks of certain customs that were

common among the young people, which had been one main thing that had led to the growth of uncleanness in the land. With the increase of drunkenness, profanity, and licentiousness, it is clear that a change had come since 1643, when the author of *New England First Fruits* wrote: "One may live there from year to year, and not see a drunkard, hear an oath, or see a beggar"; and Hugh Peters, in a sermon before Parliament, said in 1646: "I have lived seven years in a country where I never saw a beggar, nor heard an oath, or looked upon a drunkard." There was also a falling away from the early intensity of religious experience as appears in the statements made by candidates for church membership. A less strenuous type was discovered and expected. Formality was on the increase as appears from the fact that baptism was made prominent as a bond to hold people to the church when there was a lack of spiritual life.

There was no falling off in the forms of religion; tithing-men were busy, and constables were earning their fees, arresting the wayward Sabbath-breakers. The people in every town gathered at the meeting-house for long sermons, and, before bells were obtained, the drum called all who could get out of bed to the solemn meetings. The first was beaten at eight o'clock in the tower of the meeting-house and through the streets of the town. When the second drum beat at ten, families went forth from their houses and walked, children following parents to the door, though not allowed to sit with them; the ministers wearing gowns and bands, but not the surplice. There were also meetings during the week. In New Haven the church had a meeting by itself on Tuesday, and on Thursday a lecture open to all, though perhaps not every week.

It may relieve this rather gloomy story to look at a picture of a Sunday meeting in one of the towns on the Connecticut in 1650. It was a small, square structure, clapboarded and wainscoted. The people came together to the beat of the drum, as it was to be seven years before a bell was to hang

in the belfry. See the people coming, mostly on foot, though some from the more distant farms on horseback, the wife on the pillion, behind her husband, with the youngest child in her arms, while the rest followed on foot, young men and maidens according to a law discovered by Darwin two centuries later. At the west end of the meeting-house was the lofty pulpit, in front of which was the seat where the two solemn-faced deacons sat. The people were seated with respect of age, office, and estate. The guard of eight men with muskets at shoulder marched in, and stacking their arms near by, took their seats on either side, and the minister walked up the aisle with stately tread. The meeting began with a prayer lasting a quarter of an hour, then a chapter was read and explained, a psalm announced, and one of the deacons rose and read:

That man is blest that hath not blent,

Getting as near D as he could, he launched on the ocean of song, and the people joined. Then the deacon read the second line:

To wicked reade his eare,

By this time, the people took hold with a will, and when the third line was given, a mighty shout rang through the forest:

Nor led his life as sinners do,

They concluded with:

And eke the way of wicked men
Shall quite be overthrown.

The people sat while the minister turned the hour-glass and announced the text. After the sermon there was a prayer and a blessing, and the people went home to a cold dinner or to the "Sabba day house," or to a neighbor's to replenish foot-stoves and eat luncheon. The afternoon

meeting was like that in the morning, except that after the concluding prayer all children of recent birth were presented for baptism, though zero weather froze the parson's breath. Then one of the deacons rose and said, "Brethren of the congregation, now there is time left for contributions, wherefore as God hath prospered so freely offer." The people went forward with their gifts, then all rose, and another psalm was lined off, and a blessing concluded the meeting.

In passing now to consider the government of the churches, we must bear in mind that the settlers of Connecticut lived in an age in which a sturdy and well-balanced organization was considered indispensable to the life of religion, especially in a new country, to which all kinds of people might come, and those who might infect the new society with dangerous views. Although the settlers had suffered much in England because of the union of church and state, it was too early for even as able and broad-minded men as the pioneers on the Connecticut to rise to the level of what is now a commonplace of civil and religious liberty. The emigrants to the River, and still more distinctly the colonists on the Sound, followed the traditions and practices of the parish system of England, and considered town and church as practically one, settling the affairs of both at the same meeting, which was held usually in the meeting-house, and one meets on the records in one paragraph an appropriation to pay the minister, and in the next a reference to the appointment of pound-keeper.

The first code, that of 1650, required that all persons should be taxed for both church and state, and all rates—for church, school, constable, and fence-viewer—were collected by law. All persons were required to attend Sunday worship under penalty of three shillings, and to go to church on days of public fasting and thanksgiving appointed by the governor, under penalty of five shillings for every instance of neglect. It was enacted: "That no persons within the

colony, shall in any wise embody themselves into church estate, without consent of the General Court, and approbation of neighboring elders." The laws also ordered that no ministry or church service should be entertained or attended by the inhabitants of any plantation distinct and separate from that which was publicly observed by the approved minister of the place, under penalty of five pounds for every violation, and that the civil authority "haue power and liberty to see the peace, ordinances and rules of Christ, observed in every church, according to his word; and also to deal with every church member in a way of civil justice, notwithstanding any church relation, office or interest." So long as the establishment lasted, down to the adoption of the constitution in 1818, the connection with the civil power continued. If a church refused to pay its minister, the legislature settled the proper amount for his maintenance, and enforced the payment. If a church remained without a minister for a year, the legislature could name an amount for ministerial purposes, and compel the town to raise it, according to the time-honored view of the union of church and state: the state the caretaker of the church; the church taking charge of public morals, and furnishing ministers to instruct magistrates. A man who found himself within the territory of a parish was not allowed to vote on purely church matters, unless he was a church member, but he was compelled to pay toward the support of a minister in whose call he had no voice, and to support a church for which perhaps he had no sympathy. In Connecticut, a man did not lose his franchise in civil affairs, though under censure of the church, but in New Haven, as in Massachusetts, loss of church membership cost a man his vote in town affairs.

The Cambridge Platform, adopted by a council in 1648, governed for sixty years. The need of this was due to the feeling that there ought to be uniformity of religious faith and practice. It was seen that some provision ought to be made for outsiders coming into the colonies; the exacting

oversight of the members in the local church had to give way to a system capable of meeting larger needs. When the Cambridge Synod adjourned, it was known that the churches of New England accepted the Westminster Confession "for substance thereof" in matters of faith; but in government there were differing views.

The Cambridge Platform, a law to the churches in the sense that Kent's Commentaries are law in courts of justice, taught that the Congregational Church was not national, but a brotherhood of believers, with pastors, teachers, and ruling elders, who have a certain "power of office," while the people who elected them had "power of privilege." After election, the officers governed as they saw fit. But in case of excommunication, the more liberal policy of Plymouth and Connecticut prevailed, and civil rights were not forfeited. Pastors and teachers were such only by election, and the laying on of the hands of the elders of the church electing them, though elders of other churches could lay on hands "when there were no elders, and the church so desired." Maintenance of the churches was to be collected from all the citizens. Communion between the churches was defined to be for mutual welfare, sisterly advice, commendation of members, succor of the needy, and the propagation of Christianity. Synods or councils, consisting of ministerial and lay delegates, were considered "necessary to the well-being of the churches for the establishment of truth and peace." These might be called by the churches, but, unlike the Presbyterian synods, they were disbanded when their work was done; moreover they were not to "exercise church censure in the way of discipline nor in any other act of authority." Civil magistrates should not meddle with the work of the churches, but see that godliness was upheld, by putting down blasphemy, idolatry, and heresy; by punishing all profaners of the Sabbath, contemners of the ministry, all disturbers of public worship, and to proceed against "schismatic or obstinately corrupt

churches." This platform, known in later years as the *Book of Discipline* of the Congregational Church, defined the principles of this body. In England the Independent churches were strictly what their name implies, but the Cambridge Platform tended to introduce order and unity in the action and influence of the churches. Cotton, Norton, and Hooker saw the importance of giving permanence to a system of mutual supervision. Provision was made for an occasional council or "Synod," to be composed of ministers and laymen from the neighboring churches, with no power to compel any church to take any particular action, but only to advise and admonish. The severest action the Synod could take was to withdraw fellowship from the offending church.

Thus the *Congregational* became the established form of church order. The members of the Cambridge Synod used the term in the preface to their platform. There was a slight leaning toward Presbyterianism in the provision which allowed the ordination of the officers of a church by officers of other churches, "in case where there were no elders and the church so desired." As a last resort the church looked to the civil power for the guarding of peace and purity. "If any church shall grow schismatical, rending itself from the communion of other churches, or shall walk incorrigibly or obstinately in any corrupt way of their own, contrary to the rule of the word, in such case the magistrate is to put forth his coercive power as the matter shall require." Such interference came into play in the famous Hartford quarrel, but without much success.

A well-furnished church had a pastor and a teacher, both of whom preached and administered the ordinances, while the distinctive function of the former was to preach, and that of the latter was to enforce the truth and interpret Scripture. Each church had also one or more ruling elders, who shared with the pastor and teacher the task of discipline; the deacons had charge of the business affairs, and

provided for the poor. The office of pastor was not long discriminated from that of teacher, and the practice of maintaining the two officers soon passed. At the time of the confederation of the New England colonies, there were nearly eighty ruling elders. The occasion of the Hartford quarrel, which began soon after the death of Hooker, was this: Goodwin, the ruling elder, wanted Michael Wigglesworth as Hooker's successor, and Stone, the surviving minister, refused to let the proposition be put to vote. The Goodwin party withdrew from the church, and the Stone party tried to discipline the former; a council of churches failed to reconcile the parties; the General Court intervened, and the angry elements became furious. It was not until 1659, when sixty members removed to Hadley, that peace was restored. In 1663, a keener struggle took place, when the two tactless pastors, Stone and Whiting, led the two wings of the church in a four years' fight over the question of the requirements for membership in the church. In May, 1669, the General Court passed a law permitting the formation of another church in the town. In October, Whiting applied for permission to form the Second Church of Hartford; and when it was formed, the new church adopted the practice of the Half-way Covenant, against which he and his party had been contending for years.

What was the Half-way Covenant? The theory of the New England churches was that their membership should be restricted to those who could give proof of their conversion; and that only such persons and their children might rightly be baptized. There were some in the colony who wished to follow the "parish-way" of the Church of England; these were disposed to receive into the church all persons of good moral character, and baptize their children. Many of the children of the second generation of the settlers could not give a satisfactory account of their religious experience, and consequently their children could not be presented for baptism. Hence many people of exemplary lives had no

standing in the churches, and meager political standing. In February, 1657, a ministerial council was called in Boston to consider the question which was vexing the churches, to see if it might not be wise to widen the door into the church. There was strong opposition to that council, especially at New Haven, but it met, and sustained the new view. It declared that baptized infants could, on arriving at years of discretion, "own the covenant" and become formal church members; that the church was bound to accept them (if they were not of scandalous life and understood the grounds of religion), and was bound to baptize their children, thus continuing the chain of claims to church-membership to all generations. This made membership in the church an affair of morals and formality, and gave great offense at New Haven and among many of the Connecticut people, for it introduced a dual membership, worked against the old Puritan theory of a covenant church, and brought in a national church of mixed membership. In 1662, a Synod met in Boston, in which neither Connecticut nor New Haven was represented, which reaffirmed the crude Half-way Covenant. In 1664, the General Court formally adopted the decision of the council, and commended it to the churches under its jurisdiction, which then included New Haven. It was a political idea, and not all of the churches adopted it. This made the break in the Hartford church, for when Haynes in 1666, undertook to put the Half-way Covenant in practice, Whiting, the senior colleague, forbade him to proceed with the service. Later, the church split into two churches with the Half-way Covenant running merrily in both. In 1668, the legislature, unable to persuade Massachusetts to call a Synod, passed its first Toleration Act, allowing "until a better light in an orderly way doth appeare," that "sundry persons of worth for prudence and piety amongst us . . . may haue allowance of their persuasion and profession in church wayes." Yet there was no release from support of an unacceptable ministry or from

finer for neglect of church-going. Tolerance extended only to differences of opinion within the fold.

The support of religion was voluntary in Connecticut until 1640, and both New Haven and Connecticut adopted the suggestion of the Commissioners of the united colonies on September 5, 1644, "that each man should be required to set down what he would voluntarily give for the support of the Gospel, and that any man who refused should be rated according to his possessions, and was compelled to pay" the sum levied. We have spoken of the action of the legislature in connection with the Hartford quarrels; it was the practice of the General Court from the beginning to consider itself the arbiter of all matters relating to the churches, compelling them to own its authority. As early as 1643, it demanded from the Wethersfield church a list of the grievances that disturbed it. It is not strange that people, brought up under the ecclesiastical system of England, should have taken the course they did, since it was an abiding conviction that the state ought to support one form of religion and only one.

The office of ruling elder was soon given up, partly because of a lack of suitable men to fill the position, and partly because of the arrogance of domineering elders. The office of teacher was also abolished, and the minister held all the power formerly vested in pastor, teacher, and elder, and, retaining the veto power, sometimes became autocratic when he was so disposed and dared. The notion that ministers rode rough-shod over the minds of their people, holding the reins with iron hand, betrays imperfect knowledge. The people had minds of their own as well as the ministers, but for many years there were outlets in new towns for the disaffected, and occasionally a minister colonized with a part of the congregation.

The Half-way Covenant, notwithstanding vigorous opposition, gradually became the general practice. It was not considered as exactly Congregational; the religious

character of Connecticut was thus officially represented in 1676, to the Lords of Trade and Plantations: "Our people are some of them strict Congregational men, others more large Congregational men, and some moderate Presbyterians." As time passed and the new leaven spread, strict Congregationalists decreased. "A church without a bishop, and a state without a king," was still the theory; but the General Court saw that something better than its meddling was needed to keep the churches in peace, and in 1708, it issued an edict to each of the forty-one churches to send pastor and delegate to a synod to convene at Saybrook, to draw up a church system for the commonwealth; sixteen men, twelve of them ministers, obeyed the summons. The Synod met in September, adopted the Savoy Confession, and formed the Saybrook Platform as the church system, commending an explicit covenant of communion between the churches, called Consociation—a permanent organization—consisting of minister and a delegate from the churches "planted in a convenient vicinity." It proposed that each church should enter into the confederation, consenting to certain principles and rules of intercourse; that a church or a person should have the right to bring disputes before the consociation; that a pastor or church refusing to be bound by the decision of the consociation should be put out of the communion; and that there should be an annual meeting of delegates from all the consociations. The "Heads of Agreement" assented to by the Saybrook Synod with its membership of twelve ministers and four laymen was an English platform, and formed a compromise with the Presbyterian theory. The legislature at once ratified the Saybrook Platform, coolly affirming that it had been presented as "unanimously agreed and consented to by the elders and churches," as if the action of that little conclave of less than a third of the ministers and four laymen could be regarded as "the elders and churches." Churches united by this platform were "owned and acknowledged

established by law." All were taxed for the support of the established, that is the Congregational, churches. It was a modified Presbyterianism, without coercive power, except as the provision for the ministers' support, and the withdrawal of it from refractory members, formed a stern compulsion. After a time the terms *Congregational* and *Presbyterian* were interchangeable. The General Association of 1805, affirmed that "The Saybrook Platform is the Constitution of the Presbyterian Church of Connecticut." In accordance with the form of government outlined in the platform, the churches were formed into five consociations; one each in New Haven, New London, and Fairfield counties, and two in Hartford County, and the ministers were formed into five associations, to provide ministerial standing and oversight for one another. This system was definitely imposed upon the churches by excluding from the benefits of the previous establishment every church that should decline conformity. All churches of the earlier, Congregational way were disowned.

How was the new religious constitution received? Trumbull says that it "met with a general reception, though some of the churches were extremely opposed to it." There were decided differences of opinion concerning its application. The local independence of the churches was sacrificed, but it tended to bring the churches into a closer union with one another, and to prepare for the perils and struggles, the trials and conquests that were before the people. While the system after a time developed into a barren and rigid formalism in many quarters, with evil results upon morals; while it exalted the eldership and pastoral power; while it replaced the sympathetic help and friendliness of neighboring churches with organized associations and the authority of councils, it was valuable in many ways in the new towns. It made strenuous efforts to stay the tendency toward barbarism during Indian, French, and Spanish wars. It encouraged catechising of the children, and reformation of

morals. It lessened the excesses of the Great Awakening, and anodyned some of the bitter controversies and movements toward Deism and infidelity. There were church quarrels enough under the new system, some of them lasting for ten or fifteen years, but this "permanent establishment," in which church and state were bound together more securely than before, in which the legislature turned over to the "government within a government" the whole control of the religious life of the colony, and endowed it with church courts, may have been the best possible device to tide the churches over trying times.

In a day and generation when men were convinced that religious uniformity was necessary to civil order, it is significant that the General Assembly, in the act of establishing the Saybrook Platform, should have added a proviso—"that nothing herein shall be intended or construed to hinder or prevent any Society or Church that is or shall be allowed by the laws of this government, who soberly differ or dissent from the United Churches hereby established from exercising worship and discipline in their own way, according to their conscience." This liberal clause was a shrewd endeavor to win to the platform the minority who clung to the earlier faith, and it also covered dissenters, though no rival church was desired in Connecticut. The Toleration Act had largely in view also the favor of the king who might disturb the charter if the government here were unfair toward any religious sects. Four classes, Quakers, Episcopalians, Baptists and Rogerines, were much in evidence. The treatment of the Quakers is often spoken of as a brilliant example of intolerance. The colonists made it uncomfortable for the members of this aggressive sect, not by hanging, as in Massachusetts, but by branding whipping and fining; and very likely they would have hanged them if necessary to be rid of them, for it was too early to understand religious freedom. Having come to establish a state after their own ideas, they proposed to defend it

against all invaders, and the Quakers were invaders who came from the old world for the declared purpose of disturbance and overthrow, publishing principles aiming at the foundations of religion and society as the Puritans understood those priceless boons. The Quakers reviled the faith and worship which the settlers had endured all kinds of hardships to enjoy, outraging the religious rights and freedom of the people. Deborah Wilson, a Quaker preacher, went through the streets of Salem, undecorated even with fig leaves, and in similar plight women sometimes went into public religious assemblies, to show the nakedness of the people's sins. In view of the dread the sect awakened, the New England commissioners in September, 1656, advised the colonies to take measures against the Quakers, and Connecticut complied, so far as to direct that any town that harbored them should be fined; but the execution of the penalties was to be left to the discretion of the magistrates, a discretion which seems to have been exercised with so much judgment that, despairing of martyrdom, Quakers gave Connecticut a wide berth. New Haven took up the matter with more zeal, and court trials increased offenders, who indignantly assailed the methods and manners of the government on the Sound.

It is not within the province of as sturdy human nature as that which settled New Haven as a theocracy to endure men who would abolish all distinction between clergy and laity; refusing to pay tithes, render military service, take the oath of allegiance, or yield the doctrine of the *Inward Light*. Humphrey Norton was whipped, burned in the hand with the letter H for heretic, and banished, and others were carried back to Rhode Island. Less vehement was the treatment in Hartford of John Rous and John Copeland, traveling preachers, who reached the city in 1658, and being allowed to hold a discussion in the presence of the governor and magistrates, they were told at the close that the laws of the colony forbade their remaining in it, and that

they would better continue their journey to Rhode Island. They did so, and Rous testified in behalf of Connecticut that "among all the colonies, found we not like moderation as this; most of the magistrates being more noble than those of the others." In 1676, when the constables broke up a Friends' meeting in New London, the leader of the Quakers says that "the sober people were offended because of the attack," and on the following Sunday at Hartford, he was allowed to speak unhindered after the morning meeting. In 1705, the queen was persuaded by William Penn to annul the Connecticut law of 1657, against "Heretics, Infidels and Quakers," and in 1729, influenced by the action of English law, the General Assembly released the Quakers from paying taxes to support the established churches, provided that they could show a certificate vouching for their support of their own meetings and presence there. Connecticut shared with Massachusetts in dislike for the Baptists, and in 1704, refused them permission to incorporate church estate. While paying secular taxes cheerfully, the Baptists endured flogging, fines, and imprisonment rather than pay the church tax. The oppressive measures against them ceased on the inauguration of Governor Talcott, at which time the Toleration Act gave them some freedom, and in 1729, the legislature extended to the Baptists the measure of freedom which had been granted to Quakers.

The year 1702, marked the beginning of a definite movement in behalf of an American Episcopate. The prosperous and contented colony attracted settlers, so that the population trebled about every twenty years. With the newcomers, there appeared in the latter part of the seventeenth century members of the Church of England, who settled in Stratford and other towns near New York. To their surprise, Connecticut would not tolerate their services. Complaint was made in England in 1702; John Talbot and George Keith, missionary priests of the Church of England, reported to the Bishop of London, and lodged complaint

of oppression of dissenters from the Congregational Church. Talbot's appeal for an American Episcopate found a response in a strong party in the English Church, which had formed in 1701, the *Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts*, to which belonged all the English bishops. In 1705, fourteen clergymen from the middle colonies framed a petition to the English archbishop and bishops for a bishop in America, referring to the "inconveniences which the church labors under by the influence which seditious men's counsels have." Until 1709, there was little persecution beyond that of the tongue. When they were not allowed to organize churches, and were forced to pay taxes to support Congregationalism, friends in England heard some emphatic protests from churchmen here. It was an anxious time in Connecticut, which had not forgotten Laud's purpose in 1638, to appoint a bishop over New England.

The enemies of this commonwealth were scheming to consolidate the New England colonies under a royal governor. Bills to that end were introduced into Parliament in 1701, and in 1706; in the latter year John Talbot pleaded in England for an American bishop, voicing the importunity of Connecticut Episcopalians for relief from taxation for the Congregational order. Frightened by the discontent, and the stormy looks of English friends of the rising body, the General Assembly in 1708, added a proviso to the Saybrook Platform, by which dissenters could qualify before county courts for organization into distinct bodies by taking oath of fidelity to the crown, denying transubstantiation, and by declaring their sober dissent from Congregationalism; provided that it worked no detriment to the established church. It would be for a man's pecuniary advantage to stay in the state church, otherwise he would be doubly taxed. At a time when money was scarce, double taxation was like prohibition, yet the meager Toleration Act was regarded as a measure of dangerous liberality. In 1709,

finer and imprisonments began in earnest and persecution continued for forty years. Episcopalians could not build, and they would not attend Congregational worship, and magistrates, refusing to recognize the services held in private houses, fined them for absence from public worship. This treatment ceased when it was learned that a report of the court proceedings would be sent to England. In 1707, an Episcopal church was organized at Stratford, with thirty communicants; in 1718, it had increased to one hundred baptized persons, thirty-six communicants, and a congregation of more than two hundred people, ministered to by traveling missionaries of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and by a missionary priest, Rev. George Pigott, under whom, in 1722, Timothy Cutler, the eloquent Rector of Yale College, and six of his associates declared their dissatisfaction with Congregationalism, or, as they called it, the *Presbyterianism* of the Connecticut established church. Cutler and three other ministers went to England for ordination, and fear seized the Congregationalists lest Episcopacy become established here as in England; hope cheered the churchmen in view of the "glorious revolution." Classes in Yale from 1723, to 1733, gave many of their members to Episcopacy. Agitation for exemption from support of Congregationalism, and fines for neglecting its worship, continued. In 1727, the General Assembly passed a law ordering that in a town where there was a Church of England, the taxes of such as declared themselves as attending said church were to be paid to it. There was more or less of haggling and petty persecution together with ostracism of churchmen, and attempts to defraud Episcopalians of money from sale of public lands. Trying as were these experiences, their own writers admit that at that period the churchmen in Connecticut suffered less than in New York and the southern colonies; the effort for an Apostolic Episcopate did not cease until it culminated, in 1784, in the consecration of Samuel Seabury as bishop

of Connecticut. In less than twenty years from the passage of the Toleration Act, Baptists and Quakers had challenged the Establishment and obtained concessions which prepared for a larger liberty later on.

The Rogerines, a species of Quakers, began to make trouble about 1720, near New London. They were the followers of John Rogers, and since their business was to destroy priestcraft they began by trying to break up the Sunday meetings. They would go in small bands to the churches, carrying their knitting, sewing, hatcheling, and joinering, and by hammering, singing, and shouting try to drown the voice of the speaker. Rogers beset the mild and gentle Dr. Lord on his way to church, and followed him, shouting against priestcraft, and just as the minister reached the porch of the meeting-house, and taking off his hat displayed a white wig, Rogers exclaimed in a loud voice, "Benjamin! Benjamin! dost thou think that they wear white wigs in heaven?" Benjamin would have been just as saintly had he asked in reply, "John! John! dost thou think there will be revilers in heaven?" Some of them were fined for traveling on Sunday, and in July, 1726, six of them were arrested at Norwich for this offense, and were committed to prison. When taken before Justice Backus, they were sentenced to pay twenty shillings apiece, or to be whipped ten or fifteen lashes; not being able to pay the fine they were taken to the plain and whipped with privet. One of them had warm tar poured upon his head, and his hat put on, for refusing to remove his hat in court. The prosecutions and persecutions went on for a few years, John Rogers claiming that he was sentenced at one time without benefit of jury and at another that his son's cattle were seized to pay the father's fines.

We have noticed that at first the support of ministers was by voluntary contributions, a method which worked well, while devotion to religion flamed. It was the custom, for example, in Norwich for the people to carry their pro-

portion of wheat, rye, peas, and Indian corn on or before March 20, but it became necessary even in Norwich, trained as it was by the reverend James Fitch, to appoint collectors, which was done in 1686, and monthly contributions were sometimes taken to make up deficiencies. We have spoken of the code of 1650, as requiring all persons to bear their share, and soon it was the custom to lay a tax of from one penny to threepence in the pound "for the encouragement of the ministry," but, in 1677, the matter was transferred to the town, and made a part of the town finances, and at that time a regular salary was proposed. There was a custom which tended toward the permanence of the pastorate, and that was the habit of laying a special tax when a minister was installed over a church; a sum equal to the salary of two years was paid him "for settlement," as it was called, and with the amount he bought land, built a house and barn, and thus made a home, which he was supposed to occupy until death. It was expensive to settle a minister, and there was more than one reason why churches were reluctant to change. The permanence of the pastorate, together with the fact that the minister was usually the best educated man in the community, tended to give him a prominent place in the life of a town.

In this review of the religious life of the early years we have seen how the earlier seriousness passed into indifference or worse, and the heavy hand of the magistrate was enlisted to keep the people faithful to the churches; that while the Half-way Covenant was considered an adroit way out of a serious difficulty, it tended toward weakness: diminishing the conviction of need of a spiritual life; calling into a quasi-membership in the churches many who made no pretensions to such a life—men in formal covenant with a church, and careful to have their children baptized, yet caring little for the church as an institution of religion. We have glanced at some of the causes of decline in the religious life of the people toward the close of the seventeenth century,

and have seen a growth in toleration toward religious people of different views from the established Congregationalists—a progress real, though largely brought about by pressure from England—but it is pleasant to close the chapter with the note of a broader charity and a more tolerant spirit.

CHAPTER X

WITCHCRAFT

IT is a melancholy passage from the religious life of the early years, depressing as are some of the phases of it, to the delirium of witchcraft: the morbid and often cruel notions prevailing concerning the unseen world. Would that the settlers might have risen above the pitiful slough of belief in the possession of demons! But it was the seventeenth century, and the delusion, which is as old as the race, prevailed in Europe for hundreds of years, that Satan and his associates were exploiting the world, as the sworn enemies of God and the churches. The fundamental authority for all legislation on the subject was Exodus xxii., 18, "Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live," and since the Bible was revered as authoritative in every part, there was but one thing to do. From its earliest history, the church looked on witchcraft as a deadly sin, and disbelief in it as a heresy, and no better definition of it as a popular delusion can be found than the one set forth in the New England indictment, "Intertaining familiarity with Satan, the enemy of mankind, and by his help doing works above the course of nature." Compacts with Satan were regarded as common for centuries, and the destruction of those who made them was regarded as the plainest duty. For three hundred years, the flames were hot and fierce in Europe, spreading slowly from the continent to England and Scotland.

Coke, Bacon, Hale, and even Blackstone, were infected.

It was a misdemeanor at English common law, and made a felony without benefit of clergy in the reign of Henry VIII. and of Elizabeth. In 1603, at the accession of James I., a new law was enacted with an exact definition, which was in force for a century. Its main provision was this:

If any person or persons use, practice or exercise any invocation of any wicked spirit, or consult, entertain, employ or reward any wicked spirit for any purpose, or take up any dead man, woman or child out of their grave, or the skin, bone or any part of any dead person, to be used in any manner of witchcraft, sorcery, charm or enchantment, or shall use, practice or exercise any witchcraft, charm or sorcery, whereby any person shall be killed, destroyed, wasted, consumed, pined or lamed in his or her body: every such offender is a felon, without benefit of clergy.

Under this law witchcraft increased, and persecutions multiplied, especially under the Commonwealth, and notably in the eastern counties of England,—rich source of emigrants to America. It is estimated that more than one hundred thousand persons were put to death in Europe during the three centuries in which the delusion prevailed. Possessed with such notions, the General Court, in 1642, ordered that "If any man or woman be a witch, that is, hath, or consulted with, a familiar spirit—they shall be put to death." New Haven had a similar law, and persons suspected of witchcraft were tried, condemned, and executed, without any question of the justice of such proceedings. The Salem witchcraft raged from March to September, 1692, and nineteen persons were hanged, one man pressed to death and fifty-five suffered torture, but it was forty-five years before the Salem tragedy that the Land of Steady Habits entered the campaign against the poor, unfortunate creatures.

The first victim was Alse Young of Windsor, who was hanged in Hartford, on May 26, 1647, according to the diary of Matthew Grant, the town clerk of Windsor. In the following year, Mary Johnson of Wethersfield was arrested

and a "Bill of Inditement" was framed against her of "familiarity with the Deuill," and chiefly on her own confession she was found guilty and executed, and the prison-keeper's charges being allowed by the Court, were ordered paid "out of her estate." A pathetic incident attaches to the case, as a child "was borne in the prison to her." Mather says in his *Magnalia*, "She dyd in a frame extreemly to the satisfaction of them that were spectators of it."

On February 20, 1651, an indictment was found against a Wethersfield carpenter named John Carrington and his wife for having "Interteined familiarity with Sathan, the Greate Enemye of God and Mankinde," and for accomplishing works past human power. They were hanged on March 19, 1653.

One of the most pathetic cases was that of Goodwife Knap of Fairfield, a woman, who, so far as we can now judge, was very different from some of the others who were arraigned; "simple-minded," Schenck calls her in his history of Fairfield, but gossip and scandal got after the poor creature and she was committed to the jail, the cold and gloomy prison of logs, with a single barred window and massive door, in charge of a harsh jailer. On the day of her condemnation, a self-constituted committee of one man and four women visited the jail and pressed the victim to name any other witch in town, and after they had baited, threatened, and badgered her to their hearts' content, in the agony of her soul she cried out to her relentless persecutors, "Never, never poore creature was tempted as I am tempted, pray, pray for me."

The cases of 1662, were the nearest approach made in Connecticut to the Salem cases of thirty years later. Seven cases were indicted, of whom two were executed, and probably a third. This epidemic began with the eight-year-old girl of John Kelley, who in the spring of 1662, cried out in the delirium of illness against Mrs. William Ayres, who saw in the cry a death-warrant and fled. Soon afterward,

Ann Cole, a religious melancholiac, tormented with doubts about her religious welfare, had fits of derangement in which she talked for hours about a company of evil spirits taking counsel to ruin her. Others caught the contagion, and Ann and two others had attacks in church. A special day of prayer was held for them, on which the demonic exhibition was so effective that one of the company fainted at the sight. Ann Cole denounced Mrs. Richard Seager as a witch. The accused said the charge was a "hodge-podge," but she barely escaped with her life, being indicted three times. On July 16, 1665, Mrs. Seager was convicted and lodged in prison for a year, then removed to Rhode Island, that refuge of the oppressed. Later, Ann Cole recovered control of her nerves and also acquired a surplus, for she married Andrew Benton, a widower with eight children.

An average sample of the people implicated in this debauch of superstition, ignorance, and disordered nerves was Nathanael Greensmith, who lived in Hartford, next to the Coles' on the first lot on the present Wethersfield Avenue. He was a well-to-do farmer, occasionally convicted of thefts, assault, and lying. His wife Rebecca was described by Rev. John Whiting as a "lewd, ignorant, and considerably aged woman." Rebecca Greensmith had a genius for confessions of everything alleged by the witch-hunters. She had evidently fed her degenerate mind with all sorts of rubbish from the witch lore, was prompt to admit all kinds of misdemeanors, and accused every one within reach, even her husband. Gossip and rumor about these unpopular neighbors culminated in a formal complaint, and December 30, 1661, at a Court held in Hartford, both the Greensmiths were separately indicted in the same charge, which ran as follows:

Nathanael Greensmith, thou art indicted by the name of Nathanael Greensmith, for not having the fear of God before thine eyes, thou hast entertained familiarity with Satan, the

grand enemy of God and mankind—and by his help has acted things in a preternatural way beyond human abilities in a natural course, for which, according to the law of God and the established law of this commonwealth, thou deservest to die.

The extent to which the delusion went is suggested in the account given by two ministers, Haynes and Whiting, who interviewed Goody Greensmith while she was in prison, and wrote out the confession which Increase Mather regarded as convictive a proof of real witchcraft as most cases he had known.

“She forthwith and freely confessed those things to be true, that she had familiarity with the devil. The devil told her that at Christmas they would have a merry meeting, and then the covenant would be drawn up and subscribed.” This made a decided impression on the learned Rev. Samuel Stone, who was in the Court, and he laid forth with weight and earnestness the dreadful sin Rebecca had committed, and solemnly took notice that the devil loved Christmas! She said that the devil first appeared to her in the form of a deer or fawn, skipping about her; some of the company came in one shape and some in another; one flying as a crow. One of the reasons why Rebecca was convinced that her husband had help from the devil was, as she testified in the court, “I have seen logs that my husband hath brought home in his cart that I wondered at it that he could get them into the cart being a man of little body, and ye logs were such that I thought two men such as he could not have done it.” The Greensmiths were convicted and sentenced to suffer death, and in January, 1662, they were hanged on “Gallows Hill,” on the bluff a little north of where Trinity College now stands; an excellent place for the crowd in the meadows to the west to witness a popular form of entertainment.

Two days before the last confession of Goody Greensmith, Mary Barnes of Farmington was indicted for witch-

craft and found guilty by the jury. The only further note of her fate is a bill for "keep" in prison; and as it was for about the same length of time as the Greensmiths, she was probably executed like them. In May, 1669, occurred the most remarkable case in the colony, when Katheran Harrison, one of the richest people in Wethersfield, was indicted for witchcraft at the Court of Assistants in Hartford, presided over by Deputy Governor John Mason, and the suspected woman was committed to the common jail until the trial. On May 25, at a court presided over by Governor John Winthrop, Jr., with Deputy Governor William Leete, Major Mason, and others as assistants, the indictment was as follows:

Katheran Harrison, thou standest here indicted by ye name of Katheran Harrison (of Wethersfield) as being guilty of witchcraft, for that thou not haueing the fear of God before thine eyes hast had familiaritie with Sathan, the grand enimie of god and mankind, and by his help hast acted things beyond and beside the ordinary course of nature, and hast thereby hurt the bodyes of divers of the subjects of our souraigne Lord and King, of which by the law of god and of this corporation thou oughtest to dye.

Katheran pleaded not guilty and "referred herself to a tryall by the jury present." A partial trial was held in May, but the jury could not agree, and the court adjourned to October, while Mrs. Harrison went to jail.

Here are samples of the miserable drivel to which Winthrop, Mason, Treat, and Leete listened. Thomas Bracy testified that he was at the house of Hugh Wells, over against the Harrison house, making a jacket and pair of breeches, when he fell into unaccountable blunders, and looking out he saw a cart loaded with hay approaching the Harrison barn, and on the top of the hay a "red calves head, the eares standing peart up," and keeping his eyes on the cart till it came to the barn, the calf vanished. Then

he said he suspected Katheran Harrison of witchcraft, and once while in bed he saw Mrs. Harrison and James Wakely at his bedside consulting to kill him; Wakely wanted to cut his throat, but Katheran wished to strangle him. Presently Katheran seized him and pulled or pinched him so that it seemed as though she would pull the flesh from his bones, and he groaned. His father heard him and spoke, and he stopped groaning; then Katheran "fell again to afflicting and pinching," at which repeated groans brought his father and mother to the bedside, and James and Katheran went to "the beds feete." The next day appeared marks of the pinching. Joane Francis said that four years before, on the night her child was taken ill, Goodwife Harrison or her shape appeared, and Joane said, "The Lord bless me and my child, here is Goody Harrison." Three weeks later the child died. The widow of Jacob Johnson said that her husband was lying in bed in Windsor, when he had "a great box on the head, and after he came home he was ill, and Goodwife Harrison did help him with diet, drink and plasters," then she sent for Captain Atwood to help, and that night, "to the best of my apprehension, I saw the likeness of Goodwife Harrison with her face toward my husband, and I turned about to lock the door, and she vanisht away. Then my husband's nose fell a bleeding in an extraordinary manner, and so continued (if it were not meddled with) to his dying day." Mary Hale testified that while lying in bed she saw an ugly dog with the head of Katheran Harrison instead of its own, and it walked over her and crushed her; then came a sharp blow on the fingers. On another night she heard the voice of a woman who said she had a commission to kill her, and she knew it was the voice of Katheran Harrison. Elizabeth Smith gave some neighborly gossip, saying that Katheran was a "great or notorious liar, a Sabbath breaker and one that told fortunes"; that she never knew any one else who could spin such yarns as she.

On such *testimony* as this the jury returned a verdict of guilty. But the magistrates doubted about receiving the verdict, and took counsel of the ministers, who rendered a cautious response to the four questions asked of them in a paper in the handwriting of Rev. Gershom Bulkley of Wethersfield, in which it was declared that the communication of things that cannot be known by human skill or strength of reason, "in the way of divination seemes to us to argue familiarity with ye devill, in as much as such a person doth thereby declare his receiving the devills testimony, & yeeld up himselfe as ye devills instrument to communicate the same to others."

Meanwhile Katheran was not idle. She addressed a petition to the court, setting forth her sufferings in person and estate. We are not surprised that in her sense of wrong she should have told Michael Griswold that he would hang her, though he damned a thousand souls, and as for his own soul it was damned long ago. For this Michael brought two suits for slander, and Katheran was adjudged to pay him twenty-five pounds and costs in one case, and fifteen pounds and costs in the other. On May 20, 1670, the General Assembly refused to concur with the court in its verdict, sentencing Mrs. Harrison to death, and dismissed her from a year's imprisonment, on condition that she pay the costs of the trial, and remove from Wethersfield, "which is that will tend most to her own safety, and the contentment of the people who are her neighbors." She went to Westchester, N. Y., but the stories followed her, and the people there tried to send her back. After three years of harrying, an accusation before the Dutch governor failed, and she was released, and told she could live where she pleased.

At the time of the Salem craze in 1692, one spot in Connecticut suffered deeply; that bloodshed did not attend it was due to the broadening of mind which had begun to appear. A special court was held in Fairfield, the storm center, in September, 1692, including Governor Treat,

Deputy Governor William Jones, and Secretary John Allyn—and a grand and petty jury. To prepare evidence, the townspeople had put two suspects to the water ordeal; both "swam like a cork," though the crowd tried to push one of them under. Four women were indicted, and two hundred witnesses examined. The distinguished court listened for days to gossipy stories about roaring calves, mired cows, creases in the kettle, frisky oxen, unbewitching sick children, optical illusions, and mesmeric influence. The jury disagreed, and the court met again on October 28, for the final decision. A committee of women examined the prisoners' bodies for witch-marks. The jury acquitted all except Mercy Disborough, who was convicted. The governor pronounced the death sentence; but a memorial for her pardon was drawn up, and since she was living fifteen years afterward, we know that the poor creature escaped the gallows. An indictment in 1697, closed the Connecticut witchcraft persecutions, when a woman and her daughter of twelve years were indicted for "misteriously hurting the Bodies and Goods" of several people. They were searched for witch-teats, subjected to the water ordeal, and excommunicated from the church; what became of them we do not know, except that they fled to New York for their lives. The number of executions in Connecticut is believed to be nine and possibly eleven. Three other convictions were found, but the court set aside the verdicts.

We are ashamed of this dreary story of gossipy, half crazy, superstitious people, and our meager consolation is a remark of Hutchinson, late in the eighteenth century, that "more have been put to death in a single county in England in a short space of time, than have suffered in all New England from the first settlement to this time." New Haven escaped bloodshed by having judge instead of jury trial, and that judge, the sensible and considerate Theophilus Eaton.

In the main, the suspects were apt to be cranky and

unbalanced people, whose neighbors became social police to rid the community of trying characters. That only ten lost their lives in Connecticut during this craze is a tribute to the common sense of the Connecticut lawyers and ministers, in an age when the people gave the devil so conspicuous and dignified an agency in the affairs of life that they were inclined to confess his presence at all times; and when an authority like Blackstone could write in a century after the witchcraft craze, "To deny the possibility, nay actual evidence of Witchcraft and sorcery, is at once to flatly contradict the revealed word of God in various passages both of the Old and New Testaments."

CHAPTER XI

SLAVERY

ONE of the curious inconsistencies of the Puritan emigration is that for generations there were slaves in Connecticut. Abhorring as they did religious and political slavery, the people did not object to family slavery so long as it paid. Sagacious and heavenly-minded as were John Davenport and Edward Hopkins, they were not averse to keeping slaves, and the tradition is that the Rev. Ezra Stiles, later on president of Yale College, and a vigorous advocate of emancipation, sent a barrel of rum to Africa to be exchanged for a negro slave. The justification ran in this fashion, "It is a great privilege for the poor negroes to be taken from the ignorant and wicked people of Guiana and placed in a Christian land, where they can become good Christians and go to heaven when they die." The caste system was marked in the colony, and superiors, equals, and inferiors were recognized in church, prayer, and social life; there being no more question about the rightfulness of keeping slaves than of owning cows or chickens.

From 1639, when the records say there was a boy in Hartford from Dutch Guiana, slavery prevailed for two hundred years. The Pequot war furnished the first slaves, and the money paid for them helped meet the expenses of the war. Few individual men owned many of these humble workers, and the largest owner was Godfrey Malborne of

Brooklyn, who had fifty or sixty slaves on his large estate. In the early part of the eighteenth century, a slave sold for from sixty shillings to twenty-five pounds; later, the price rose to one hundred pounds for choice goods. In 1756, there were in Connecticut three thousand six hundred and thirty-six slaves, one to every thirty-five of the whites. In 1774, the number had doubled, giving a slave to every twenty-nine of the whites, while in 1800, there were four thousand three hundred and thirty slaves, or one in fifty-nine of the freemen.

Reference has been made to Guiana as the source of slaves, and the question how they came to Connecticut is interesting in its bearing upon the traffic of those days, and the zeal of a Yankee when he could see some money alluring him. Soon after the settlement there sprang up a trade with the West Indies, and some of the vessels, after leaving their cargoes, went to Africa and gathered a load of negroes for the southern market. Of the twenty-two sea captains of Middletown before the Revolution, three were in the slave trade, Captains Walker, Gleason, and Easton. The last named was one of the most successful slave-dealers of his time; he would take droves of negroes to New Hampshire and Vermont, when the market was dull in Connecticut, and exchange them for horses. In 1804, a vessel from Hartford carried two hundred and fifty negroes to Charleston, S. C., and captains from New Haven and New London were engaged in the traffic.

It was a family institution and the slaves seem to have been treated fairly well. Tapping Reeve, the head of the famous Litchfield Law School, says that

the master had no control over the life of his slave. If he killed him he was liable to the same punishment as if he killed a free-man. A slave was capable of holding property in the character of a devisee or legatee. If a slave married a free woman with the consent of his master, he was emancipated; for his master had suffered him to contract a relation inconsistent with a state of slavery.

Owners were required to support slaves; it was voted by the Assembly in 1702, that if a slave gained his liberty, and afterwards came to want, he should be relieved at the cost of the person in whose service he was last retained, and by whom set at liberty, or at the cost of his heirs. General Putnam freed his body-servant Dick and bought a farm for his Indian servant. Deacon Gray of Windham kept his old negroes in a cabin, where he supplied them with food. It appears that the law of 1702, to insure the care of freed slaves, was evaded, for, in 1711, a further act was passed, applying to all "negro, malatto, or Spanish Indians . . . servants . . . for time," who come to want after the expiration of the term of service. The provision was that in case those responsible refused to care for them, the sufferers should be relieved by the selectmen of the towns to which they belonged, who might "recover of the said owners or masters, or their heirs, executors or administrators, all the charge and cost they were at for such relief, as in the case of other debts." In 1777, the law was modified. A man wishing to emancipate his slave could apply to the selectmen, who were required to investigate the case. If they decided that it was for the best interests of the slave that he should be liberated, and that he would probably be self-supporting, and that he was of "good and peaceable life and conversation," they were empowered to give to the master a certificate stating their decision, and allowing him to free his slave without any obligation to support him.

By an act of 1792, permission might be granted by two of the civil officers who were not selectmen, or by one of them and two selectmen, to liberate a slave who was not less than twenty-five or more than forty-five years old, who was in good health, and who, they were satisfied from personal examination, wished his freedom. If after examination the certificate was granted and recorded in the town records, together with the letter of emancipation, the master's responsibility ceased. A strict fugitive slave law was

passed in 1690, and, in 1702, it was ordered that no slave could travel without a pass from his master or the town authorities, and any one assisting a runaway was liable to a fine of twenty shillings. In 1774, there appeared in the Connecticut *Gazette* the following advertisement:

TEN DOLLARS REWARD. Run away from the subscriber in Canterbury, a Mulatto slave. He is a slender built fellow, has thick Lips, a curled mulatto Head of Hair uncut, and goes stooping forward. He had on & carried with him when he eloped from his Master a half worn felt Hat, a black and white tow shirt, a dark brown Jacket, with sleeves cuffed & Pewter Buttons down before, a Butter Nut colored Great Coat with Pewter Buttons, a Pair of striped long Trowsers, & a pair of white Ditto, a pair of White Tow Stockings; & a pair of single channel Pumps. Whoever will take up said Slave and deliver him to the Subscriber in Canterbury shall have the above Reward, and all necessary Charges paid by me, Daniel Tyler, Canterbury, June 27, 1774.

In the preamble of an act passed in 1708, it was stated that negroes and mulattoes had become numerous in parts of the colony and were turbulent and quarrelsome. Any such person as struck a white man was subject to a flogging of not more than thirty stripes. In 1717, New London voted to oppose a negro "buying land in town or being an inhabitant," and instructed its representatives to the legislature to "take some prudent care that no person of color may ever have any personal or freehold estate within the government," and that same year the legislature passed a bill prohibiting negroes "purchasing land without liberty from the town, and also from being in families of their own without such liberty." When the Revolution came on it was found convenient to allow negroes to become food for bullets, and, in 1777, an act passed providing that slaves of "good life and conversation," when adjudged by the selectmen to be suitable for the army, were to be put

into the service, and many slaves went to war, and in the stress of the conflict it came to pass that "neither the selectmen nor the commanding officers questioned the color; white and black, bond and free, if able-bodied, went into the roll together, accepted as the representatives or substitutes of their employers." Many slaves were promised their freedom on condition that they would serve three years in the army, and many displayed superior bravery when death was near; a negro named Lambert at Fort Griswold in 1781, slew the British officer who so savagely murdered Colonel Ledyard and fell, "pierced by thirty-three bayonet wounds."

We read of balls given by negroes, and they were allowed to elect a governor from their number, and to inaugurate him with ceremonies which gratified their desire for display. They chose a man of dignified presence, firmness, and ready tongue, and he settled disputes, imposed fines, punished gross and immoral conduct, and acted as supreme arbiter among his people, displaying every evidence of authority, even to a claim of descent from a line of African kings, being usually reelected until health failed. On inauguration day the whole black population turned out in an "Election Parade," in which borrowed horses, saddles, and gay trappings made a brilliant display, and fantastic garbs, boisterous shouting, laughing, and singing, with fiddles, drums, fifes, and brass horns filled the air with a noise which the blacks called "martial music."

It was amusing to see the black governor, sham dignity, after his election, riding through the town on one of his master's horses, adorned with plated gear. An aide rode on either side, and his majesty, puffing and swelling with pride, sat bolt upright, moving with a slow, measured pace, as though the universe were looking on. When he mounted or dismounted, an aide flew to his assistance, holding his bridle, putting his feet into the stirrups, and bowing to the ground before him. The great Mogul, in a triumphal procession, never assumed an air of more perfect self-importance than did the negro governor at such a time.

After the parade there was a feast, which often ended with a drunken riot. The ceremonies took place in Hartford, until 1800, when they were removed to Derby. The early notices sent to the blacks in different places in the commonwealth read "negro men"; later the reading was "negro gentlemen"; but the grotesque display, the ridiculous antics, and the brass horns figured just the same. The first record of a black governor is that of Governor Cuff, who resigned in 1766, in favor of John Anderson.

The coarse and brutal side of this slavery is suggested by the following advertisement which appeared in the *New London Gazette* in October, 1766: "To be sold, a strong and healthy negro man, 29 years of age, and brought up in the country to the farming business. Also an able-body'd wench, 16 years old (with sucking child), can do all sorts of housework . . . for no other fault but her breeding. Enquire of printer." As the consciences of the people became more alert to evils in the social conditions, slavery came in for its share of criticism, and for many years there was an increasing sentiment against it, and a movement toward its downfall. Sermons were preached against it before the Revolution, and Samuel Hopkins wrote a dialogue on the duty of freeing slaves. Jonathan Edwards, Jr., proclaimed the "Injustice and Impolicy of the Slave Trade," and, aside from the injustice of the practice urged in pulpit and by pamphlets, there was another reason for its passing away; it was an economic failure, and the shrewd Yankees, finding that it did not pay, started the entering wedge in 1774, in a measure against the importation of more negroes for slavery. In the preamble of that law, there is no claim to morality, justice, or humanity; the reasoning is wholly economic. It reads, "Whereas, the increase of slaves in this Colony is injurious to the poor, and inconvenient," it was enacted that "no indian or molatto slave shall at any time hereafter be brought or imported into this Colony, by sea or land from any place whatsoever, to be disposed of left or sold within this

Colony." The penalty was one hundred pounds. Business depression and scarcity of labor for many of the white people led to the conviction that, on the whole, slavery would better be given up. A more radical measure was passed in 1784, which provided that no negro or mulatto child, born after March 1, 1784, should be "held in servitude beyond the age of twenty-five," and in 1797 it was ordered that negro or mulatto children born after August 1, of that year should be released at the age of twenty-one. In 1788, the General Association of Congregational ministers declared the slave trade to be unjust, and that every justifiable measure ought to be taken to suppress it. At the next session of the legislature, Connecticut shippers were prohibited from engaging in the slave trade anywhere. In 1848, an act was passed to emancipate all slaves, placing upon masters or the towns responsibility for any in need, and there were but six slaves in the state at that time.

There was little disposition to encourage the negroes who were coming out of slavery, and in 1831, the free negroes of the United States, wishing to establish a college for their young men, with a mechanical department, decided that New Haven was a good place for the school, because of the scholarly atmosphere and because of the opportunities offered in the state for mechanical training. The announcement of the plan met a storm of opposition; the city officials and the voters denounced it in a public meeting, did their best to defeat it, and their action was fatal to it. There was a still more famous effort to start a school for negro girls in Connecticut, an enterprise which Henry Wilson in his *Rise and Fall of the Slave Power* places in the same class with *Uncle Tom's Cabin*—the endeavor of a young Quakeress, Prudence Crandall, to change her school of white pupils to one of negroes. Before taking the step, Miss Crandall consulted with leading abolitionists in Boston and New York, and soon announced to her pupils that they were to give place to "young ladies and little misses of color." A

committee waited upon Miss Crandall to protest; a public meeting was held and another protest made to the determined teacher. Another stormy crowd gathered in the meeting-house and passed a resolution that "the locality of a said school for the people of color at any place within the limits of the town . . . meets with our unqualified disapprobation." Five days later, the town officers presented the resolution, and there were those who urged Miss Crandall to take the price she had given for the house, but she refused, though she said she was willing to move to another part of the town. The school opened on the first Monday in April, 1833, with a dozen or so of quiet little colored girls from the finest negro families in the northern cities, and trouble began. As there was no law to meet the case a committee was appointed to draw one and present it at the Assembly, and while waiting for the law boycott was tried; stones were thrown against the schoolhouse by day and by night. When the case came before the legislature, the sentiment of every town in the state was: "We should not want a nigger on our common." The statute was enacted that "no person should set up a school for the instruction of colored persons . . . without the consent of a majority of the civil authority and selectmen in the town, under penalty of one hundred dollars for the first offence, and a double for every succeeding offence." Canterbury received the news of the passage of this law with firing of cannon, bonfires, and ringing of bells. In June, Miss Crandall was summoned before the Justice Court, and bound over to the Superior Court. Though the bail was moderate, no friend appeared as her bondsman, and the young lady went to jail for a night, which tended to make her a martyr; and reports of unjust imprisonment had great influence in creating sentiment in her favor. There was much litigation, and at length the people became impatient, and in September, 1834, just a year and a half after the school started, late one evening some men gathered about the building with axes and iron bars, and on a

signal dashed in the windows, and even Miss Crandall quailed before such ruffianism. The next day the pupils were told that the school must be given up, and the teacher left town. Fifty years afterward, the legislature voted her a pension of four hundred dollars.

We cannot understand how these events could take place in the nineteenth century in civilized communities. We can discuss them with calmness only as we remember the extreme jealousy of the towns over their rights, and the stern way the citizens had of asserting them. The change of sentiment concerning slavery came slowly, but at length it was seen that the practice, as Roger Sherman said at the constitutional convention, was iniquitous, a conviction to which the people came after they had learned that there was no money in it.

CHAPTER XII

CONNECTICUT STRUGGLES FOR HERSELF AND NEIGHBORS

IN establishing a commonwealth in a rude age, amid trying neighbors, when disagreeableness was not all on one side, when everybody wanted his rights, if not a little more, when boundaries north, east, and west were vague, when the terrors of a French and Indian war were scarcely more feared than British imperialism, Connecticut had a stern training. It was a long game, requiring shrewd calculation, quick thinking, sharp wits, steady nerves, strong wills, and patient waiting. Connecticut people could not endure interference of the British government, and the English kings found their settlers here hard to get along with. This colony thought Massachusetts and New York too grasping, and had it not been for the interference of the crown, Rhode Island would have been entirely swallowed up by her neighbors on north and west. The story may as well open with an event which occasioned much solicitude—the coming of the Regicides.

The death of Cromwell and the crowning of Charles II. unsettled affairs in New England, and when the regicide judges, who had signed the death-warrant of Charles I., arrived in Boston in the summer of 1660, there was much anxiety. They were Major-General Edward Whalley, a cousin of Cromwell, Major-General William Goffe, and Colonel John Dixwell, and they were among the seven judges who by the "Act of Indemnity" were refused pardon.

After the coronation of Charles II., a warrant was issued for their arrest, and hastily escaping from Cambridge, they went to New Haven, where they were concealed in the house of John Davenport, who in a notable sermon had prepared the people to shelter the men. After more than a month with Davenport the "Colonels" went to Governor Eaton's house. On May 11, two zealous loyalists appeared at Guilford at the house of Governor Leete, bearing a mandate from the king to arrest the men. The next day was Sunday, and, by one hindrance and another, the pursuers were detained till Monday morning, when they started for New Haven with a letter to the magistrate, advising him to cause a search to be made. Early as they started, some one else left Guilford before them in the night, and when the two officers of the king reached the city, the magistrate was not at home; but on the arrival of the governor two hours later with the magistrate of Branford, a long consultation was held in the courtroom. The pursuers insisted that the regicides were hid in some of the houses in the town and that all their information pointed to the houses of Davenport and Jones; and they demanded of the governor a warrant to search for them. The governor and magistrates maintained that the Colonels had gone toward Manhadoes, and that they did not know the place of their concealment. As for the warrant which was demanded, they had constitutional and legal scruples, for Governor Leete was a trained lawyer. The governor told the pursuers that he could not and would not make them magistrates of his jurisdiction, as he should do if he should invest them with power to enter men's houses and search for criminals. Besides, the king's mandate appeared to be addressed to the governor of Massachusetts as if he were governor of all New England, and to others only as subordinate to him; and the magistrates feared that, by acting under such a mandate, they might acknowledge a governor-general, and might thus betray their trust to the people. When the pursuers asked if they would obey the king in the

matter, the governor replied, "We honor his Majesty, but we have tender consciences." The pursuers made as thorough a search as they dared under the circumstances, and a few days later returned to Boston. Meanwhile, the hunted men were in various places, spending many weeks in a cave on West Rock, while the colony was scoured for them, and large rewards were offered for information concerning them. August 19, they obtained a lodging-place in Milford, where they were hid for a few years. In October, 1664, they went to Hadley, Massachusetts, where the minister, Rev. John Russell, concealed them the rest of their days.

Connecticut was prompt to acknowledge the authority of Charles II., and John Winthrop, Jr. was sent to the English court to secure a charter; being a man of high standing and eminent scholarship, he easily secured influential friends at the court, and it is said that he had a valuable ring which had been given by Charles II. to his grandfather, which he presented to the king. Whatever the influences, in a season of good feeling, on April 23, 1662, Charles II. gave a patent, which conferred the most ample privileges and confirmed all lands which had been previously given according to the alleged grant to the Earl of Warwick, to the freemen of the Connecticut colony, and such as should be admitted as freemen. The territory given was,

all the Part of Our Dominions in New England in America, bounded on the East by Narragansett-River, commonly called Narragansett-Bay, where the said river falleth into the Sea; and on the North by the Line of the Massachusetts-Plantation; and on the South by the Sea; and in Longitude as the Line of the Massachusetts-Colony, running from East to West, That is to say, From the said Narragansett-Bay on the East, to the South Sea on the West Part, with the Islands thereunto adjoining, together with all firm Lands, Soils, Grounds, Havens, Ports, Rivers, Waters, Fishings, Mines, Minerals, precious Stones, Quarries, and all and singular other Commodities, Jurisdictions, Royalties, Privileges, Franchises, Preheminences and Heredita-

ments whatsoever within the said tract, [on condition of paying] to Us, Our Heirs and Successors, only the fifth part of all the Ore of Gold and Silver which from Time to Time, and at all Times hereafter shall be gotten, had or obtained, in lieu of all Services, Duties and Demands whatsoever.

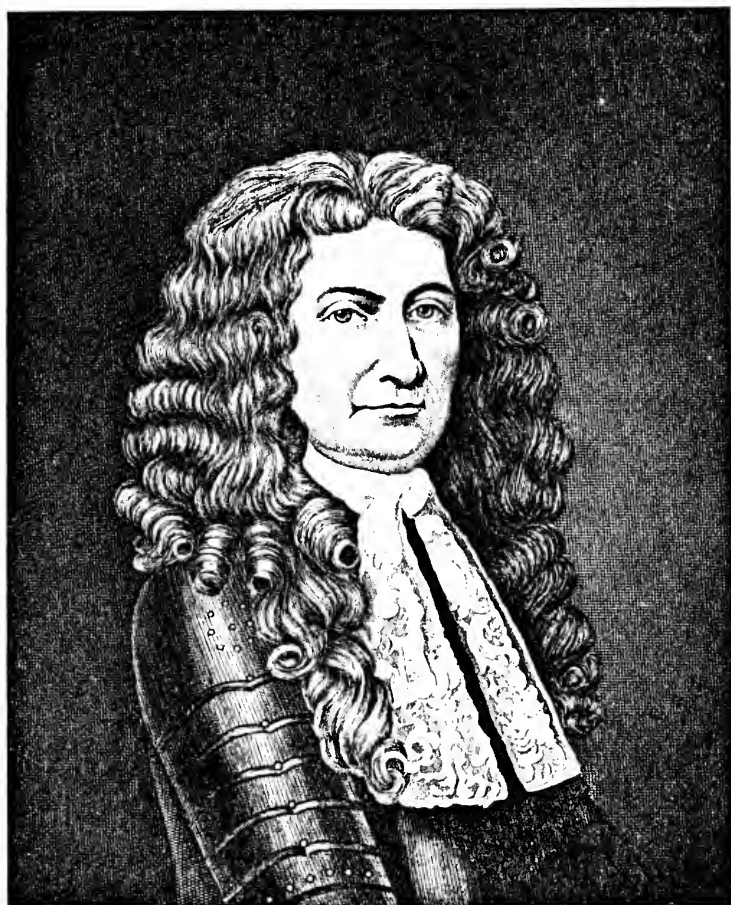
The form of government which was established by this charter was the most popular possible and continued to be the fundamental law of Connecticut for one hundred and fifty-six years. Although it was granted at a time when the rights of the people were slightly understood and little regarded, and by a sovereign who ruled England with arbitrary sway, the form of government established by the charter was of a more popular description, and placed all power within the more immediate reach of the people, than the constitution for which it was deliberately exchanged a century and a half later, at a time of republican freedom. The charter granted that the colony under John Winthrop and his successors should have power through its

Assistants and Freemen of the said Company, or such of them (not exceeding Two Persons from each Place, Town or City) to consult and advise in and about the Affairs and Business of the said Company . . . and Establish all manner of wholesome and reasonable Laws, Statutes, Ordinances and Directions and Instructions, not contrary to the Laws of this Realm of England.

The joy of the colonists on the Connecticut on receiving this charter was unbounded, and that of the New Haven settlers lessened by the fact that they were cast in with the older colony. After the death of Charles II., James II. proceeded to carry out the plan of uniting a number of scattered plantations, circled by Indians and jealous, meddling Dutch, into a strong colony under an efficient commander. The idea was neither unreasonable nor unphilanthropic, for with all his faults, James II. had a strong sentiment of English nationality, and the bringing of the northern provinces under

one head he hoped might unite New England in defense of the frontier. The idea did not appeal to the colonies, and though they knew that the soil of North America had been regarded as belonging to the crown, like the castle at Windsor, they were dismayed when, in the spring of 1686, Sir Edmund Andros arrived in Boston, in the frigate *Kingfisher*, glittering in scarlet and lace, with a guard of British soldiers, to become captain-general and governor-in-chief of New England. Moreover he was to have associated with him a council, whose first members were to be royal appointees. The governor and council were to make laws which were to conform to those of England and to be sent over to receive the sanction of the king. The oath of allegiance was to be required of all persons. The governor had authority to regulate the currency, to command the military and naval forces, and with the council to levy taxes for the support of the government.

The way for Andros had been prepared by a *quo warranto* issued by the king in the summer of 1685, citing the governor and company of Connecticut to appear before the king to show by what right they exercised certain powers and privileges. Connecticut was charged with making laws contrary to those of England; imposing fines on its inhabitants; enforcing an oath of fidelity to itself, and not the oaths of supremacy and allegiance; prohibiting the worship of the Church of England; refusing justice in its courts; excluding men of loyalty from its government, and keeping the reins in the hands of the Independents. The writs were not served within the dates returnable, and when Randolph appeared in Boston in the spring of 1686, he sent a letter to the officials of Connecticut, and neglected to tell them that the writs had run out, but he did tell them that there was nothing left for them to do but to resign their charter at once humbly and obediently, since if they undertook to defend it at law, they would have all western Connecticut annexed to New York at once, besides other possible disasters.



Edmund Andros, 1637-1714, Royal Governor of New England from
November 1, 1687, to May 9, 1689

From the Engraving by E. G. Williams

He advised them to visit him at Boston, rather than have him go to them, "as a herald to denounce war." He said they need not think that they would gain any advantage "by spinning out time by delay," as the writs would keep as fresh as when landed. The shrewd Connecticut Yankees had lived too strenuous a life to be overwhelmed by these threats, and knowing about the writs, they had divided the unappropriated lands among the towns to keep them from the king's messengers, Hartford and Windsor obtaining most of Litchfield County. The magistrates held a special session, and decided upon an address to the king, entreating him to suspend his proceedings against their charter; and on July 20, Randolph appeared at Hartford and served his stern writs, calling John Allyn and John Talcott, keepers of the charter, out of bed at midnight to impress them with the danger of delay. Meanwhile Dudley, president of the council at Boston, had written a letter urging annexation to Massachusetts rather than to New York. It was a time of decided anxiety for the Connecticut leaders; the official heads, Treat, Allyn, Fitz John Winthrop and others, favored the surrender of the charter, for fear that the king might be provoked to make good Randolph's threat, and partition the colony among its neighbors; others were determined to give away nothing until compelled to do so. The majority of the people in the colony were against the surrender, and employed William Whiting, a London merchant, son of an old Hartford resident, to represent the colony, with power to submit to the king if compelled, but to employ counsel to defend the cases, and urge separate existence and not partition.

A new writ was issued October 6, 1686, and forwarded by Sir Edmund Andros, who, two days after he landed, sent an express messenger to Governor Treat, empowered to receive the charter; Randolph sent a letter by the same man insisting that the officials should comply without delay. The governor called together the General Assembly, which voted

to leave the matter to the governor and council. It was a trying situation, since the king was evidently determined to carry out his purpose, and he was not a man to be thwarted by the opposition of a handful of colonists on the Connecticut. Fifty corporations in England had been deprived of their charters; the city of London had stood trial with him and had given up its charter; the charter of Massachusetts had been vacated, and Rhode Island had submitted to the king. The Connecticut officials were quite the match for the resolute Andros and Randolph; writing a diplomatic letter, they said that they were satisfied to remain as they were, if the king were willing, but they must submit to his will, and if he chose to join them to the Massachusetts government as a separate province they would like it better than annexation to any other. This masterly letter, yielding much on the face and nothing in law, had the effect desired, though hardly expected, by its authors; the government accepted it as a legal surrender of their rights into the hands of the king, who dropped the proceedings in the writ, and wrote Andros to assume the power to which the colony had agreed.

The Assembly met as usual in October, 1687, and the government continued according to charter until the last of the month, when Sir Edmund Andros, with his suite, and more than sixty regular troops reached Hartford, when the Assembly was sitting, demanded the charter, and declared the government under it dissolved. The Assembly was extremely reluctant to make the surrender: the tradition is that Governor Treat dwelt upon the expense and hardships of the colonists in planting and defending the country, and declared that it was like giving up his life to yield. The affair was debated and kept in suspense until evening, when the charter was brought in and laid upon the table before Sir Edmund. Suddenly the lights were extinguished; the charter was passed out of the room, and Captain Joseph Wadsworth carried it away and hid it in a large oak, fronting the house of Samuel Wyllys, one of the magis-

trates. The people appeared orderly, the candles were relighted, but the patent could nowhere be found. It did not remain long in the oak, but was soon carried to Wadsworth's house and possibly to Andrew Leete's in Guilford. The colony was forced to submit for the time, and the next day, the secretary, John Allyn, wrote "Finis" on the colonial records, and closed the book. Sir Edmund began his government with flattering professions of friendliness and devotion to the public interests, but he soon placed vexatious and burdensome requirements upon the colony. Restraint was laid upon the liberty of the press, and Dudley was appointed censor; the writ of *habeas corpus* was suspended; fees of all officers were enormous: the common fee for the probate of a will was fifty shillings; colonial records were removed to Boston, requiring a long and expensive journey to enable one to consult them. Marriages could be performed only by magistrates. No land was to be purchased from the Indians except under license of the governor with a round fee. Sir Edmund said that Indian deeds were no better than the "scratch of a bear's paw." People who had been living for fifty years on their farms, and had gardens and orchards, had no clear title, except as they took out patents from the government of Sir Edmund, sometimes at an expense of fifty pounds. Writs were served against prominent men who would not submit to such impositions, and their lands were patented to others. All town meetings were prohibited, except one in the month of May, for the election of town officers. This was to prevent consultations for redress of grievances. It was a most rankling and humiliating imposition to men who had been accustomed to self-government, but the thorough Andros rode rough-shod over the people, carrying out the resolute purposes of King James. Randolph was not ashamed to make his boast in his letters, in respect to Governor Andros and his council, "that they were as arbitrary as the great Turk."

Governor Treat was a father to the people in their de-

spondency, and in the general depression in business and social life; and the joy was great when word came in April, 1689, that James II. had fled to France, and William and Mary had been enthroned. The officials brought the charter from its shelter, called town delegates together, and the old government resumed its functions. In 1693, Fitz John Winthrop was sent to England to obtain a confirmation of the charter and was assured by the best lawyers of the crown that the charter was entirely valid. The basis of the opinion was that it had been granted under the great seal; that it had not been surrendered under the common seal of the colony, nor had any judgment of record been entered against it; that its operation had merely been interfered with by overpowering force; that the peaceable submission to Andros was merely an illegal suspension of lawful authority. William was willing to secure the fruits of James's plan of controlling the colonies, as he showed by enforcing the forfeiture of the Massachusetts charter; but the law in the case of Connecticut was too plain, and he ratified the lawyers' opinion in April, 1694.

It is not possible to imagine how the colony could have conducted the affair of the charter with greater wisdom. The passive attitude of the government had disarmed Andros so far as to cause legal proceedings necessary to forfeit it to cease, and prompt action at the right time brought it again into force, after the Andros sway had been endured for a little more than two years. Having resumed her government, which she had enjoyed for fifty years, a government prized all the more because of the exactions and requirements of the Andros rule, Connecticut took in hand the settlement of the boundaries, which was a longer and more trying experience, for the colony was dealing with men in New York, Massachusetts, and Rhode Island who were as intelligent, aggressive, and tenacious in their insistence upon acquiring the last square inch of land as was Connecticut herself.

The boundary dispute between Connecticut and New



The Wyllys Mansion and the Charter Oak

(From a drawing in the possession of Miss Ellen M. Stuart.) Reproduced
from *Patron Saints of Conn. Chapters of the D. A. R.*

York was serious and bitter. Soon after the royal charter was given to Connecticut, the king gave his brother James, Duke of York (March 12, 1664), a patent of an extensive tract, which included "all that island or islands commonly called Long Island . . . and all the land from the west side of the Connecticut river to the east side of Delaware Bay." Colonel Richard Nicolls sailed across the Atlantic and surprised the Dutch; New Amsterdam surrendered August 27, 1664, and was at once named New York. On October 13, Connecticut sent commissioners to New York to congratulate the commissioners there and establish a boundary. In the agreement it was declared that Long Island belonged to New York and

that creek or river called Momoroneck, which is reputed to be about thirteen miles east of West Chester, and a line drawn from the east point or side where the fresh water falls into the salt at high water, north-west to the line of Massachusetts be the western bounds of the said colony of Connecticut: and all plantations lying westward of that creek and line so drawn to be under his Royal Highness' government, and all the plantations lying eastward of that creek and line to be under the government of Connecticut.

This was never confirmed by the crown, and New York refused to abide by it. The line crossed the Hudson at Peekskill, but it was never surveyed. In 1672, the Dutch recaptured the province, and when the English again took possession by the treaty of Westminster, a new patent was granted the Duke of York, June 29, 1674, like the former, and he seemed disposed to execute it to the letter.

Though King Philip's war was in progress, the government prepared to resist, and sent troops to garrison Saybrook and New London. Captain Thomas Bull was in command at Saybrook, and June 9, 1675, he saw an armed fleet approaching the fort. By command of the colonial authorities Captain Bull told Andros that the English

needed no help against Indian foes. On the morning of July 12, Andros asked leave to go ashore for a conference with the officers. This was granted and he landed with his suite. Bull met Andros on shore and bluntly told him that he was instructed to resist the invasion. Bull knew the charter of the Dudley government of 1664 had named the Connecticut River as the eastern boundary. He also knew Connecticut never surrendered anything unless compelled. Andros bade his clerk read aloud the two papers which gave him his authority, and Bull told the clerk to forbear. The latter persisted, and the captain commanded "Forbear!" in a tone which Andros did not choose to resist. Admiring the coolness of the Connecticut officer, Andros said, "What is your name?" "My name is Bull, sir," was the answer. "Bull!" replied the governor. "It is a pity your horns were not tipped with silver."

This game of bluff worked well, and matters quieted down for a while until the discussion of the boundary was opened afresh in 1682, and New York claimed twenty miles east of the Hudson, on the ground that the royal commissioners had said that the Mamaroneck River was "twenty miles everywhere from the Hudson." If Connecticut would not allow this, New York threatened that she would claim all the territory to the Connecticut River. Commissioners of the two colonies met in 1683, and came to an agreement that the Byram River, between Rye and Greenwich, should be the western boundary of Connecticut; or from Lyon's Point at the mouth of the Byram River up the stream to the wading place, thence north northwest eight English miles, thence east twelve miles parallel to the Sound, and thence in a line parallel to, and twenty miles distant from, the Hudson River. It was further agreed that New York should receive from Connecticut along the remainder of her western boundary as much as Connecticut took from New York at Greenwich and along the Sound. This deprived Connecticut of Rye—a loss severely felt. Connecticut has Greenwich, Stamford,

Darien, New Canaan, Norwalk, and a part of Wilton to which New York yielded all claim. In return New York received a strip one and three-quarters miles and twenty rods wide along the west side of Connecticut, which is parallel to and twenty miles distant from the Hudson River. This was called the Oblong or Equivalent Tract, containing 61,440 acres. In 1855, as most of the old landmarks had been removed or destroyed, it became necessary to establish the boundary lines, and there was a special reason for this in the fact that people along the line had evaded paying taxes to either state. The commissioners established the boundary to the last angle, but on that to the Massachusetts line there was a difference of opinion. New York wished to find the old and traditional line, and Connecticut desired to survey a new line. A line was run, but it differed from the other by forty-two rods at the widest part, made a difference of twenty-six thousand acres, and New York refused to yield. The matter rested until 1859, when new commissioners were appointed, who made a new survey, and Connecticut would not yield. Then New York empowered her commissioners to survey and mark with monuments a mile apart the line as fixed by the survey of 1731, but Connecticut would not agree to the line thus marked. In 1878, there was again a dispute and the commissioners came to a decision December 5, 1879, whereby the western boundary of Connecticut was established on the old line of 1731, and the twenty-six thousand acres was given up to New York. In exchange the southern boundary was carried into the Sound six hundred feet south of Byram's Point, then southeast three and a half miles, then northeast to a point four miles south of New London lighthouse, thence through Fisher's Island Sound, as far as said states are coterminous. This was ratified by the states, and Congress confirmed the ratification in 1880.

It consumed more than a century and a half to settle the northern boundary. In 1642, Massachusetts em-

ployed two "mathematicians," Woodward and Saffery, to run the line according to the charter. These highly ingenious men began operations by finding a point "three English miles on the south part of the Charles River, or of any or every part thereof" from which to survey a line toward the Pacific; preferring a boat trip to a tramp through the woods among wolves and Indians, they sailed around Cape Cod and up the Connecticut River to a point which they believed to be of the same latitude as at the starting-point. They erred on the safe side for their employers and gave Massachusetts a strip of Connecticut eight miles wide. There was no end of dispute over this, and in 1695, Connecticut had a survey made, to the result of which Massachusetts objected, and Connecticut people continued to settle in Enfield and Suffield on disputed lands. Different sets of commissioners went over the question, and the only reason why there was no appeal to the crown was the heavy expense. There were petitions and threats, and until the Revolution, Connecticut continued to govern Enfield, Suffield, and Woodstock, while Massachusetts levied taxes without collecting; sending notices of fast days and elections, claiming as late as 1768, that she had not given up jurisdiction; warning the towns not to pay taxes to Connecticut. In 1793, both states appointed commissioners to ascertain the boundaries of Southwick and west to New York, also east of the Connecticut River. They reported that the line was nearly all correct, except a tract of two and a half miles square at Southwick which Massachusetts thought that she should have to compensate for the towns she had lost. This was refused by Connecticut in 1801. In 1803, Massachusetts was willing to compromise, and the following year it was arranged that Connecticut should keep a slice of Southwick, and Massachusetts hold land west of the pond in that town,—the same indentation into Connecticut remains to-day.

The eastern boundary seemed for a long time hopeless.

Rufus Choate said of it at one of its stages: "The commissioners might as well have decided that the line between the states was bounded on the north by a bramble bush, on the south by a bluejay, on the west by a hive of bees in swarming time, and on the east by five hundred foxes with firebrands tied to their tails." Connecticut claimed all the Narragansett country to the Bay by the conquest of the Pequots; and Massachusetts on the ground of her assistance to Connecticut. Both regarded Rhode Island as a nonentity. In 1658, the New England commissioners assigned the Mystic River as the boundary between Massachusetts and Connecticut, giving Rhode Island and the eastern part of Connecticut to Massachusetts. The Connecticut charter in 1662, carried that colony to the Bay. In 1663, Rhode Island secured, through its agent in London, a charter which assigned the Pawcatuck River from mouth to source, and thence due north to the Massachusetts boundary as its western line. Confusion followed with proclamations, arrests, and bitter controversies until 1703, when commissioners were again appointed, who agreed that the boundary should be the middle channel of the Pawcatuck River, from salt water to the branch called Ashaway, and thence in a straight line north to the Massachusetts line, through a point twenty miles due west of the extremity of Warwick Neck. Contentions followed till 1727, when the Privy Council recommended that the agreement of 1703, should stand; and except for a slight straightening in 1840, it is the boundary between the states, established after sixty-five years of quarreling. It was fortunate for Rhode Island to be able to appeal to England, and the victory was just.

Another controversy gave the colony trouble for years, the case of the cession in 1639, by the Mohican Indians of New London County and parts of Windham and Tolland counties. Uncas deeded this tract, the famous Norwich tract, to thirty-five proprietors; it covered nine square miles, and in 1640, a deed was drawn between Uncas and the

colony. The deed is ambiguous, but it states that Uncas parted with his whole country, except the planting ground, for five yards of cloth and a few pairs of stockings. This was done with the consent of Major John Mason, the chief adviser of the Mohicans.

Other sales and grants were made by Uncas and other Mohicans until, in 1680, of the eight hundred square miles, the extent of the original Mohican country, only a small portion remained in possession of the Indians. The Mason family acted as trustees of the Mohicans, and the case was in litigation for almost a century. The decision was repeatedly rendered, supporting the colony in the possession of the lands; and appeals were repeatedly made by the Mason family. In 1743, commissioners from New York and New Jersey confirmed the original decision sustaining the contention of Connecticut; an appeal was taken to the king's Privy Council, which decided in favor of the colony. The decision was reached January 15, 1773, when the Mason appeal was dismissed, and the judgment of 1743, affirmed.

Connecticut was not only under a strain to secure her boundaries, she was called on to help her neighbors; and when, in 1669, New York was threatened by the French and Indians, Governor Leisler wrote to her neighbor on the east, asking for troops. Captain Bull led a contingent to Albany, another force went to New York, and later, Connecticut joined the rest of New England and New York in an expedition against Canada, which proved a failure. Another call came for help in 1693, and Governor Treat sent a body of troops to the defense of Albany. It was about that time that the liberties enjoyed so long were threatened by the arrival of Colonel Benjamin Fletcher, the new governor of New York, who came from England with a commission to command the whole militia of Connecticut and the neighboring provinces. The Assembly, September 1, 1693, voted that Major-General Fitz John Winthrop intercede with the king, and William Pitkin was sent to interview Governor

Fletcher; the latter made no impression on the martial governor. On October 26, Fletcher reached Hartford and demanded the surrender of the militia, and ordered that it be summoned under arms. The officers called the train-bands together. With the soldiers before the Assembly House, the Assembly insisted that Fletcher's demands were not consistent with their charter. In Fletcher's name, Colonel Bayard sent a letter to the Assembly setting forth the object of the visit: not to interfere with the rights of the province, but merely for the recognition of the king's abstract right to control the military force; and he tendered to Governor Treat a commission in Fletcher's name to command the militia. He said also that he would issue his proclamation to the people, and would then be able to distinguish the loyal from the disloyal.

The train-bands were arranged in due order, Captain Wadsworth was walking up and down in front of the companies, when Fletcher approached to within hearing distance and ordered his commission and instructions to be read. The moment Bayard began to read, Captain Wadsworth commanded the drums to beat, drowning the voice of the herald. "Silence!" said Fletcher, in a tone of authority. When the beating subsided Bayard again began to read the commission. "*Drum, I say, drum!*" said Wadsworth, and again the voice was lost in the drum-beat. "Silence, silence!" shouted the New York governor. "*Drum, drum, I say!*" repeated Wadsworth; and then turning to Fletcher he said, "If I am interrupted again, I will make the sun shine through you in a moment!" At that point, Fletcher withdrew. To show her loyalty under the charter, the Assembly voted a tax of a penny a pound to raise soldiers, and fifty bushels of wheat from every county, and the amount was paid Fletcher for defense of Albany. Winthrop was sent to England to make a full statement of the situation to the king's attorney and solicitor-general, who reported favorably concerning the action of Connecticut, and

the king approved. It was voted to place one hundred and twenty men at the disposal of the governor of New York, and that the remainder be under the direction of the governor of Connecticut. In 1703, Governor Dudley of Massachusetts called for troops to aid in the war with the Indians on the east, and four hundred troops were raised. General Phineas Lyman was an able officer in later campaigns.

There was a long struggle to retain the powers granted by the charter in opposition to the Board of Trade, which for forty years sought to carry out the plan of a union of the colonies. Charges were made against Connecticut of piracy, contraband trade, and other crimes, and Gershom Bulkley's "Will and Doom" played a part in the proceedings; there were also complaints of the treatment of the Mohicans. Governor Dudley supported the movement, and was seconded by Governor Cornbury of New York. Connecticut was represented by Sir Henry Ashurst, who, knowing that it was a struggle for cherished privileges of the colony, secured two of the best advocates in England, and these men argued the case effectively, insisting that a copy of the charges should be sent to the governor of Connecticut, with a request for answers to each allegation, and also that Dudley and Cornbury be required to forward proofs in legal form. In due time a letter arrived from Ashurst telling the colony that it was the opinion of the crown that the colony should control militia and money. This was not the last attempt to weaken the force of the charter, and a good deal could be said from the imperialist point of view, for the attempt to unite the colonies to the crown was not pure tyranny and maliciousness. From the standpoint of Connecticut the issue was a happy one, and though the colony entered the eighteenth century burdened with debts incurred in the struggles for herself and her neighbors, the debts were of slight moment in comparison with the institutions and discipline which sixty years of alertness, resoluteness, and poise had developed.

CHAPTER XIII

THE UNITED COLONIES OF NEW ENGLAND

WHILE the colonies of New England were all animated by a spirit of extreme independence, which often found expression in jealousy verging sometimes almost on hostility, there was a time when it seemed wise to form a confederacy. The nearness and hostility of the Dutch settlements, nervousness about the action of the mother-country, and the fear of the Indians brought about a league of the four colonies of Massachusetts Bay, Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven. There was a population of twenty-three thousand five hundred souls, of which number Massachusetts had fifteen thousand, Plymouth and Connecticut three thousand each, and New Haven two thousand five hundred. There were several reasons why it seemed best to form the confederation, for despite the growth, energy, and optimism of the settlements, their condition was precarious for years. The Pequots had been swept away, but the colonists were surrounded by undesirable neighbors: Mohawks were not distant, Dutch were meddlesome, and Narragansetts powerful. In August, 1637, during the war with the Pequots, some of the Connecticut leaders suggested to the authorities at Boston the expediency of a form of union, and the next year Massachusetts submitted a plan, but Connecticut objected, because it permitted a mere majority of the federal commissioners to decide questions. In 1639, Hooker and Haynes went to Boston and discussed the pro-

posal, but Plymouth and Massachusetts disagreed over the boundary line, and the needed covenant was postponed. At a General Court held at Boston, September 27, 1642, letters from Connecticut were read, "certifying us that the Indians all over the country had combined themselves to cut off all the English." Anxieties also arose from the Dutch at that time, hence the Connecticut proposal was favorably received, and was referred to a committee to consider it. At the next General Court at Boston, May 10, 1643, a compact of confederation, drawn up in writing, was signed by commissioners from Plymouth, Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New Haven. The settlements of Gorges and Mason at Piscataqua and the beginnings of Rhode Island were denied admission,—the former, because they "ran a different course from us both in their ministry and administration," and the latter, because they were regarded as "tumultuous" and "schismatic."

It was natural that men who had so much in common, who had come hither with similar purposes, should wish to form a league for mutual helpfulness and defense, yet they got along better by living in different colonies, because men of their positive views needed considerable room. They thought more of one another because miles of forest separated them, yet they were all Englishmen of solid common sense, who saw that in union there is strength. It is suggestive of their independence of judgment, and of an event one hundred and thirty-five years later, that they did not ask permission of their home government. After a preamble which said "we live encompassed with people of several nations and strange languages," that "the savages have of late combined themselves against us," and that "the sad distractions" in England prevented advice and protection thence; the paper states that the colonies wished to maintain "a firm and perpetual league of friendship and amity, for offense and defense, mutual advice and succor upon all just occasions, both for preserving and propagating the truth and

liberties of the gospel, and for their own mutual safety and welfare."

The first two articles bound together the four colonies under the name of *The United Colonies of New England*. The third provided that they be self-governing. The fourth ordered that levies of men, money, and supplies for war should be assessed on the colonies, in proportion to the male population between sixteen and sixty. By the fifth, upon notice of three magistrates of an invasion, the rest were to send relief; Massachusetts to the number of one hundred men, and each of the others, forty-five, "sufficiently armed and provided," and if more were needed the commissioners were to convene. By the sixth, a board of commissioners, consisting of two men from each colony, was to "determine all affairs of war or peace leagues, aids, charges, and numbers of men for war, division of spoils, receiving more confederates, and all things of like nature." The concurrence of six commissioners should be conclusive; failing in this, the matter was to be referred to the legislature of each colony, and the concurrence of the four was to bind. The commissioners met once a year, and as much oftener as necessary. The six other articles ordered that the president should have "no power or respect" except "to take care and direct"; that action should be taken to promote peace and justice between the colonies and toward the Indians, and the extradition of runaway slaves and fugitives from justice; that whenever any colony violated the alliance, the others should determine the offense and remedy.

The two defects in the constitution were that the federal government had no authority to act on individuals, and thus no power to coerce; and the equal number of votes allowed the colonies was plainly unjust, since the population of Massachusetts was greater than that of the other three colonies combined. The commission, with such men as Haynes, Hopkins, Mason, Winthrop, Eaton, and Ludlow on the board, increased the military force of the colonies, and

helped to solve puzzling questions about boundaries, pay of soldiers, tax on corn and beaver, and union of Connecticut and New Haven.

The last annual meeting of the confederation was held in Hartford in 1664. The conditions leading to the forming of the commission had to a large degree passed away; the surrender of New Amsterdam to the Duke of York had relieved the colony of her Dutch neighbors; Indians within the colonies were friendly, and for six years the meetings ceased, but in 1670, a convention was held in Boston, and new articles of confederation adopted. Power for offensive war was given to the several legislatures, and a fiery debate was had over the apportionment of military forces and supplies. In the days of its prosperity, the confederation was of some use in concentrating and combining the military strength of the colonies; and in time of trouble, it sometimes brought relief and satisfaction to people tempted to be discouraged. To say that it helped much to prepare for the union of a century later suggests more exercise of imagination than use of facts.

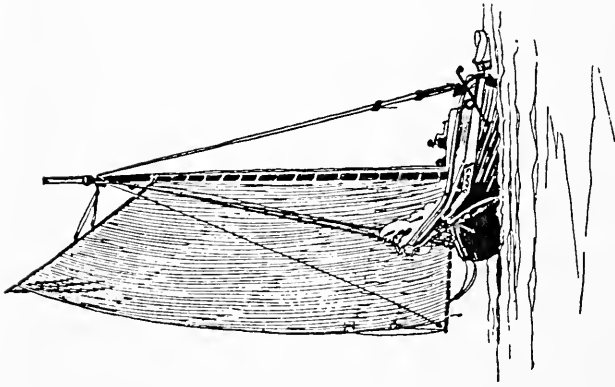
CHAPTER XIV

EARLY MANUFACTURERS AND COMMERCE

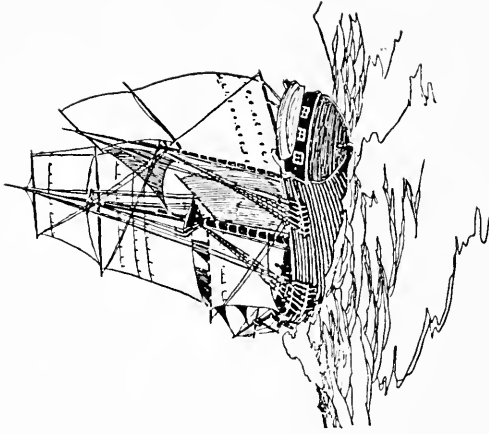
IT is impossible to think of the ancestors of the Connecticut as we know it as other than interested in manufacturing and trade. As we have seen, one of the inducements the Indians urged, when they invited the settlers to come hither, was the opportunity for trade. Since there were no roads in the beginning, and Sound and rivers offered many convenient outlets for their products, ships and shipbuilding began to interest the people at an early date. The larger vessels had three masts, whose principal sails were extended by yards slung to the middle, and often small vessels which would not now deserve the term. The *Mayflower*, a large ship for its day, registered only one hundred and twenty tons. There was a two-masted vessel called the "ketch," square-rigged like those just described, and also having a fore-and-aft mainsail. There were also schooners with two topsails, and there were full-rigged brigs. The smaller boats were generally sloop-rigged, with one stout and not very high mast, a very large topsail and mainsail. The vessels were well-built and strong, and slow sailers, with low decks, high waist, and less sharpness in the bow than now, but they were good sea boats, and varied from fifty to two hundred tons. They made two, and sometimes three, voyages a year to the West Indies. They often stayed long in a port to pick up a cargo, sending boats far along the coast or inland to gather sugar, molasses, and rum

from the large estates, and on these excursions sailors sometimes contracted fevers. Shipbuilding was a laborious trade, as there were no appliances for bending timbers by steam; and logs were converted into planks by having one man beneath in a pit, the other above; bolts, spikes, and nails were shaped by the blacksmith; pins with a broad-axe. The first man in Wethersfield to build a ship was Samuel Smith, in the year 1649, and for many years sloops, schooners, and brigs were built there, on both sides of the river. The launching was a popular event, at which there was a liberal supply of Santa Cruz rum, and balls were often held in the evening. A diary of a Glastonbury man of October 30, 1794, says: "Went to launching of a ship of five hundred tons; not less than three thousand persons were present." When vessels sailed, it was the custom to have prayers offered in the churches for their safe return; and on their coming to port, thanks were given for their safety.

Owing to lack of knowledge of the coast and dangers from freebooters, especially in times of war, it was regarded a risky thing to go from New Haven to Boston; Nicholas Augur, one of the earliest physicians of New Haven, and interested also in commercial ventures, being about to sail for Boston, made his will. A few years later, when returning home, he was wrecked on an island off Cape Sable, and died there. The first mention of commerce between New Haven and Barbadoes was in 1647, when salted beef was exchanged for sugar. Salted fish was early an article of export—the famous alewives or alewhorps, whose many bones became tender by the time they reached the West Indies. In 1680, there were but twenty-six vessels in the colony—four ships, three pinks, two barks, six ketches, and eleven sloops. Hartford had a sloop of ninety tons, which traded with England; Middletown a ship of seventy tons; New London the brigantine *Dolphin* of eighty tons. These were engaged in European and West India trade. The tonnage tax was fifteen shillings, paid annually as a town tax.



THE SHALLOP



THE KETCH

Early Sailing Vessels

The slender commerce was carried on mostly from New London, whence all vessels had to clear, and where a naval officer was stationed. Goods could be imported only from the town of Berwick on the Tweed and the West Indies. In 1702, the number of lawful ports in the colony was increased to include Saybrook, Guilford, New Haven, Milford, Stratford, Fairfield, and Stamford. Commerce was handicapped by scanty sawmills and shipyards, ignorance of channels and inlets, danger from pirates, and during wars, by French and Spanish privateers. The English Acts of Trade, dating from 1660, applied to the colonies, and there were restrictive laws passed by the several colonies against one another. A law was passed by the legislature in 1694, which required vessels to pay "powder money" at every fort, within whose range they came, at risk of cannonade. In 1659, nine men were appointed by the General Court, one for every port, to enter and record such goods as were subject to custom. An excise of a shilling apiece was laid on beaver skins as early as 1638, and in 1659, a duty of twenty-five shillings was laid on every butt of wine, and a tax on liquor or rum, except that from Barbadoes, commonly called *Kill Devil*, which was not allowed to land. In 1662, an act was passed prohibiting the carrying of corn or other provisions out of the river, and in the same year, the General Court passed a vote to require the customs-masters to collect an import duty of twopence per pound on tobacco, "according to the law of England."

In 1702, Saybrook became a port of entry for the river, and was allowed a naval officer, but he was not recognized by the crown, and vessels clearing from that town were liable to seizure in England, when they could not produce clearance papers signed by the collector of the crown at New London, the only port established by British authority. In 1714, an export duty of twenty shillings per thousand was levied on barrel staves, and thirty shillings on pipe staves shipped from the colony, in which Wethersfield had the

largest business. "Pipe staves, clapboards, and tar" appear to have been the earliest articles of export, and these were carried off in such quantities that a fear arose that there might be a total destruction of timber, and as early as 1641, a law provided for the dimensions of pipe staves, and for an inspector in every town. The staves were shipped in bundles to the West Indies; many returning in the shape of pipes or hogsheads, filled with molasses, sugar, or rum; while many were made into casks in the colony, and filled with salt beef, pork, fish, and kiln-dried corn meal for the West Indies, whence also salt was brought in large quantities. In 1715, a duty was imposed on ship timber sent to other provinces, and a duty of twelve shillings and sixpence was laid on every hundred pounds of goods imported here by non-inhabitants. In 1747, a five per cent. *ad valorem* duty was placed on goods imported from other colonies, if the importer resided in the colony; if he lived outside, the duty was half as much more. Exceptions to this law were iron, nails, steel, salt, beaver, leather, deerskins, fish, train-oil, whalebone, rice, tar, turpentine, window-glass, and lumber. From the report made to the Privy Council by Governor Leete in 1680, it appears that horses, rye, wheat, barley, peas, wool, hemp, flax, cider, tar, and pitch were shipped to Barbados, Jamaica, Fayal, and Madeira, but much was taken to Boston and "bartered for clothing." Afterward, beaver, deerskins, brick, salted beef, pork, and fish, flaxseed, and onions were added to the exports, and "European goods," with salt, rum, molasses, and sugar from the West Indies, formed the chief imports.

There was another line of business carried on by the sea captains of which we have no definite records, a clandestine business, but one that had money in it, in which some of the vessels from Connecticut ports may have engaged—that of slavers. Vessels left New England for the Canary Islands "and a market," and the market was the west coast of Africa, and the return cargo was a load of blacks for the

West India ports or the southern cities of America. We wish it were not morally certain that some Connecticut captains engaged in this traffic; but the chances are that the attractions of making money in this way would appeal as strongly to an occasional Connecticut man as to a captain from Newport, and Narragansett Bay was the home of many vessels engaged in transporting blacks from Africa. If a vessel out of the Connecticut river, or New London harbor was gone six or nine months on a trading voyage, the wise ones looked as though they could a tale unfold.

There was an effort in 1665, to make New London the center of trade in the colony; a letter was written by the colonial government to the commissioners appointed by Charles II., complaining of the low ebb in traffic, and asking for free trade for seven, ten, or twelve years. Again in 1680, there was a request for free ports for twenty, fifteen, or ten years. In describing the harbor the letter says: "A ship of five hundred tunns may go up to the Town, and come so near shoar that they may toss a biskitt on shoar." No royal privileges were granted, nor were they necessary, for the energy and enterprise of the people were sufficient. The first shipbuilder of importance at New London, the best port of the colony, was John Coit, who built barks of from twelve to twenty tons for from fifty to eighty-two pounds. In 1661, the first merchant vessel built in the place was launched with the name of *New London Tryall*, and the cost of it was two hundred pounds. There was soon a coast trade with New York, and in 1662, trade sprang up with Virginia in dry hides and buckskins. The captains were usually part owners, and vessels, carrying two men and a boy, went along the shore, stopping here and there to trade and dicker. New London soon became famous for its coasters and skippers, and men from other seaside places were engaged in the business. It was a notable event for the commerce of Connecticut when in October, 1707, John Shackmaple was appointed by the home government collector, surveyor,

and searcher for the colony. Commerce increased, and horses were sent in large numbers to the West Indies. On June 26, 1724, six vessels went together, loaded with horses. The vessels were called "horse-jockeys" and forty or fifty horses were sometimes carried on one vessel. In 1720, Captain John Jeffrey came from Portsmouth, England, and settled at Groton Bank. Five years later, he built for Captain Sterling the largest vessel yet constructed on this side of the Atlantic, a vessel of seven hundred tons, and soon New London had a reputation for large ships.

In 1730, the "New England Society of Trade and Commerce" was formed with eighteen members scattered over the colony, but misfortune attended it from the start: a whaler which it sent out came to grief; other vessels were lost, and it tried to redeem its fortunes by emitting paper, but to no good purpose, and the governor and council were forced to dissolve it in 1735. In 1760, the first lighthouse on the coast was erected at the entrance to New London harbor from the proceeds of a lottery.

A famous enterprise of Connecticut Yankees started in 1740, when William and Edward Paterson came from County Tyrone, Ireland, skilled in the art of shaping tinned sheet iron into small ware. Settling in Berlin, they began work. Their goods were eagerly bought as luxuries, and in the dearth of roads and wagons they carried their products around in handcarts, and in large baskets swung from the backs of horses. Many shops were soon in full blast until the war interrupted the work. The minds of the people almost from the first turned to inventions and manufactures, and within a few years there were developed trades, engaging the skill of sawyers, carpenters, ship-carpenters, thatchers, chimney-sweepers, brickmakers, bricklayers, plasterers, tanners, shoemakers, saddlers, weavers, tailors, hatters, blacksmiths, gunsmiths, cutlers, nailers, millers, bakers, coopers, and potters. Often the same man practiced several trades. Little could be done without iron and copper and in 1651,

John Winthrop, Jr., petitioned the legislature for "incouragement to make search and trial for metals in this country." There was a cordial response, and in 1665, iron works were projected; Winthrop and Stephen Goodyear uniting in setting up a mill for rolling balls of iron, and a forge at the outlet of Lake Saltonstall, near New Haven, and the works were in operation there for several years. In 1661, Winthrop prospected in the vicinity of Middletown, and a lead mine, which had traces of silver, was worked there by skilled miners.

Early in the eighteenth century, interest in mining awoke afresh when copper was found in Wallingford and Simsbury, and in 1709, the General Assembly granted the first charter in America to a mining company; this organization was formed to work the mine at Simsbury, now Granby. The first record of copper at Granby was in 1705, when a committee from the town reported that there was a "mine of silver or copper in the town." Two years later a company was formed, and a contract made to dig for ore. The ore was shipped to England, and when assayed it was found to contain from fifteen to twenty per cent. of copper, with sprinklings of gold and silver; but the quartz mixed with it was refractory, and since England would not then allow smelters to be set up here, the cost of transportation being so heavy, with carting and loss of a vessel, which sank in the British Channel, and another captured by the French, the company bankrupted, and the buildings at the mines and the mine were attached in 1725. Work was carried on at intervals for seventy years, sometimes by slave labor sometimes by free; now by private parties, then by chartered companies. In 1728, Joseph Higley took out a patent for a process of making steel—the first in America, and was given the monopoly for ten years, and in 1750, there was a steel furnace at Killingworth. The most important iron mines in Connecticut are those in Salisbury, where ore was first discovered about 1732, at Ore Hill, about a mile from the New York line—a deposit of brown hematite, and it was

first forged at Lime Rock, five miles distant, in 1734. About 1748, a forge was erected at Lakeville, and in 1762, the first blast furnace in the state was built, about two miles from the mine. After the Revolution opened, the government took possession and put it into full operation with sixty workmen, to furnish supplies for the army. Cannon up to thirty-two-pounders, with shot and shell, were cast there. The guns were tested under the eyes of such leaders as Jay, Morris, Hamilton, and Trumbull. The guns of the Battery at New York, of the *Constellation*, *Constitution*, and many other battle-ships of the old navy, were made of the Salisbury iron, and probably at Lakeville.

Other furnaces were established in that region, and at one time Litchfield County contained as many as fifty forges. The Salisbury mines furnish iron of decided value for cannon, gun-barrels, and chains, because of its toughness. For years the government arsenal at Springfield received from Salisbury iron for guns. It is now used for car wheels, being mixed with other iron, thereby nearly doubling the life of a wheel. There are references in the records to iron works in Lyme in 1741, in Derby in 1760; and the largest copper mine in Connecticut was opened in Bristol late in the eighteenth century. In 1766, Abel Buell of Killingworth made the first lapidary machine in this country. About 1769, there appeared the first series of historical prints—views of the battles of Lexington and Concord, also maps for Morse's geography.

Tobacco followed commerce from Virginia to Connecticut, and was first grown in the latter state in 1640; an old record says, "most people plant most so much tobacco as they spend." In 1641, the following law was passed: "It is ordered that what person or persons within this jurisdiction shall after September, 1641, drinke any other tobacco, but such as shalbe planted within their libertye, shall forfeit for every pound so spent, five shillings, except they have license from this Coute." In 1646, the law was repealed;

and evidently the use rapidly increased, for in 1647, a law was passed to lessen the abuses arising from the new drug. It was provided that "no one under twenty years nor any other that hath not allready accustomed himself to the Use thereof should take any Tobacco until he had a Certificat from some one approved in Physicke that it is usefull for him." A "Lycence" from the Court was also required. Even then, no one was to take it "Publicquely," or in "fyelds or woods, unless they be on their travill or joyney at least ten myles." The penalty for every violation was six-pence. A man might smoke at the "ordinary tyme of repast comonly called dynner," but not take any "Tobacco in any howse in the same towne where he liveth with any one in company, if there be any more than one who Useth or drinketh the same weed with him at the same tyme." For fifty years the main question concerning the use of tobacco was from the standpoint of idleness and drinking. In 1662, a bill was passed in favor of high protection, putting on a tariff of twenty-five shillings per hogshead; after 1700, tobacco was one of the exports.

In 1732, began the effort to raise silkworms. One of the earliest planters of mulberry trees was Gov. Jonathan Law, who introduced the raising of silkworms on his farm in Cheshire, and in 1747, appeared in public in the first coat and stockings made of Connecticut silk; Dr. Aspinwall of Mansfield doing much to promote the interest. The records of the General Assembly contain suggestive references to favors granted to promote infant industries; in 1708, the exclusive right was given to John Elliot to manufacture pitch; potash received a favor in 1743, salt in 1746, in Branford and Lyme; tar and turpentine were subjects of law from 1720, bayberry tallow in 1724; in 1732, linseed oil; bells in 1736, and glass making in 1747, when Thomas Darling of New Haven was granted exclusive right to make window glass for twenty years, provided he made five hundred feet in four years.

In 1769, Abel Buell of Killingworth established the first type foundry in America, and in the collection of petitions in the State Library is his appeal, printed with his type, asking for a lottery or cash to enable him to manufacture type. The manufacture of paper began in Norwich in 1768; the colony giving to Christopher Leffingwell a bounty of two-pence a quire for writing paper, and one penny a quire for printing paper. In 1776, a paper-mill in East Hartford supplied the press at Hartford, which issued about eight thousand copies a week; and manufactured also writing paper used in the colony, together with much of that used by the Continental Congress. A bill to regulate the sale of onions dates from 1772; also a bill concerning the manufacture of ploughs in 1771. In 1776, a man asked of the legislature a loan of one hundred pounds to build a stocking factory. Inventive minds were seeking to solve the problem of perpetual motion, and asking the General Assembly for aid in achieving that brilliant exploit. It was a period of energy, enterprise, and venture—a vigorous preparation for the marvellous developments of the next century.

TO THE HONORABLE THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE COLONY
OF CONNECTICUT, Convened at New-Haven the Second Thursday of Oct-
ober AD 1769;

The Memorial of ABEL BUELL of Killingworth Humbly sheweth;

That your Memorialist having Experienced the Great Goodness of this Honorable Assembly, for which he Begs Leave to render his most Grateful Tribute of thanks, and to Assure them from a Grateful Sense of their Clemency he has made it his unwearied Study to render himself Useful to the Community in which he lives and the American Colonies in general, and by his Unwearied application for a number of months past has Discover'd the Art of Letter-Foundings; And as a Specimen of his abilities Presents this Memorial Impress'd with the Types of his Own manufacture, and whereas by an Ancient Law of this Colony, this Assembly were Graciously Pleas'd to Enact that any one who should make any Useful Discoveries should Receive an Encouragement there-for from this Honorable Assembly; and as the Manufacture of Types is but in Few hands even in EUROPE, he humbly Conceives it to be a most Valuable Addition to the American Manufacture, and as the Expence of erecting a Proper Foundry will be Great and beyond the abilities of your Memorialist, he humbly hopes for Encouragement from this Assembly Either by Granting him the Liberty of a Lottery for Raising a Sum Sufficient to enable him to carry on the same, or in some other way as to this Honorable Assembly may seem meet; and your Memorialist as in duty Bound shall ever Pray.

Abel Buell

Abel Buell's Petition for a Lottery

Facsimile of Abel Buell's petition to the Connecticut General Assembly, October, 1769. This type is believed to be the earliest type cast in America. The original is in the Connecticut State Library, Connecticut Archives, "Industry," vol. iii., Doc. 137

CHAPTER XV

EXPANSION

THE century following the grant of the charter was a season of quiet growth, during which Connecticut went steadily forward, building the institutions of a free commonwealth with judgment and energy. The charter was liberal and strong; the people thrifty, industrious, and energetic; occasions for commerce favorable; much of the soil good, and the climate stimulating. In 1680, the colonial government of Connecticut, in answer to a request of the English board of trade, sent a statement of the condition of the colony, which suggests the weakness of the colony and the sturdy hearts of the colonists. John Allyn wrote the draft of the letter, and he estimated the fighting men in *train-bands* of the colony at two thousand five hundred and seven, which would imply a population of ten thousand, or five persons to the square mile. The people had "little traffique abroad," except "sending what provisions we rays to Boston, where we buy goods with it, to cloath vs." He described the country as mountainous, rocky, and swampy; most that was fit had been taken up: "what remaynes must be subdued, and gained out of the fire, as it were, by hard blowes and for small recompence." The principal towns were Hartford, New Haven, New London, and Fairfield, with twenty-six smaller towns. The buildings were of wood, stone, and brick, many of them "forty foot long and twenty broad, and some larger." The exports were farm

products, boards, staves, and horses, mainly sent to Boston, but some to the West Indies to barter "for sugar, cotton and rumme and some money." There were but twenty merchants in the colony, few servants, and about thirty slaves. Labor was scarce and dear; wages were two shillings and two and sixpence a day; provisions were cheap; beggars and tramps "were not suffered," and when found they were bound out to service. Taxable property was estimated at one hundred and ten thousand pounds; two-fifths of it being of the nature of a poll tax, and this tax was assessed according to an arbitrary schedule of wealth or position, so that it took the nature of an income tax.

In the development of new towns, one of two methods was followed: A speculator or company might buy lands from the Indians, with the approval of the General Assembly, and as soon as the rates became sufficiently large to need the extension of the Assembly's taxing power over the little community, a committee was appointed by that body to bound out the town; it was then in order to choose constables, and send delegates to the Assembly. The other process tended to become the only one, and it was as follows: the original towns were usually extensive—six to ten miles square as Wethersfield embraced Glastonbury, Rocky Hill, Newington and a part of Berlin; and persons living in remote parts finding it difficult to attend the central church, especially in winter, would ask for "winter-privileges" for a time and would have a preacher for themselves during the snowy months. When enough people could be found in a certain section to support a minister of their own, they applied to the General Assembly for permission to form a church. This usually met strong opposition from the old church, but at length the come-outers had their way; forming a church, which became a germ of a new town. A good example is Plainfield, which was settled as the *Quinnabaug Plantation*, and in 1700, becoming a town it was incorporated under the name of Plainfield, which gave as a brand for the

horses turned loose to pasture, a triangle. We are not to think that changes came in the towns, and separations of neighborhoods into new towns as gently and quietly as spring passes into summer. Such resolute men as settled Connecticut seldom neglected an occasion for debate and even controversy, when they imagined their rights threatened, or thought they could advance their interests. There was a border warfare between Plainfield and Canterbury, attended by pulling down fences and carrying off hay and grain. There were innumerable lawsuits, and nearly all the principal men of Canterbury were indicted for "stealing bales of hay," and fined ten shillings. In 1703, the General Assembly ordered a division of the territory, and in 1714, the same body ordered the following of the line established at the earlier date, thus increasing the confusion, and fanning the flames of border-ruffianism; and finally, in 1721, the limits of the contending towns were established.

From 1700, until 1745, thirty new towns were incorporated, and the growth in population was steady. In 1755, the board of trade estimated it at one hundred thousand. In 1762, all the soil of the colony had been allotted to townships, and new towns formed after that year were carved out of those already in existence. Even in the dark days of the Revolution, the energetic people continued to populate the vacant places. In 1779-80, five towns were laid out; from 1784, to 1787, twenty-one,—twelve of them in 1786. Tolland County was divided off in 1786, as Windham had been in 1726, Litchfield in 1751, and Middlesex in 1765. These, with the four original counties of Fairfield, New Haven, Hartford, and New London, made the present eight counties.

The settlement of Windham County may illustrate the way the later counties came into being. Windham County is the northeast section of the state, about eighty miles from Boston, and across it travelers toiled without halting for over half a century, regarding its broken, rock-strewn

surface, its lakes and rivers, its wild, craggy forests, miry swamps, and sandy barrens as a part of a "hideous and trackless wilderness." Large parts of it had been kept burned over by the Indians for pasturage for deer. In 1664, settlers came from Roxbury to the Nipmuck region, traveling over the Old Connecticut Path to form a town in what is now Woodstock, and on March 5, 1690, the Assembly voted to call it Woodstock, and in the following May, the first town meeting was held in the town. Two years later, a similar meeting was held in Windham, and Pomfret held a meeting before 1700; Plainfield, one in 1700; Canterbury, one in 1703, and Killingley in 1708. In Ashford, that wild, forest region, remote from civilization, yet on the Old Connecticut Path, which ran across what is now its common, the first town meeting was held in 1715. It came to pass that, during the forty years following the first settlement of that region, eight towns were formed in Windham County, and every one of them had settled "a learned and orthodox minister," and had grist mills, tanneries, the beginnings of roads, besides taverns. Money was scarce, food scanty, hard work plentiful, a conspicuous arena for the Great Awakening so soon to come, and a rich field for the builders of summer homes in recent years.

Litchfield County, so famous for its glorious scenery, learned jurists, and powerful preachers, was organized in 1751, having eleven towns, Canaan, Cornwall, Salisbury, Kent, Sharon, Torrington, Harwinton, Woodbury, New Hartford, Goshen and New Milford. This is the largest county in the state, with a gravelly loam, interspersed with fertile lands, and watered by the Naugatuck, Housatonic, and Farmington rivers.

Before all the soil of the colony had been taken by settlers there was a disposition to swarm. The first effort was due to the boundary settlement of 1713-14 between Connecticut and Massachusetts. Because of concessions made by Connecticut, Massachusetts gave the sister colony sixty

thousand acres of her western lands. Some of these were in Vermont, though believed to be in Massachusetts. Private parties bought them, and the erection of Fort Dummer in 1729, gave some promise of protection. New York claimed the whole territory under the grant to the Duke of York, but the Connecticut colonists carried with them the system of town government with which they were familiar, and asserted their "independence and unbridled democracy." When the territory became a state in 1777, it took the title of *New Connecticut*, the name Vermont being substituted during the year—a triumph for the Connecticut town system. The way Vermont was settled is also suggested by names of towns found in that state, such as Hartford, Wethersfield, and Windsor. Vermont may be thought of as a child of Litchfield County. Ethan Allen was born at Litchfield in 1739; when thirty years old he moved to what was then known as *New Hampshire Grants*, but is now Vermont, and became a vigorous opponent of the encroachments of New York. Seth Warner, born in Roxbury, Connecticut, in 1743, settled at Bennington, and with Allen became one of the active *Green Mountain Boys*, resisting New York encroachments and valiant in the Revolution. The first governor of Vermont was from Litchfield County, and in later times three other governors, three United States senators, and one chief justice. Forty-five of her governors have been natives of Connecticut; twenty-one of her Supreme Court judges, and eleven of her United States senators.

The expansion of the colony westward was encouraged by the fact that the charter bounds extended to the Pacific Ocean. When the Plymouth council gave up its charter in 1635, it notified the king that the grant was "through all the mainland, from sea to sea, being near about three thousand miles in length." The geographers in England knew also that the Connecticut grant was three thousand miles long, though no one dreamed then of pressing the claim be-

yond the Mississippi River to lands owned by the Spanish, but Connecticut did think that she owned the northern two-fifths of Pennsylvania. Soon after the charter was granted, Charles gave his brother James the Dutch colony of New Netherland, thus interfering with the continuity of Connecticut. In 1681, Charles gave William Penn a grant of Pennsylvania, which took from the Connecticut strip the northern coal, iron, and oil fields. In 1753, a movement was made to colonize the Wyoming Country as the Pennsylvania section was called: it started in Windham County. In 1754, the Susquehanna Company was formed with nearly seven hundred members, of whom six hundred and thirty-eight were of Connecticut. Their agents made a treaty with the Five Nations, July 11, 1754, by which they secured for two thousand pounds a tract of land, beginning at the forty-first degree of latitude, the southern boundary of Connecticut; thence running north, following the line of the Susquehanna to the present northern boundary of Pennsylvania; thence one hundred and twenty miles west; thence south to the forty-first degree, and back to the point of beginning. The General Assembly of Connecticut acquiesced, provided that the king approved. Pennsylvania objected, but the company sent out surveyors and plotted the tract. Settlement began on the Delaware River in 1757, and in the Susquehanna purchase in 1762. There were conflicts between the settlers and the Pennsylvania men; the number of Connecticut men increased to some three thousand. The Connecticut Assembly passed a resolution in 1771, maintaining the claim of its colony to its charter limits west of the Delaware. In 1774, it raised the Susquehanna district into a town, under the name of Westmoreland, making it a part of Litchfield County, and its deputies took their places in the Connecticut legislature. In 1776, Westmoreland was made a distinct county. Connecticut laws and taxes were enforced regularly; Connecticut courts alone were in session there; the levies from the district

Hartford State-House Lottery.

No. 17998

THIS TICKET entitles the Bearer to such Prize as shall be drawn against its Number. Subject to a Deduction of Twelve and an Half per Cent.

John Caldwell

Ticket of a Lottery to Build the Bulfinch State-House. The Original is Owned by George S. Godard

At the May session, 1793, the General Assembly granted a lottery to raise £5000 lawful money for erecting and completing the State House at Hartford, and appointed Messrs. John Chester, Noadiah Hooker, John Caldwell, John Morgan, John Trumbull, or any two of them, managers. Owing to circumstances the lottery was not productive

As *Gore* there once was such a word."

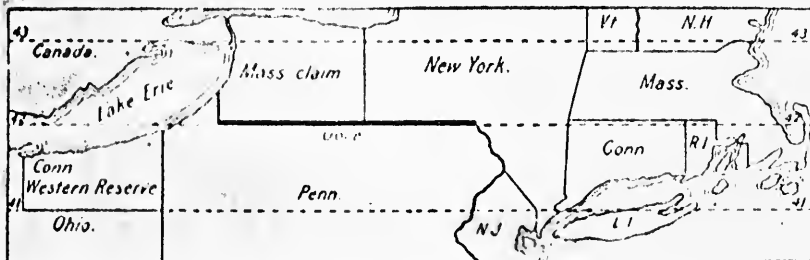
NOTE.—The principal authority for the statements made in this paper is a series of several hundred manuscript letters and documents owned by the Connecticut Historical Society, by whose kind permission they have been consulted and used.

The following are the chief printed authorities that have been consulted.

The Connecticut Gore Title Stated and Considered. Hartford, 1799

The Rise, Progress, and Effect of the Claim of the Connecticut Gore Stated and Considered. Hartford, 1802.

An Inquiry Concerning the Grant of the Legislature of Connecticut to Andrew Ward and Jeremiah Halsey. Hartford, 1820



Report of the Regents' Boundary Commission upon the New York and Pennsylvania Boundary. Albany, 1866.

Trumbull, Benjamin. A Plea in Vindication of the Connecticut Title to the Contested Lands Lying West of the Province of New York. New Haven, 1774 (second edition).

Poor, Ben. Perley. The Federal and State Constitutions, Colonial Charters. Washington, 1877.

The Connecticut Land Gore

From *The Connecticut Land Gore Company*, by Albert C. Bates

formed the twenty-fourth Connecticut regiment in the Continental armies. In July, 1778, after the Continental Congress had refused to allow the men from Westmoreland in the army to return home, a band of Tories and Indians under John Butler and Joseph Brandt, fell upon the defenseless settlement. The old men and boys mustered, and fought until half their number was cut down. The women and children were spared for the greater horrors of the overland retreat to Connecticut, and the new county disappeared. Detached parties returning from time to time, gathered slight crops, under danger from the Indians, but Westmoreland County was no more. When the articles of confederation went into force, a court was appointed to settle the Susquehanna or Wyoming dispute. Connecticut asked for time to get papers from England, but was overruled by Congress, which ordered the court to meet at Trenton. The unanimous decision was that Wyoming belonged to Pennsylvania. The Wyoming settlers had a hard time for years, being deserted by their own state, and left to the mercy of rival claimants. The old Susquehanna Company reorganized in 1785-86, but there were dissensions between the first settlers and the newcomers, and in 1799, Pennsylvania passed an act to allow actual settlers to retain their lands, thus there came to be a large infusion of Connecticut blood in Pennsylvania. Had it not been for the Revolution, Connecticut might have retained the Wyoming country; as it was, the dreams of Westmoreland faded, and the state is restricted to the present territory.

This seems to be the place to speak of the Connecticut Gore Land Company. In May, 1792, five citizens of Hartford were appointed to build "a large and convenient State House," and owing to a scarcity of money, the Assembly in May, 1793, voted that the committee be allowed to hold the *Hartford State House Lottery*. Tickets to the number of twenty-six thousand six hundred and sixty-seven were issued at five dollars a ticket. Twelve and a half per

cent. was set apart for the prizes, which ranged from ten to eight thousand dollars. Two years dragged by with small sales of the tickets; the lottery was a failure. The money contributed by the state for the new building having been expended, the work was at a standstill, when, in May, 1794, Jeremiah Halsey and Andrew Ward of Guilford proposed that the state deed to them the Gore west of the Delaware River, that they might sell the land in foreign markets, offering to share the proceeds with the state. On July 25, 1795, Samuel Huntington, the governor, executed a deed, releasing the land to the men mentioned above. The Gore was a strip of land, two and a third miles wide and two hundred and forty-five miles long, and it came into possession of Connecticut in this way. The Plymouth Company, in 1628, sold to an association of Massachusetts Bay all New England from the Atlantic ocean to the South Sea, between the parallels three miles north of the Merrimack River and three miles south of the Charles River, "or of any or every part thereof." The Connecticut charter described its northern boundary as the southern of Massachusetts. The question as to the boundary between Connecticut and Massachusetts, as we have seen in an earlier chapter, was long in controversy: In 1642, the Massachusetts surveyors placed it at forty-one degrees fifty-five minutes north latitude, and in 1695, Connecticut surveyors placed it at forty-two degrees north, or a difference of two miles and a third, and thus the strip of two and a third by two hundred and forty-five miles, west of New York, became known as the *Gore*. After receiving the deed, Ward and Halsey offered fifty thousand acres for sale, and the value of the land rose as farms were bought. New York interfered, and the courts supported the Connecticut Gore Land Company, but in the deal between the United States government and Connecticut, whereby the latter gave up all claims on western lands, on condition that it receive the Connecticut Reserve, the Gore was ceded to the United States and to the individual states.

Meanwhile the statehouse had been finished; shares in the Gore Company dropped to nothing; in 1805-08, Connecticut paid it forty thousand dollars and the Gore became a dim tradition.

In return for its surrender of its claims on western lands, the United States Government gave to Connecticut a tract about the size of Wyoming in the western part of Ohio, which became known as the Western Reserve of Connecticut, and it contained about three million three hundred thousand acres, the settlement of which was not attempted until after the passage of the Northwest Ordinance of 1787, which was the beginning of government under territorial system. The authorship of that Ordinance has usually been attributed to Nathan Dane of Massachusetts, but Manasseh Cutler of Killingley, minister, doctor, scientist, and diplomat, had decided influence in Congress as he talked of the interests of Ohio with brilliant persuasiveness, insisting that slavery should be excluded, and provision made for a university. Indian hostilities delayed the settlement of the Reserve, but after Anthony Wayne's campaign in 1794, toilers on the rocky farms of Connecticut sighed for the mellow soil of Ohio, and in 1795, the General Assembly passed an ordinance, approving the sale of the land, and entrusting it to eight men, one from every county. The section was divided into twelve hundred thousand shares, and Oliver Phelps, a native of Windsor, led the enterprise, opening an office in Canandaigua—the first in the country for sale of forest lands to settlers. Moses Cleaveland of Canterbury, magnetic, able, decisive, and patriotic, was selected as agent of the company. Cleaveland, whose name will always be associated with the city of that name, after service in the Revolution, and taking his degree from Yale, opened a law office in Canterbury and won a high place among the able lawyers of Windham County. The winter of 1795-96 was one of active preparation for the migration. Augustus Porter, a surveyor, a native of Connecticut, after

seven seasons of laying out lands in western New York, was well fitted to conduct the expedition. Six weeks carried the party to Lake Ontario, and the portage around Niagara Falls was wearisome. On the site of Buffalo, a conference was held with Red Jacket of the Six Nations, the stalwart form, martial air, together with the curt but courteous address of General Cleaveland won the admiration and confidence of the Indians. The payment of twelve hundred and fifty dollars in goods secured from the chiefs a formal relinquishment of their claim to land in the Western Reserve, and the expedition embarked on Lake Erie. On July 4, the twentieth anniversary of American Independence, they landed at a place they christened Fort Independence, and celebrated, by salutes for New Connecticut. Toasts were given and the day "closed with three cheers. Drank several pails of grog, supped, and retired in remarkable good order." A few more days of coasting brought the party to Cuyahoga River, where a landing was effected. After climbing to a broad plateau, and gazing upon the blue waters of the lake and the wide plain, General Cleaveland said: "This shall be the site of our city. Here we will lay the foundation of the metropolis of our Reserve." It was a sun-burned, travel-stained company of men that stood there that July day, a fitting beginning for the city of Cleaveland, and the development of great business and educational interests of the Western Reserve. The census of 1850 shows that twenty-three thousand of the Ohio people were from Connecticut, and nineteen thousand from Massachusetts.

Few other men in American history have accomplished results of greater importance than Moses Austin and his son Steven, in planning and carrying into execution the making of Anglo-American Texas. It was a venturesome family. Elijah served in the Revolution, and was the first to fit out a ship for China. Moses, brother of Elijah, was born in Durham, in 1764; he established at St. Genevieve, Mis-

souri, the first mines west of the Mississippi; he planted an Anglo-American colony in the rich wastes of Texas. Steven Austin, the son, took up the work; both father and son builded better than they knew, and are highly honored as noble founders of the Lone Star State.

In 1666, Philip Carteret, the new governor of East Jersey, arrived, and he sent agents at once to New England, to publish the terms offered to settlers, and invite them to his lands. The offer was liberal, and, in the following year, a committee from Guilford, Milford, and Branford was sent ahead to look over the country, to learn more exactly of the offer, and discover how friendly were the Indians. The reply was favorable, and the word passed to buy a township, select a site and arrange for settlement. Soon thirty families were on the way by boat from New Haven to Newark. On reaching the spot selected, delegates were appointed to form a government, and true to the principles of the New Haven colony, no one was allowed to vote or hold office, unless he was a member of a Congregational church. A typical pioneer was James Kilburn of Granby, who in 1802, formed a company with seven associates to move to the Northwest Territory; Kilburn going ahead to explore. In 1803, a schoolhouse, log church, blacksmith shop, and twelve cabins were built in Worthington, Ohio, and a hundred persons had arrived. The first Episcopal church in the state was formed there, and in 1817, Worthington College, of which James Kilburn became president. He also went to the legislature and to Congress, and he formed an early abolition society. Many of the first settlers in Ohio showed their origin, naming their towns Kent, Ashland, and Lebanon.

Of eighteen early governors of Wisconsin, four were born in Connecticut, whose pioneers were not apt to stop in Indiana, for the southern element was strong there, and the Virginian and Kentuckian were in danger of confusing the unscrupulous Yankee peddler with the substantial Yankee farmer, treating both alike.

Connecticut people usually knew exactly whither they were going, and they moved in large numbers to Long Island, New Jersey, New York, New Hampshire, Vermont, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Michigan. The school system of Michigan was carried bodily to Wisconsin. They were *great movers*, and at Collinsville, Illinois, opposite St. Louis, the three Collins brothers from Litchfield established a town in 1817. They used the same horse-power for a distillery, sawmill, cooper-shop, blacksmith and carpenter shop; built, in 1818, a union meeting-house, which was also used as public school and Sunday School, and their father became the first substantial contributor to Illinois College. From 1676, to 1713, Connecticut expanded more rapidly and emigrated more widely than any other New England colony, and the descendants of this state are found from New Hampshire to Michigan.

CHAPTER XVI

EDUCATION

SINCE the leaders in the settlement of Connecticut were men of trained intelligence and energy, they began as soon as possible to lay the foundations of a school system, and Hartford was three years old when John Higginson opened a school there. There must have been a school in New Haven that year, for a record of the Court says that Thomas Fugill was required to keep Charles Higginson at school for one year. Christmas, 1641, New Haven colony ordered that a free school be started in town, and John Davenport was requested to ascertain the amount of money which would be required to support it, and to draw up rules for it. In 1644, the legislature of Connecticut established a school system, and Lord Macaulay, in a famous address in Parliament in 1847, eulogized the fact that "exiles living in the wilderness should grasp and practice the principle that the state should take upon itself the education of the people." As in all the other colonies there was need of schools, for the greater part of the people had little education when they came hither, and some of the most active of the proprietors could not write their names. Eight of the first thirty-five that settled Norwich, as appears from inspection of deeds and conveyances, affixed their marks, yet among them were townsmen, deacons, and constables.

The mode adopted was like that with which the colo-

nists had been familiar in England—the method of town control—and the duty was laid upon the local authorities to establish schools, and to work with parents in the endeavor “not to suffer so much barbarism in any of the families as to have a single child or apprentice unable to read the holy word of God, and the good laws of the colony; and to bring them up to some lawful calling or employment.” Every town of fifty families was required to maintain a school in which “reading and wrighting” should be taught, and in every town of one hundred households a grammar school should be supported, and if any town failed to have a grammar school it was required to contribute to a neighboring school. In 1658, the law was modified to read thirty families instead of fifty, and in 1672, it was ordered that in place of the requirement that there should be a grammar school in every town with one hundred families, every county town should have a grammar school, with teachers competent to prepare for college. There were then four county towns, Hartford, New Haven, New London, and Fairfield, and the law continued for a century and a quarter. In the early time the studies were few but the terms were long, for in 1677, it was ordered that the school year be at least nine months in duration, but in 1690, the time required was reduced to six months in a year. Evidently the laws to promote universal education were evaded, for in 1690, the legislature passed the vote that since there were “many persons unable to read the English tongue . . . the grand jury men in each towne doe once in the year at least, vissit each famaly they susspect to neglect this order . . . and if they finde any such children and servants not taught as theire yeares are capeable of . . . they shall be fynded twenty shillings for each offence.” There was the beginning of a new era in the history of education in Connecticut in 1700, the year in which was established the “Collegiate School,” which became Yale College. In that year was completed a revision of the laws, in which it was ordered that every

town having seventy householders should have "a sufficient school master to teach children and youth to read and write," and this school should be in session for eleven months in the year; also that every town with a less number than seventy households should have a "sufficient school master to teach for one half the year." The first mention of committees is in 1702. The clergy, authorized by the legislature, were the committee, visiting the schools to see that the catechism was thoroughly learned and religion drilled in. The custom of appointing a separate school committee crystallized into a law in 1750, when provision was made for the appointment of such officers.

The change from the town to the parish system was made in 1712, when it was enacted that all the parishes, which were already made, or afterwards should be made, should be provided with funds for maintaining schools within their limits. At first the parishes were school districts of the towns, but in 1760, the societies began to organize as educational areas, often coterminous with towns. As population increased, the school districts multiplied, and in 1776, there were seventy-three towns and one hundred and ninety societies, every society having a definite territory. In 1717, societies were authorized to choose clerks and committees, and levy taxes, and these powers placed them on nearly the same footing as towns. In 1766, it was enacted that "each town and society shall have full power and authority to divide themselves into proper and necessary districts, for keeping their schools, and to alter and regulate the same from time to time as they shall have occasion." Another step was taken in 1794, when it was enacted that "the several school districts . . . shall have power and authority to tax themselves for the purpose of building and repairing a school house . . . to choose a clerk . . . and to appoint a collector." From 1797, to 1839, committees were appointed for the districts by the town or society, after that they appointed

their own committees. A law passed in 1795, referred to the parishes or ecclesiastical societies "in their capacity of school societies," giving for the first time this title, and in 1798, the care of schools was transferred entirely from the towns to the school societies, with which it remained till 1856, when towns chose their system. During that period a school society might include a whole town, a part of a town, or parts of two or more towns, and all the business concerning schools was under its care. This system came about naturally, for the original towns were very large. After a time the dwellers in new communities petitioned for permission to form new parishes, and it was found convenient to manage the schools in those districts through the church organization. At length these societies became separate towns, and thus they prepared the way for a return to the town method. The act of 1798, perfected the old system; every society was given power to appoint a suitable number of persons (not to exceed nine) to be visitors, "to examine, approve and dismiss school teachers, and appoint public exercises." County towns were no longer required to maintain a Latin school, but every society might institute a school of a higher order.

Before giving an account of the later development of public means of education, we must speak of the School Fund, which has played such a part in Connecticut schools. The funds to support public schools have been derived from several sources—taxes, tuition fees, and the income of invested funds. Taxation and tuition fees were resorted to from earliest times, the first school in New Haven being maintained wholly by taxes. Hartford guaranteed the teacher's salary, though a part, if not the whole, was expected from tuition fees, the town making up any deficiency, and paying for those who were unable to pay for themselves. The code of 1650, provided that the teachers' "wages shall be paid either by the parents or masters of children, or by the inhabitants in general." The New Haven code of 1656,

provided that one-third be paid by the town in general, and the other two-thirds "by them who have benefite thereof." In 1677, a new step was taken when it was ordered that the teacher should be paid by taxation, "except any town shall agree upon som other way to rayse the mayntenance of him they shall imploy in the afoarsayd worke." The revision of 1700, ordered that a tax of forty shillings to a thousand pounds be levied on all property for schools, and if that proved insufficient, one half of the deficit should be made up "by the inhabitants of such town, and the other half by the parents or masters of the children that go to the school." This law remained in force until 1820. In 1754, the rate was cut from forty to ten shillings on the thousand pounds. In 1766, it was raised to twenty shillings, then to forty shillings, and after fifty years it was abolished. In 1837, Connecticut received from the United States Treasury \$763,661, its share of the Town Deposit Fund.

There are special invested funds as sources of income, and the first of these was the gift of Edward Hopkins to Hartford and New Haven, and of Robert Bartlett of New London, funds used for schools of a high order. A large part of the funds belonging to towns and societies was derived from the *Western Lands* so called, in the northwestern corner of the state. When Sir Edmund Andros was endeavoring to obtain control of the colony, a special session of the legislature was held January 26, 1687, to take measures to defeat Sir Edmund's purposes, and the public lands, that had not been previously sold or granted, were disposed of at that session, and more than half of what is now Litchfield County was given to Hartford and Windsor. After the Andros trouble was over, those towns proceeded to sell the lands, and of course a controversy arose between them and the colony, and this contest continued until 1731, when it was decided to divide the land into two parts, and have the colony take the western half and the towns the eastern. In 1733, the colony ordered that the seven towns, into which

the western territory was divided, be sold, and the money received for them be given to the towns already settled, according to the polls and ratable estates, to be set apart by each town as a permanent fund. It is not known how much was realized by the sale, but Salisbury was sold for nearly seven thousand pounds, and Kent for more than twelve hundred. Another source of school funds was from an act passed in 1766, granting the arrears of excise on liquors, tea, and other goods, but the main school fund was gained by the sale of lands in Ohio. As stated elsewhere the charter of Charles II., in 1662, conveyed a tract extending from Narragansett Bay on the east to the South Sea on the west. In 1681, Charles II. gave to William Penn the charter of Pennsylvania, the northern part of which had been given to Connecticut. After emigration had made the territory valuable, Connecticut asserted her claim; in 1774, and for eight years after, the settlers on the Susquehanna sent representatives to the Connecticut legislature, established schools, and paid taxes like other citizens of the state. The controversy over that region was decided in 1782, in favor of Pennsylvania. Though the title of Connecticut to lands west of Pennsylvania had never been questioned, and it was not practicable to attempt to control a slender strip of land, only seventy miles wide and extending nearly one eighth of the circumference of the globe, in 1786, the General Assembly authorized the delegates in Congress to convey to the United States all lands belonging to Connecticut, lying west of a line parallel to, and one hundred and twenty miles west of, Pennsylvania. The offer was accepted, and the lands within one hundred and twenty miles of Pennsylvania became known as the *Western Reserve* and sometimes as the *New Connecticut*.

In 1792, the General Assembly granted a tract of five hundred thousand acres, extending across the western end of the reservation as a compensation for the losses inflicted by the British army in the Revolution on the towns along

the Sound, from Greenwich to Groton. The tract thus given was afterwards called the *Fire Lands* or the *Sufferers' Lands*. In 1793, a committee of one from every county was appointed to sell those lands, and then came a warm discussion as to what should be done with the proceeds. In 1795, it was voted to put the money into a permanent fund for the use of schools, and under the control of the people in the different school societies; a few months later, the land was sold for one million two hundred thousand dollars, payable in five years. Interest was allowed to accumulate until 1799, when sixty thousand dollars was distributed on the basis of polls and ratable estates. In 1800, the care of the fund was assigned to a commission of four, whose unfitness threatened the fund, and James Hillhouse was appointed commissioner of it. In fifteen years it rose to one million seven hundred and nineteen thousand dollars, and more than three-quarters of a million had been divided among the school societies. The effect of this annual distribution of fifty or sixty thousand dollars was injurious in most towns, for it led to a decreasing taxation for the schools and a decrease of interest in education, and since High Schools were no longer obligatory, they were seldom organized. The state allowance of two dollars on every thousand raised by the towns was a feeble spur; in many towns the stipend from the School Fund was doled out at a starvation rate, giving a few weeks in winter and a short term in summer, and when the money was gone the door of the schoolhouse was locked. A short-sighted economy possessed the state, and since the schools cost little they were slightly esteemed and rapidly declined. They had been the pride of the state and the wonder of the land, and for a time after they waned, some who looked at them from afar applauded. A Kentucky legislator declared in 1822, "The Connecticut system has become an example for other states, and the admiration of the Union." The schools grew poorer; schoolhouses more dilapidated; the earlier method of having six months' and even

eleven months' schooling in a year gave way to the limit of the elasticity of the meager public money, which for forty years was distributed on no other condition than that it should be used for schools. There was a spasm of awakening interest now and then; a bill was passed in 1810, which provided that the expense of the district schools, above that received from the School Fund, should be met by a tax on each proprietor according to the number of days his pupil or pupils attended school. In 1813, a bill passed the legislature to compel proprietors of factories to have all working for them trained to read, write, and cipher, with a glance at their morals, in which the selectmen were to help.

Fervid imagination and Yankee pride have combined to halo the *Little Red Schoolhouse* with a glory mingled with sentimental pathos; and there have been in some of them teachers of power and inspiration, who would have taught just as well had they been paid according to their deserts, and if the schoolhouses had been less meagerly furnished. At length, public sentiment awoke, and in 1830, a convention of teachers complained of the indifference of parents; in 1836, Governor Edwards deplored the quality of the teachers, and in 1838, school conditions were investigated, with the result that the citizens were declared to be lacking in interest, school visitors neglectful, and teachers inefficient. Wage of men teachers was fourteen and a half dollars per month, and of women five and three-quarters. More than six thousand children of school ages were not in attendance. Changes for the better rapidly followed the report: a bill for the better supervision was passed; the *Connecticut Common School Journal* was founded; in 1849, a state normal school was established in New Britain under the auspices of Henry Barnard, who was aided by the coöperation of Mrs. Emma Hart Willard. In 1855, a vote was passed to enable a town to have a school of a higher grade; in 1865, the state board of education was organized, and in 1868, the town tax was increased enough to make schools free. The

length of school required as the condition for obtaining the public money was fixed at four months in 1841, six months in 1855, and in 1870, it was voted that public schools be maintained for at least thirty weeks in a year in every school district in which the number of pupils between four and sixteen was twenty-four or more, and for twenty-four weeks in all others, but that there should be no schools in districts in which the number of children fell below eight pupils.

In 1839, the powers of the school districts were greatly enlarged, and they were declared *bodies corporate*, so far as to be able to purchase, receive, hold, and convey property, and make all lawful arrangements for the management of schools such as taxation, providing rooms, and employing teachers. In 1866-67, it was voted that any town might abolish all school districts and maintain a central school—an entering wedge for the act of 1909, which declared that after July of that year, every town must be a school district, with a committee having the power of district committee and school visitors, except in a few towns organized under special acts of the legislature. Thus there was a return to the early town management. In 1897, it was voted that any town in which a High School was not maintained, should pay the whole or part of the tuition fee of any child residing with his parents in said town, and should have the written consent of the school visitors or committee to attend a High School in another town. In 1905, a law was passed requiring a committee or visitors, discovering any child over fourteen and under sixteen with insufficient schooling, to notify the parents or guardians, who should cause him to attend school. In 1907, it was voted by the Assembly that any town may direct the visitors, committee, or board of education to purchase, at the expense of the town, text-books and other supplies used in the public schools, to be loaned to the pupils free of charge. Ten years before, it was voted that towns should supply pupils incapable of buying books. Of late years much attention has been given to the subject of

libraries in the schools, and the state appropriates certain sums of money to them, on condition that the towns do their part. There are also loan libraries in circulation. It was voted in 1909, that a town shall insist, by transportation or otherwise, on schooling for every child over seven and under sixteen. Provision has also been made of late for the medical examination of children, and it has been ordered that hygiene, including the effect of alcohol on health and character, shall be taught as a regular branch of study.

In no other state is there a more rigid enforcement of attendance and employment laws. Rural supervision is of decided service in country towns. The passing of the corporate districts into the town system is a long step in advance. There are manual training departments in some High Schools, and in 1907, fifty thousand dollars was appropriated for trade schools, committing the state to the policy of public instruction in trades. Among the New England states Connecticut is second to no other in liberal provision for education; the school fund of more than two millions, with an annual income of one hundred and ten thousand dollars, ceased long ago to provoke a false economy, and is a decided benefit. The Normal Schools at Danbury, New Britain, New Haven, and Willimantic have a total of nearly eight hundred pupils, and graduate annually nearly three hundred teachers, though this does not supply the waste. The purpose of the Trade Schools is to "equip that large number of children who must work in the skilled trades with the primary essentials and practical principles of their trades," and the demand for this education far exceeds the facilities of the schools now in operation in Bridgeport and in New Britain. There are classes both in the day and evening, and the subjects treated are: machine work, carpentry work, pattern making, sewing, including dressmaking, printing, plumbing, and drawing. Evening schools are conducted in forty towns,

with a registration of over ten thousand pupils, and the number attending the one hundred and fifty-three kindergartens is over eleven thousand. In ninety-one towns children are conveyed to a central school with general satisfaction to all concerned. The elimination of the district system, referred to on an earlier page, is a return to the early town management of schools, and hastens the escape from the antiquated conservatism, the penurious extravagance of the district school system, which seemed necessary for the time, but is now as much out of date as are stage-coaches and spinning-wheels. An elaborate system of supervision has been organized by grouping towns, and thirty-four supervisors are at work, responsible to the state board of education; besides these many towns have their own supervisors. This tends to greater efficiency. It is coming to be recognized by the intelligent that local management in districts is apt to be attended by injustice and injury to pupils; that many do not receive adequate attention, when several grades gather in a miserable room, with antiquated equipment, underpaid teachers, and an unscientific and haphazard course of studies. The movement from the condition in which the state lingered for years is slow. In a hundred towns there are over three hundred schools with an average attendance of less than twelve. Changes come gradually in the land of steady habits. The vigorous community life, so prominent in the towns, which in some ways have been little commonwealths, has fostered a conservatism, if not a self-satisfaction, which sometimes fails to see that methods, which were the only ones available in the sparsely settled colony, have been outgrown, and that the schools need to be standardized in grades, studies, and books, for the sake of efficiency, economy, and the easy passage of pupils from school to school. The recent complete change of system, the valuable work of the state board of education and the deepening interest are putting Connecticut into the front ranks in public school education.

We pass now to the history of the instruction in the public schools. In early times they were primitive, and were taught in the winter by men, and the larger boys attended, and sometimes matched their strength with the master's; the summer schools were attended only by the younger children, and were taught by women and girls. The seats were hard; the desks rude, but elaborately decorated by the versatile jackknife. Until the Revolution, about the only books in the hands of the pupils were the Bible, the New England Primer, with its doleful pictures, and the spelling-book. The younger children had the famous "horn-book," shaped somewhat like a fan; it was a thin board with a handle, and through the horn which covered the board there could be seen the alphabet and Lord's Prayer. Arithmetic to the "Rule of Three" was taught, and the one text-book was in the hands of the teacher, who dictated rules and examples from it. The first geography for schools was not published until 1784. There were no maps or charts or blackboards. English grammar received scanty attention, and it would seem that the spelling-book was neglected, judging from the ingenious literary samples that have come down to us, of which we may take as a fair specimen the indorsement on Governor Bradford's *History of Plymouth Colony* by his grandson, Samuel Bradford, which reads as follows:

This book was rit by goefner William Bradford, and gifen to his son mager John Bradford, rit by me Samuel Bradford, Mach. 20, 1705.

Teachers wrote copies for penmanship and mended the goose-quills. There is an interesting letter from President Humphrey to Henry Barnard concerning schools between 1790, and 1800, in which he says:

Our school books were the Bible and Webster's Spelling Book; one or two others were found in some schools for the reading

classes—grammar was hardly taught at all in any of them, and that little was confined almost entirely to committing and reciting rules. Parsing was one of the occult sciences of my day; we had some few lessons in geography by questions and answers, but no maps, no globes, and as for blackboards, such a thing was not thought of until long after. Children's reading and picturebooks we had none, the fables in Webster's Spelling Book came nearest to them. Arithmetic was hardly taught at all in the day schools; as a substitute, there were some evening schools in most of the districts. Spelling was one of the exercises in most of the districts.

A very early book was the Dilworth speller, an English work, with many terms not fitted to American life. It was an epoch in education when, in 1783, appeared the first of a series of three books by Noah Webster. He wrote:

In the year 1782, while the American army was lying on the banks of the Hudson, I kept a classical school in Goshen, N. Y. I there compiled two small elementary books for teaching the English language. The country was impoverished, intercourse with Great Britain was interrupted, school books were scarce and scarcely obtainable, and there was no certain prospect of peace.

The first of Webster's school-books to appear was the speller, through which the author gave to the country a uniform language. It sold in such numbers that, by 1847, twenty-four million copies had been disposed of, and by 1870, forty millions. In 1785, Webster issued a grammar; and in 1787, a reader. Another school-book by a Connecticut man was a geography published by Jedediah Morse of Woodstock in 1784—the first of its kind in America; in 1789, he issued a valuable work called the *American Geography* and, in 1812, there appeared an encyclopedia of knowledge by the same author. In one of his geographies Morse said of the trans-Mississippi region, "It has been supposed that all settlers who go beyond the Mississippi will be forever lost

to the United States." In 1827, Jesse Olney of Union published his *Atlas-Geography*, which was popular through the country, with a circulation of eighty thousand copies. In 1796, Thomas Hubbard of Norwich published an introduction to arithmetic for use in the public schools, in the preface of which is a statement which must have cheered the young folks, for he said, "I have omitted fractions, not because I think them useless, but because they are not absolutely necessary." The most widely used arithmetic was by Daboll, who was born in Groton in 1750. This work, called *The Schoolmaster's Assistant*, stood for years in the front rank with Webster's Speller. A new era in the study of Latin was created by Ethan A. Andrews, a native of New Britain, by his Latin-English lexicon and his text-books; so complete and scholarly was his work that the lexicon became a standard, and the *First Lessons in Latin* reached thirty-four editions.

The education of girls was for years as scanty as that for boys, and in the second generation there were daughters of men in important positions who could not write their names, though in many towns the schoolmistress taught the children to behave, ply the needle through the mysteries of hemming, overhand, stitching, and darning, up to the sampler, and to read from spelling-book to the Psalter; laying emphasis on sitting up straight, conquering the spelling-book, never telling a lie, and being mannerly, especially to the minister, whose monthly round to catechize gave him an opportunity to chide the careless. Punishments were severe, and some fathers repeated at home the strokes given in school. A famous New London teacher had two strips of board, joined together by a hinge, in which the fingers of mischievous children were pinched, and the birch was a favorite form of torture,—a good training for tormenting witches, and suggestive attendants of a stern theology.

The decadence of the public schools after the Revolution led to the forming of many private schools, usually called



Noah Webster (1758-1843) Born in West Hartford. Celebrated as Author of Dictionary and School Books

From a Steel Engraving



Henry Barnard (1811-1900)

academies, a name probably borrowed from an essay published by Franklin in 1749, and Franklin says that he was indebted to Defoe, who, in 1697, had urged the building of schools like the academies of France and Spain. The old academy at Lebanon was one of the earliest of the schools, which for half a century furnished the highest education that three-fourths of the young men received. One of the earliest and best of these was the school at Greenfield Hill, conducted by Timothy Dwight, 1783-96, and it was one of the earliest coeducational schools in the country. Academies differed from the High School in that they were designed for all the young people in the neighborhood, gathering picked boys and girls from twenty towns and often at greatest sacrifice; going to school for study there was little difficulty in maintaining discipline. The grammar school in Fairfield was succeeded in 1781, by the Staples Academy, and three years later the first academy in Windham County was chartered for Plainfield; in 1816, it had a fund of eight hundred and thirty-four dollars, with eighty pupils. Not to be outdone by her neighbor, an academy was chartered for Woodstock in 1802, and built by the voluntary subscriptions and labor of neighbors; a fund of ten thousand dollars was secured, putting the school on a firm basis. In 1802, the Berlin Academy was incorporated, and eleven years later, the Bacon Academy at Colchester, thirty-six thousand dollars being raised and a "very beautiful building" of three stories erected. In 1816, it had two hundred pupils. In 1806, Noah Webster wrote:

Many academies are maintained by private funds. In these are taught primary branches and geography, grammar, languages, and higher mathematics. There are also academies for young ladies in which are taught the additional branches of needlework, drawing and embroidery. Among the academies of the first reputation are one in Plainfield and the Bacon Academy. The most distinguished schools for young ladies are the Union School in New Haven and the school in Litchfield.

In 1806, an academy was incorporated in Stratford; in 1816, Wallingford had one, teaching Latin, Greek, and English; in 1814, the Danbury Academy was incorporated; in 1821, the Fairfield; in 1823, the Goshen Academy; in 1825, the school at Madison, succeeded in 1886, by the Hand Academy. In 1817, there was formed an academy at Wilton, which became famous under the Olmsteads; in 1829, Greenwich and Tolland followed the fashion; Brooklyn in 1830, and Saybrook three years later.

A pioneer in academies for girls was the school taught by Sarah Pierce in Litchfield, which began in 1792, and during nearly forty years it trained over fifteen hundred pupils; the building is gone but it is claimed that this was the first school for girls in the United States. Hartford Female Seminary was incorporated in 1827, and so popular was it under Catharine Beecher that it had at times one hundred and fifty pupils from outside the state. We have spoken of academies for girls at Litchfield and New Haven; Norwich also formed one, and in 1799, an academy for girls was incorporated in New London. Nathan Hale, a hero of the Revolution, taught in New London in a school incorporated in 1774, and he wrote his uncle that he had twenty young ladies in his school from five to seven in the morning, and thirty-two boys through the day. The Goodrich School in Norwich was popular for years. A school for girls was opened in Farmington in 1846, by Sarah Porter, who for more than half a century was a vital force for culture and philanthropy. The Golden Hill Seminary of Bridgeport, Grove Hall at New Haven, Windsor Female Seminary at Windsor, and St. Margaret's at Waterbury have had wide repute. Academies continued to form through the nineteenth century—the Brainerd Academy at Haddam in 1839; one in Durham in 1842; the Parker in Woodbury in 1851; the famous Wauramaug at New Preston in 1852. In 1700, Norwich was indicted by the grand jury for "failing to maintain a school to instruct," though



Sarah Porter (1813-1900)

From the Photo by L. Alman



Catherine E. Beecher (1800-1878)

From an Old Engraving

there were schools enough; districts running riot with forty school organizations; in 1854, the Norwich Free Academy was incorporated, and later, J. F. Slater gave a building, costing one hundred and sixty thousand dollars, together with other funds. The Connecticut Literary Institute was established in Suffield in 1835; three years later, the Betts Academy was started at Stamford, and soon afterwards the Black Hall School at Lyme was organized. The Gunnery at Washington has had a noted history: Frederick W. Gunn graduated from Yale in 1837, and went back to his native town and opened a school, but his abolition views called down the thunder of the pulpit and the excommunication of the church; forced to leave town, he went to Pennsylvania, whence he returned to Washington in 1847, and reopened the Gunnery, a unique and famous school. The personality of the founder was strong and positive, and the methods of discipline original. A boy caught smoking swallowed an emetic, and a pupil who plunged a cat in water was soured in the same element.

It is not easy to give the names of all the academies that did so much for the young people of the state during that dreary half century when the Connecticut public schools were passing through their dark ages. Many are held in affectionate remembrance, such as the Emerson School in Wethersfield, the Hart School in Farmington, and the Woodstock Academy. They were feeders of Yale, trainers of many useful men and women, and sources of intelligence and power in scores of communities. There were also a few denominational schools of decided value, such as the Episcopal Academy of Connecticut, founded at Cheshire in 1794, with Principal Bowdin who had charge of the education of Gideon Welles and Admiral Foote. In 1865, the Seabury Institute was incorporated in Saybrook. Roman Catholic schools came late, since the population of the earlier times was Protestant; the Academy of Notre Dame being opened in Waterbury in 1869, the

Seminary of Saint Joseph in Hartford in 1873, and the Academy of the Holy Family, a school for girls, in Baltic in 1874.

Though academies were so valuable and so popular that as many as ten thousand young people were at times in them, it was at length seen that more ample provision should be made for higher education, and on July 4, 1838, it was voted to establish a free High School in Hartford, twelve thousand dollars being appropriated. The first building was on the corner of Asylum and Ann streets, and with it was incorporated a grammar school; a building large enough for three hundred pupils. Other cities soon had High Schools: Middletown in 1841, New Britain in 1850, New Haven in 1859, Bridgeport in 1876, Meriden in 1881, and Bristol in 1887. Academies were not set aside entirely by High Schools; many of the older ones continue. Schools of another class are forming: such as the Bulkley School in Meriden in 1881, the Mystic English and Classical School, the Hotchkiss and Taconic schools in Lakeville, the Westover School in Middlebury, the Williams Memorial Institute, the Gilbert School at Winsted, and Westminster School at Simsbury.

Connecticut has done much for education outside the state, both in establishing schools of a high grade, and also in writing school-books. The most original and effective woman the state has produced is Mrs. Emma Hart Willard, who was born in Berlin in 1787, and after considerable experience as a teacher, published in 1818, a *Plan for Improving Female Education*, a work which in 1819, led to the adoption by the New York legislature of the first provision for the higher education of women ever passed by any legislature, and to the incorporation in 1821, of the Willard School in Troy, from which have gone thousands of well-equipped women, under whose influences have been formed, largely in the South, two hundred similar schools. In another department of education Mrs. Willard and her sister,



Emma Hart Willard (1787-1870)

From an Old Print

Mrs. Almira Phelps, who has been associated with her, have been of decided service, publishing school-books in geography, history, and science.

Reference has been made to Henry Barnard, who was born in Hartford in 1811. After graduating from Yale in 1830, and teaching a short time, he went to Europe and studied European methods of education, devoting himself to the task of gaining a wide knowledge, not only of public schools, but also of the treatment of the insane and of criminals. In 1838, he obtained the passage of a bill in the General Assembly for the better local supervision of the schools. That bill provided for a board of School Commissioners for the state, on which Barnard served for four years. He traveled over the country to elevate public sentiment, and gave a lasting uplift to public instruction. The Normal School at New Britain was one result of his work. He was for a time Superintendent of Schools in Rhode Island, chancellor of the University of Wisconsin, and the first United States Commissioner of Education. He established the first system of state libraries, and organized teachers in a national association. *The Journal of Education*, which he began in 1855, is called by the *Britannica* "by far the most valuable work in our language on the history of education."

Of Connecticut birth too is B. G. Northrop, originator of the village improvement societies and Arbor Day, and for years president of the National Educational Association. William T. Harris was born in North Killingley in 1835, and after his training at Yale, he established the *Journal of Speculative Philosophy*, edited a series of school text-books, and was United States Commissioner of Education for years. Samuel Kirkland, who has an honored place among educators, was born in Norwich in 1741, became missionary to the Six Nations, and in appreciation of his invaluable services in the Revolution, he received a grant of land from the government, from which he set apart a portion for the

Hamilton Oneida Academy, which in 1812, was incorporated as *Hamilton College*. The name of Asa Packer, born in Groton in 1806, is in the first class of educators. He developed the Lehigh Valley railroad, and in 1865, he gave half a million dollars and a hundred and fifteen acres of land to found *Lehigh University*, to which he bequeathed in his will two million dollars. Similar in spirit was John F. Slater of Norwich, who gave a million dollars for the uplifting of the lately emancipated population of the Southern states; he also gave Norwich the *Slater Museum*, and did much for the *Free Academy*. Mention should also be made of Walter Newberry of East Windsor, who gave four million dollars to found the *Newberry Library* in Chicago, and of Daniel Hand, who gave a million and a half for the education of the negroes in the South. The name of Manasseh Cutler deserves mention here as famous in education, since after his service in the Revolution he was a pioneer in Ohio, was the first to observe the transit of Venus, was prominent in organizing and settling the Northwest Territory, and had a leading part in drafting the Ordinance of 1787, which guaranteed complete religious liberty, public support of schools, and the prohibition of slavery in the Northwest.

Reference has been made to school libraries, and it remains to mention the movement, which has been so strong for fifty years that nearly every town has a public library. There was an earlier endeavor, which resulted in forming subscription libraries, after the idea of Franklin. In 1893, Connecticut passed a bill authorizing the establishing of a library commission, with the appointing power in the hands of the Board of Education. Every town was notified that the state was willing to give for one year as much as it would give, up to two hundred dollars. The first to respond were Suffield, Seymour, and Wethersfield; two years later, there were libraries in twenty-five towns. In 1895, the legislature voted to give every free public library an annual sum of one hundred dollars with



Manasseh Cutler (1744-1823)

certain mild conditions of state supervision, and many towns have availed themselves of this offer, though there are some, that prefer not to come under state supervision. Bridgeport was first to found a free public library, and New Haven was next, by a special act of the legislature in 1886. The name of Philip Marett of New Haven will be remembered for his gift of one-tenth of his estate of six hundred and fifty thousand dollars "for the purchase of books for the young men's Institute or any public library which may from time to time exist in the city." The income of that fund buys one-half the books for the New Haven public library. There are libraries housed in beautiful buildings, some of them richly endowed, such as: *Scoville Library*, in Salisbury; *Eldredge Library*, affluent with tapestries, supported by Isabella Eldredge, the *Acton Library* at Old Saybrook, the *Scranton Memorial* at Madison, and the *James Blackstone Memorial* at Branford.

CHAPTER XVII

THE COLLEGES

IT was apparent in the first years of the settlement that a college was needed to carry to the goal the high ideals of the founders, to "perfect youth in English grammar, composition, arithmetic, geography, Latin, Greek, religion and morality, to form for usefulness and happiness in the various relations of social life." Under the influence of John Davenport, New Haven began to plan for such an institution in 1641. Owing to a protest from the leading men of Massachusetts, it was allowed to wait; they urged that all the resources of New England were barely enough to support Harvard, whose first building was erected in 1637. In 1652, the project was formally given up for the time, but the New Haven authorities had been directed, five years before, to reserve one of the home lots for the college, and it was only a question of time.

In 1698, the General Synod of churches devised a plan to establish a college, intending to call it "The School of the Church." "They were to nominate the first president and inspectors, and to exercise an influence over all elections to preserve orthodoxy in the governors." The institution was to be supported by the churches. The following year this plan was dropped, but ten ministers were named as trustees, and a body of the most prominent clergymen in the colony met in New Haven in the year 1700, and became a society of eleven members for the formation of a college.

Later in the same year, there was another meeting in Branford, when each minister laid upon a table his contribution of books, with the words, "I give these books for the founding of a college in this colony." The contribution amounted to forty folio volumes pertaining to theology, with not a volume of classical literature or science. In the following year, Sir John Davie of Groton, while on a visit to England, sent to the college one hundred and sixty volumes, most of which were collected among the nonconformist ministers in Devonshire. The Rev. Noadiah Russell of Middletown was appointed librarian, and the volumes remained in his possession three years. The act of depositing the books has been considered the beginning of the college; but it did not have a corporate existence until October 16, 1701, when the General Assembly gave it a charter to make it legal, to encourage donations, and that it might become an owner of real estate. Judge Samuel Sewall and Isaac Addington of Boston prepared the draft of the charter, which was presented to the legislature with a petition signed by a number of ministers and laymen; an annual grant amounting to about sixty pounds being voted to aid in the support of the institution, which in the charter was called a *Collegiate School*; no place of habitation being mentioned, the trustees having powers to decide on the site and to grant degrees and licenses.

The annual appropriation was continued for fifty years. The first private donor, other than the organizers, was James Fitch of Norwich, who gave six hundred and thirty-seven acres of land in Killingley, and glass and nails enough for a college hall. After the granting of the charter, the trustees met in New Haven, and decided that Saybrook was the most convenient place for the college for a time. After the eminent Rev. Isaac Chauncy of Stratford had declined the presidency, the Rev. Abraham Pierson of Killingworth (now Clinton) was appointed rector, and since his people were unwilling to part with their pastor, Yale

College had its abode in the Killingworth parsonage. From March until September, 1702, Jacob Hemingway travelled several miles to college, "and solus was all the college the first year." At the first commencement, which was held in Saybrook in September, 1702, there were no public services, but the trustees gave the degree of Master of Arts to four Harvard students; making another Bachelor of Arts. The first student of Yale to be graduated was John Hart of Farmington, and at his graduation, September 15, 1703, he was chosen tutor with a salary of fifty pounds *country pay*; the books showing that the treasurer paid him the first year, nine pounds "tuteridg money." Until 1709, there were three classes, Senior Sophisters, Sophomores, and Freshmen, and a system of fines was arranged "for the preventing of irreligion, idleness and other immoralities." The tuition was thirty shillings a year, and the studies were Latin, Greek, philosophy, mathematics and surveying, with a weekly recitation of the Assembly's Catechism in Latin and Ames's Theological Theses. In the second year, the students increased to eight, and a contribution was solicited from the colony to build a college house. The resources of the people were small, as there were only about thirty incorporated towns, and the population was scarcely fifteen thousand, but they gladly helped.

After the death of Rector Pierson in 1707, Samuel Andrews of Milford was chosen rector, and the senior class went to Milford, while the other two classes were at Saybrook under the care of two tutors, and the college was thus divided until 1716. There was a decided difference of opinion among the trustees regarding the place for the college, and divided instruction, struggles of the towns to secure it, the coming on of the French and Indian war and smallpox so scattered the students that it looked as though the little school might vanish. Some students went to Wethersfield and placed themselves under the instruction of Elisha Williams. New Haven contributed seven hun-

dred pounds toward the college and invited it to build there; Saybrook gave four hundred pounds and wanted it there; while Hartford and Wethersfield gave money and claimed it. On October 17, 1716, the trustees voted to place it at New Haven, and continued Samuel Andrews rector *pro tempore*. The Assembly in 1717, approved the removal and voted a grant for buildings. Saybrook resisted the change of the library to New Haven; and it was judged necessary for the governor and council to be present when the sheriff executed the orders of the General Assembly. The Saybrook people destroyed the carts furnished for the transportation of the books, the bridges between the town and New Haven were broken down, and many valuable papers and books were lost. The first commencement held at New Haven was in 1717; the number of students was thirty-one, and four received the degree of Bachelor of Arts. Part of the students continued at Wethersfield, the northern part of the colony being opposed to New Haven as a site for the college. The commencement held September 12, 1718, at New Haven, was the first one to which the public was invited; it was attended by the principal laymen and ministers in the colony. In that year an edifice of wood, one hundred and seventy feet long, twenty-two wide, and three stories high, containing about fifty rooms for students, besides a hall, library, and kitchen, was completed at a cost of about one thousand pounds. One of the most liberal donors was Elihu Yale, a native of New Haven, who at the age of ten was taken to England, and later went to the East Indies, where he became governor of the East India Company. The books and goods he sent over were worth about five hundred pounds, and in recognition of his munificence, at the commencement in 1718, the new building constituting the college was named Yale, and dedicated to Elihu Yale. On the same day commencement was held in Wethersfield for the students there; but the legislature healed the differences by conciliatory acts, and the college moved out of



The Buildings of Modern Yale University: Phelps Gateway and Hall at the Left, then Welch, Osborn, and Vanderbilt; with "Old South Middle," now Connecticut Hall, near the Center, and President Woolsey's Statue at the Right of it

From a Photograph



View of the Connecticut State Library, on Capitol Hill, Hartford

From a Photograph

troubled waters under the leadership of Timothy Cutler, a Congregational minister of Stratford, an accomplished scholar and imposing personality, who was appointed rector in 1719, and for him a house was built; instructors and students increased, the library was enriched, when suddenly, at the commencement in 1722, it was announced that the new rector and Tutor Brown, who comprised the faculty, had embraced Episcopacy. After a warm debate, the faculty was dismissed, and a resolution passed that henceforth every candidate for the office of rector or tutor should declare his assent to the Saybrook Platform, and satisfy the trustees of the soundness of his theology.

Elisha Williams was the next rector, and under him the college prospered again. In 1732, the General Assembly granted Yale three hundred acres in each of the new towns of Norfolk, Canaan, Goshen, Cornwall, and Kent. The same year Berkeley, afterwards Bishop of Cloyne, made large contributions of money and books. In 1739, Rector Williams was compelled by ill health to resign, and Thomas Clap of Windham was chosen to fill the vacancy. Rector Clap was a scholarly man, and his genius for administration was prodigious. The library was catalogued; a new set of laws was compiled for the college, and a code was established for the government, ranging all the way from boxing a freshman on the ear to expulsion, though fining was a favorite penalty. In 1745, a new charter was obtained for "The President and Fellows of Yale College." In 1750, the General Assembly helped erect Connecticut Hall, and permitted a lottery to complete the work.

The social strata of the times are shown in the college catalogues, which, until 1767, were arranged in order of rank: sons of officers of the colony, then of ministers, lawyers, artisans, and tradesmen. The etiquette was laborious between faculty and students, and students conversed with one another in Latin. All undergraduates were forbidden to wear their hats (unless it was stormy) in the front door-

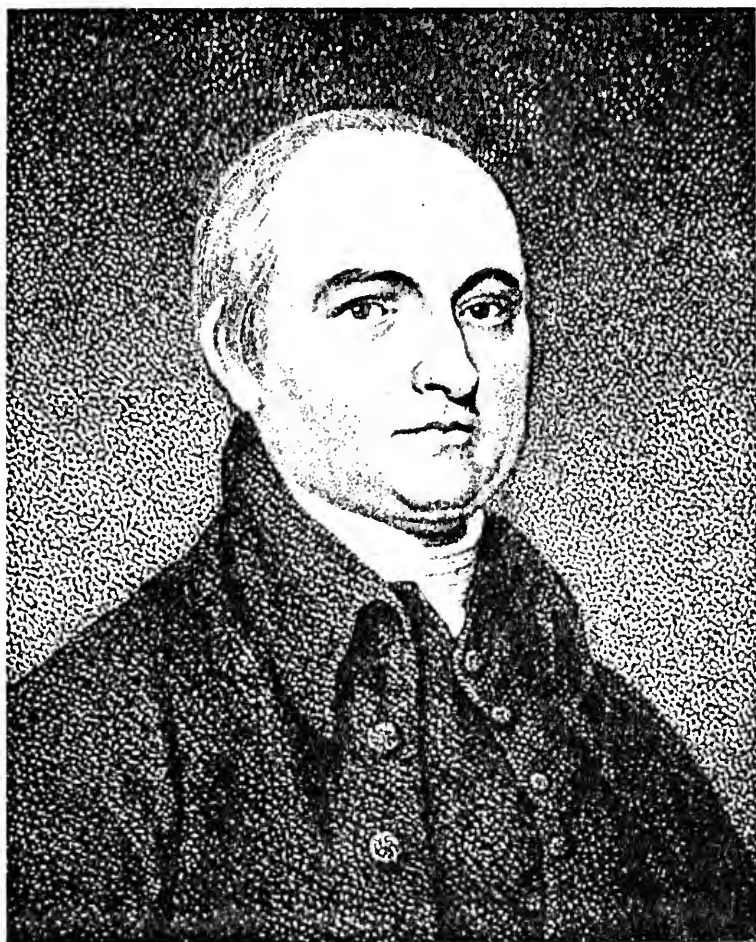
yard of the president or a professor's house, or within ten rods of the person of the president, or eight rods of a professor, or five rods of a tutor. Freshmen (except in stormy weather) were required to go uncovered in the college yard until the May vacation, unless their hands were so full they were forced to rest the hat where it belonged. The freshmen were not allowed to run in the sacred college yard, nor up and down stairs; neither were they allowed to call to any one from a college window. When near a gate or door in the college, freshmen were to pause and look around to see if there was a superior within three rods of the opening, and they must not enter first without a signal from the superior. Fines continued until the days of President Dwight. In three years under President Clap, one hundred and seventy-two pounds was collected by fines. Here are some penalties: absence from prayers a penny, tardiness a half-penny, absence from church fourpence, for playing cards or dice two shillings sixpence, for jumping out of a college window one shilling.

In 1755, when revivals under the preaching of George Whitefield and others were causing much excitement through New England, President Clap issued a declaration, signed by himself and members of the faculty, denouncing Whitefield's teaching, and creating in the minds of many good people a prejudice against the college. Faculty and students had attended the church in New Haven, but the orthodoxy of the minister not being clear to the president, he established a college church; not even asking the legislature for the right to do so, but claiming that as an incorporated body the college was not dependent on the General Assembly in such a matter. The opposition attacked the college as "too independent," but President Clap appeared before the Assembly, and argued so powerfully in favor of the position that the civil authorities had no more control over Yale than over any other persons or estate in the colony that no action was taken in the matter, and the question has never

been raised since. After Rector Clap died in 1767, Naphtali Daggett, professor of theology, was acting president, and, in 1779, when Tryon led the British against New Haven, among the hasty levies to repel the attack was President Daggett with a shotgun. After his companions fled, he stood his ground, blazing away until a detachment of the enemy captured him, and the officer, unmindful of Yale instructions to freshmen as to their manners, asked sharply, "What are you doing here, you old fool, firing on His Majesty's troops?" "Exercising the rights of war," said the theologian. The rights of war took a disagreeable turn for the preacher. In his own words:

They damned me, those who took me, because they spared my life. Thus, 'midst a thousand insults, my infernal driver hastened me along farther than my strength would admit, in the extreme heat of the day, weakened as I was by my wounds and the loss of blood, which, at a moderate computation, could not be less than a quart. And when I failed in some degree through faintness, he would strike me on the back with a heavy walking-staff, and kick me behind with his foot. At length by the supporting power of God, I arrived at the Green in New Haven. . . . I obtained leave of an officer to be carried into the Widow Lyman's and laid on a bed, where I lay the rest of the day and the succeeding night, in such excruciating pain as I never felt before.

His life was spared through the influence of William Chandler, a Tory, and one of his pupils, but he never recovered his vigor and died the next year, leaving some silver and negroes to the value of one hundred pounds. Ezra Stiles, who succeeded Dr. Clap, was inaugurated July 8, 1778, and was also made professor of church history. He was a valuable leader of the college, with salary of one hundred and sixty pounds, to be paid in wheat, pork, corn, and beef, or their equivalents in money, together with a house and ten acres of land. There were one hundred and thirty-two



Timothy Dwight (1752-1817). President of Yale College (1795-1817)

From an Old Engraving

undergraduates, and the faculty consisted of president, a professor of mathematics and another of divinity, besides three tutors, though lack of funds in 1781, caused the dismissal of the tutors. In the strain of the Revolution the college was divided. Tutor Dwight took some of the students to Wethersfield; Professor Story asked to take another contingent to Glastonbury, while President Daggett visited the classes as often as possible. Many students were in the army; four of the officers at Bunker Hill were Yale men; Nathan Hale was educated there; Major-General David Wooster, mortally wounded at the Tryon raid, Colonel Hitchcock, valiant at the Princeton fight, Captain David Bushnell of torpedo fame, and Oliver Wolcott were all of Yale.

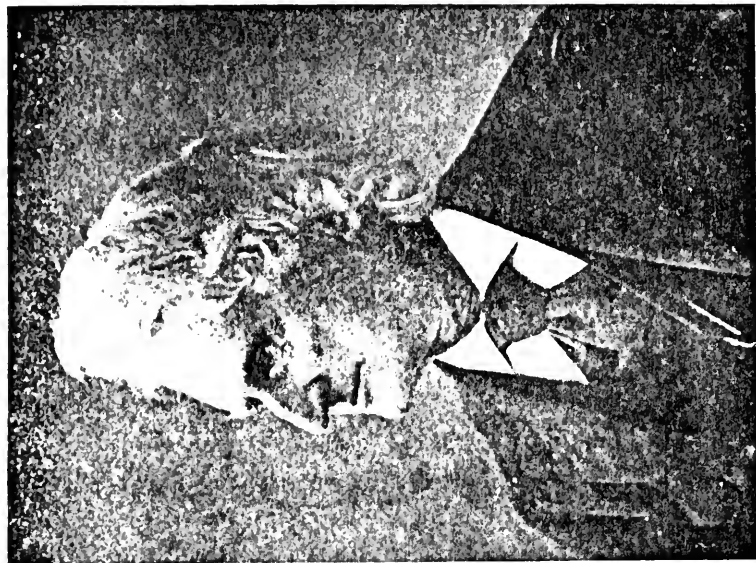
Modern Yale began with the inauguration of Timothy Dwight in 1795. The service his powerful mind and lofty personality gave to the mental and religious life of the college, in days when infidelity was rampant there, cannot be exaggerated. It was under the wise leadership of this man of breadth and foresight that the college entered the national field. At first, President Dwight and Professor Meigs, with three tutors, carried the whole burden of teaching, but when the students increased, the faculty was enlarged, and the three men who were added to the faculty were Jeremiah Day, James L. Kingsley, and Benjamin Silliman: the first an able mathematician, whose text-books were widely used; the second, an accurate scholar in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, and called the *Addison of America*; the third, an accomplished pioneer in science. President Dwight abolished fines and fagging, and in his day there was published the first annual catalogue, a single sheet—said to be first of its kind in America. He had the foresight to buy most of the land between College, Chapel, High, and Elm streets and in 1800, there were built North Middle and the Lyceum—parts of the *Old Brick Row*. The laboratory had been built earlier, in 1782, and there Profes-

sor Silliman performed those electrical experiments which Morse, his pupil, carried to such effective issues. The laboratory was so deep in the earth that the lecturer's head was six feet below the surface of the ground; but Silliman's zeal was not buried. In 1806, President Dwight urged the establishment of the Medical School, and helped to effect a union between the college and the Connecticut Medical Association, which had controlled medical education in the state, and in 1810, the *Medical Institution of Yale College* was chartered. Three years later it opened with a medical faculty of Jonathan Knight, then but twenty-three, to become a distinguished surgeon and unrivaled lecturer, Eneas Munson, Eli Ives, a successful physician, who was noted for his knowledge of the indigenous *materia medica*, Nathan Smith, whose studies in Europe gave him an extraordinary medical education for his time, and Benjamin Silliman.

President Dwight's successor was Professor Jeremiah Day, who was inaugurated president in 1817. Quiet and retiring, his administrative ability with his zeal for system and order had a decided influence on the college. A favorite expression of his was, "Punct-oo-ality is a vir-too." It was a turbulent era, when the famous "bread and butter rebellion" and "conic sections rebellion" were waged, and the faculty won, though at the expense of the expulsion of forty sophomores. Among the new professors were Chauncey A. Goodrich, powerful in personality and persuasive in speech, and Denison Olmsted, whose text-books on natural philosophy and astronomy were in the first class. The treasury, under the care of James Hillhouse, was wisely managed, and in 1831, a fund of one hundred thousand dollars was raised. In 1822, the Divinity School was established as a department, and it soon became a power under the sway of the profound and eloquent Nathanael W. Taylor, who, with such associates and successors as Eleazer T. Fitch, Josiah W. Gibbs, and Leonard Bacon, George P. Fisher, Timothy Dwight and Samuel Harris had a



Professor Benjamin Silliman (1779-1864)



Professor James D. Dana (1813-1895)

marked influence. The Law School, which as a private enterprise had existed for some time, became a part of the college in 1824, when David Daggett became Kent professor of law in the college. In 1833, the famous Litchfield Law School was discontinued, and its books and records were transferred to the school at Yale, which has flourished under such men as Woolsey and Baldwin. During those years, North College, the chapel, the cabinet, and treasury were built.

In 1846, Theodore Dwight Woolsey succeeded President Day, carrying to the college a broad and careful scholarship, enriched by studies in Europe. On becoming president he turned from Greek, of which he had been professor for fifteen years, to international law in which he became an authority. He was also an able administrator; the graduate department was strengthened; James Hadley brought high scholarship as linguist and philologist; Elias Loomis added his mathematical genius; James D. Dana made the college famous in geology; Hubert A. Newton was accomplished in meteoric astronomy; Thomas A. Thacher was for over forty years an able teacher of Latin and molder of character; in the year of Woolsey's inauguration the library building, the first Gothic structure on the campus, was completed. Yale was continually broadening its course; in 1841, Edward E. Salisbury was appointed to the chair of Sanskrit and Arabic, and became the first in the line of great Oriental scholars who have given distinction to Yale. In 1854, William D. Whitney was made professor of Sanskrit, and in 1869, he gave to comparative philology the weight of his rare scholarship. The founding of the Peabody Museum, the Art School, and the Winchester Observatory strengthened the college. In 1866, Othniel C. Marsh took the chair of paleontology, amassed a treasure of fossils, conducted a series of expeditions to regions beyond the Missouri River, and brought back four hundred specimens of vertebrate fossils, new to science. Addison E.

Verrill was making a study of deep-sea life, bringing together two hundred thousand specimens.

The Sheffield Scientific School was an expression of the inspiring personality of Benjamin Silliman. In 1846, his son of the same name and John P. Norton began a school in analytical chemistry and mineralogy, and soon the attention of Joseph E. Sheffield, well known in railroad enterprises, was called to the needs of the college in science, and he made such generous donations that in 1861, the school that bears his name came into existence. The director was George J. Brush, the mineralogist; later, Russell H. Chittenden, eminent in physiological chemistry, gave increased power to the school, as director. In 1856, Samuel A. Johnson, the chemist, became professor at Yale, and a leader in the establishment of agricultural stations through the country. The versatile William A. Brewer and the gifted authority in early English, Thomas A. Lounsbury, and in 1871, Josiah Willard Gibbs gave the faculty still greater power. Professor Gibbs, son of a noted Yale professor, had the chair of metaphysical physics, and was one of the most profound mathematicians the world has ever seen.

The coming of Noah Porter to the presidency in 1872, brought to the headship of the college an eminent teacher of mental science, and a conservative and kindly leader. In the same year, the government was popularized by bringing in the practice of electing six members of the corporation by the alumni instead of the legislature, at the same time the rising interest in athletics was marked by the introduction of football, and in 1877, Yale began her annual races at New London with Harvard. Two years later, the Intercollegiate Baseball Association was formed, and members of the class of 1881, secured the purchase of the Yale Field, and now arrangements are in progress for a stadium, to seat sixty thousand spectators. A system of electives came in about that time, and the Sloane physical

laboratory, Kent chemical laboratory and Lawrence Hall were given.

In 1886, Professor Timothy Dwight, the wise and genial scholar, became president; electives were multiplied; the force of instructors increased; Dwight Hall, the center of the religious life of the college, was completed; there rose the walls of Osburn, Welch, White, Winchester, Vanderbilt, Phelps Memorial, Berkeley, and Pierson halls. Yale infirmary was given by women in New Haven and New York, and a gymnasium was built during President Dwight's administration, and Hendrie Hall was given to the Law School, though it was not completed until 1900. The School of Music became a definite department, and foundations were established for fellowships, scholarships, and prizes. The earliest permanent college magazine was the *Yale Literary Magazine*, which was established in 1836, and among its editors have been William M. Evarts, Donald G. Mitchell, D. C. Gilman, and Andrew D. White.

Just before the Bicentennial in 1901, President Dwight gave place to Professor Arthur T. Hadley, an authority in railroad science. At that celebration, alumni and sister institutions paid their tribute of honor to the college; the pageant was brilliant; a Bicentennial Fund of two millions of dollars was raised, by means of which were erected the Administration Building, dedicated as Woodbridge Hall, the new dining-hall, called University Hall, and the Woolsey Auditorium, in which the family of John H. Newbury installed the Memorial Organ. The Fayerweather Hall and Lampson Lyceum were also erected in that period; Kirkland Hall increased the facilities of the Scientific School in mineralogy and geology; Byers Hall, the headquarters for the Sheffield Young Men's Christian Association, and Vanderbilt Hall for the same department were also built. In 1900, James W. Pinchot made possible the founding of the School of Forestry, which is becoming an important department of the university, whose students have increased

to more than three thousand and the faculty to nearly four hundred. The forty theological books given by the ministers have multiplied to nearly four hundred thousand. The Art School has some valuable collections,—such as the Trumbull gallery of fifty-four works of the patriot-painter. There is also the Jarves gallery of one hundred and twenty-two volumes of Italian paintings from the eleventh to the seventeenth centuries, illustrating the development of art in the old painters. There is the Steinert collection of antique harpsichords, claviers, and spinnets, besides autograph letters of great musicians. In the Peabody Museum is a paleontological collection unsurpassed by that of any other college in America, and according to Huxley—in Europe. It has a skeleton of the primitive dog, the only complete one in existence, and a slab containing the skeleton of a cretaceous dinosaur, nearly thirty feet long and thirteen feet high, besides the huge remains of the largest land animals known; one from New Zealand is seventy feet long and twenty feet high. The museum is rich in minerals and meteorites, including the famous mass weighing sixteen hundred and thirty-five pounds that fell in Texas. The names of Yale men eminent in law, medicine, theology, invention, missions, and statesmanship are legion. The name Yale University was authorized in 1887, and in its many departments it is developing in power under the able presidency of Arthur T. Hadley.

In tracing the history of Trinity College, we go back to the days when everything that was not Congregational was under the ban in Connecticut. Soon after the consecration of Bishop Seabury, steps were taken to organize a college under the care of the Episcopal Church, and at a convocation at East Haddam a movement started toward the incorporation, in 1801, of the academy at Cheshire, which was sometimes called Seabury College. The legislature granted only limited powers to it. It was not to confer degrees, for in that case it might become a rival of Yale. Repeated



The Right Reverend Samuel Seabury, D.D. (1729-1796). The First
Bishop of Connecticut

From an Old Copper Print

efforts were made in vain to secure an enlargement of the charter, until the adoption of the new state constitution in 1818, when, in connection with the consecration of Bishop Brownell, permission was granted to establish another college in the state. A petition, signed by many citizens, was presented to the legislature on May 10, 1823; and soon afterwards an act incorporating Washington College was passed. Fifty thousand dollars was pledged within a year, and as Hartford subscribed three-fourths of this, it was chosen as the site. Bishop Brownell was elected president on May 16, 1824, and in the following month, Jarvis Hall and Seabury Hall were started. College opened in 1824, with nine students, and on the faculty with President Brownell were George W. Doane, Hector Humphrey, and Horatio Potter. Students were received for a partial course of two years, having in view an English diploma. The first commencement was held in August, 1827, when ten graduates received the Bachelor degree. In 1831, Nathanael S. Wheaton became president, and during the six years of his term, a foundation was laid for a system of endowment, placing the college on a firm financial basis. In 1837, Silas Totten became president, holding office for eleven years. In 1845, a second dormitory was built named Brownell Hall, and the same year the name of the college was changed to Trinity. A board of fellows was organized to superintend the course of study and the discipline. Alumni, not members of the corporation, were formed into a House of Convocation, a title which was changed in 1883, to the Association of the Alumni. In 1849, the charter was amended to make the Bishop of Connecticut chancellor of the college and president of the board of trustees. Bishop John Williams held the office for two years, until compelled by duties of his diocese to resign, and Daniel R. Goodwin was president until 1860. Students increased; Hartford bought the college campus for six hundred thousand dollars for a site for the new capitol, and a tract

of nearly eighty acres was secured a mile south. Thomas R. Pynchon became president in 1874, and in the following year, ground was broken for the new buildings, and in 1878, two large blocks were ready for occupancy. The erection of Northam Hall in 1881, completed the western range of the quadrangle—named after Charles H. Northam of Hartford, whose total gifts to the college were a quarter of a million of dollars. Under President Smith, the course of studies was enriched, Gymnasium, Alumni Hall, Laboratory and Observatory erected. The college is advancing in efficiency and influence under President Flavel S. Luther, who was inaugurated in 1904.

The incorporation of the third college in Connecticut met no sectarian opposition, and early in the nineteenth century, leaders in the Methodist Episcopal Church, feeling the need of a college in New England or New York, while looking for a suitable place were attracted to Middletown. In 1825, Captain Alden Partridge, a former superintendent of the Military Academy at West Point, opened in Middletown the American Literary, Scientific, and Military Academy, and to encourage the school, the citizens built two substantial stone structures, but failure to secure a charter led to the removal of the school to Norwich, Vermont, in 1829. The vacant buildings attracted the attention of Laban Clark, presiding elder of the New Haven district, and he told the owners that he would be one of ten to buy the property. The trustees gave it to the New York and New England Conferences—a gift of about thirty-three thousand dollars, on condition that it be used only for a college, and be endowed with at least forty thousand dollars. Trustees were chosen, and the college organized under the name of Wesleyan University,—the oldest in the country now existing, that was founded by and has remained under care of the Methodists. The first president was Wilbur Fisk, and in September, 1831, its doors were opened to men; in 1872, also women. Wesleyan was among

the first to have a scientific course, and under the presidency of Augustus W. Smith, beginning in 1851, the raising of an endowment of one hundred thousand dollars assured the permanence of the college. In the presidency of Joseph Cummings, the first alumnus chosen to the office, Isaac Rich built a library to hold one hundred thousand volumes, and a large library fund was raised; the boarding hall was remodeled into an observatory hall, a memorial chapel, and the Orange Judd Hall of Natural Science constructed, the last at a cost of one hundred thousand dollars. In the presidency of Cyrus D. Foss, who followed Cummings, the debt was paid, and nearly a quarter of a million dollars added to the endowment. Of late, the gifts of George I. Seney, Daniel Ayres, and others have enlarged the scope of the college, built a fine gymnasium, and led to a large increase in students. It has been for years a growing conviction that the student body should be limited to men, and the last year in which women were graduated from the college was 1912. With grounds, buildings, and endowment aggregating in value two million dollars, an amount increased in 1912, by a million dollars, Wesleyan takes a high place under the leadership of William A. Shanklin, who was inaugurated in 1909.

There has been a conviction in many minds for years that there ought to be a college in Connecticut for women, and during the session of the legislature of 1910-11, a charter was granted to establish such a college at New London, and a tract a mile long on the west side of the Thames has been secured, partly by purchase, and partly by gift of Mrs. Harriet U. Allyn of New London. The people of the city have taken up the matter of raising money for the college with enthusiasm, and already over one hundred and fifty thousand dollars has been raised there. In addition to this, Morton F. Plant of New London has given a million dollars for endowment. The date appointed for the opening is 1915, and under Dr. F. H. Sykes as president, the college will start under the happiest auspices.

The Hartford Theological Seminary was founded as the result of a convention of thirty-six Congregational ministers held at East Windsor, September 10, 1833, for the purpose of devising means to counteract certain theological views prevailing in some quarters, views concerning depravity and regeneration, which seemed to those conservative men dangerous innovations. At that convention, the Pastoral Union of Connecticut was organized on the basis of a Calvinistic creed. The constitution adopted provided for the establishment of a Theological Seminary to guard against the perversion of consecrated funds. The control of the seminary was placed in the hands of a board of trustees accountable to the Pastoral Union. As a result, the Theological Institute of Connecticut was incorporated in May, 1834, and opened in the following September at East Windsor with sixteen students. The early years were marked by financial straits, and after a score of years, so depressing was the situation that the trustees made overtures to Yale to unite the two theological schools. There was substantial unity on both sides, but the men who represented Yale asked for delay, and when the matter was taken up again there had come a change over the situation, because of large gifts to the East Windsor school, the largest being that of James B. Hosmer of Hartford, who founded a professorship, and gave one hundred thousand dollars to erect a building. In September, 1865, the seminary was transferred to Hartford, and for fourteen years was housed on Prospect Street, moving in 1879, to Broad Street, where, through the liberality of Newton Case, a library building was erected to hold two hundred thousand volumes, and the name was changed to Hartford Theological Seminary. The old-school war-horses of the faith, Bennet Tyler and William Thompson, have given place to men equally able: Chester A. Hartranft with his large vision, his genius for administration and inspiration, and, since 1903, William Douglas Mackenzie, a master of men and of

ideas. Generous gifts of late have made possible enlarging the scope of the Hartford Seminary Foundation to include the Kennedy School of Missions and the School of Religious Pedagogy, with the outlook toward a university to meet the various needs of the churches, and a tract of thirty acres has been purchased in the western part of Hartford, to which it will move to enter its widening career.

The Berkeley Divinity School began in a theological department informally organized in Trinity College in 1851, by the president of the college, Rev. John Williams. Three years later, a charter was granted for the school as a separate institution to be located at Middletown, where a large building was given for its use, and Bishop Williams was dean of the school for forty-five years, until his death in 1899. Generous provision has been made from time to time for a spacious library, enlargement of buildings, and an endowment of nearly half a million dollars. Five hundred men have graduated from the school and have taken holy orders. There were in 1910, five full professors and several instructors and lecturers.

The influence of Connecticut on colleges in other states has been effective. The founding of Dartmouth College can be traced to Eleazar Wheelock of Windham, who, while pastor at North Lebanon, now Columbia, established a school for Indians, which he transferred to Hanover, New Hampshire, where fifty-five of the sixty-eight shares in the town had been assigned to settlers from Windham, and of the two hundred and eighty-four graduates of Dartmouth to 1790, one hundred and twenty-one were from Connecticut. The founder of Hamilton College was Samuel Kirkland, who was born in Norwich in 1741; after graduating from Princeton, he became a missionary among the Indians, and during the Revolution was able to secure the neutrality of the Oneida Indians, and in 1793, he founded the college.

Among the presidents of Marietta College has been Israel A. Andrews of Connecticut. The first president of

Beloit College was Andrew Chapin, and the projector of the Western Reserve University was Caleb Pitkin, both from Connecticut. Illinois College owes much to this state, as J. M. Sturtevant was one of its founders, and Edward Beecher was its first president. The Johnsons, father and son, were influential in founding and shaping Columbia College, whose first president, William S. Johnson was born in Stratford in 1696, graduated at Yale, was member of the Stamp Act Congress, took an active part in the Revolution, became a member of the Continental Congress, member of the constitutional convention, and was one of the first senators; Abraham Baldwin, born in Guilford in 1754, graduated from Yale, was chaplain in the Revolution, then went to Savannah, Georgia, where he entered the legislature and became delegate to the Continental Congress. He was sent to the constitutional convention, and afterwards to Congress. Baldwin secured a charter for the University of Georgia, gave forty thousand acres toward its endowment and was also its first president. Union University owes much to Eliphalet Nott, a native of Ashford, who conducted its affairs in its early years with great skill, raising large sums of money for it by lotteries. Another Connecticut man who gave distinction to the faculty of Union was Laurens P. Hickok, a native of Danbury, who was professor in Western Reserve and Auburn Seminary before becoming president of Union. Hickok's works on psychology and moral science are those of a profound thinker. John J. Owen, the Greek scholar, a native of Colebrook, was an eminent member of the faculty of the College of the City of New York.

Amherst College owes much to Connecticut; President Heman Humphrey, who did so much to put it upon its feet, was born in West Simsbury, and graduated from Yale; Julius H. Seelye, long a professor of mental and moral philosophy and for fifteen years its president, was a native of Bethel, as was his brother L. Clark Seelye, for years pro-

fessor of English literature, and for a quarter of a century the able president of Smith College. From this state have gone three presidents of Williams College: Ebenezer Fitch, from 1793, when the college was chartered,—Fitch was born in Norwich, and was president fifteen years; Edward S. Griffin, born in East Haddam, who gave the college efficient service, 1821–26; and Franklin Carter, born in Waterbury, who was president, 1881–96. The famous Charles G. Finney was born in Warren, and was professor and president at Oberlin, 1835–54. Jared Sparks, professor of history at Harvard and for four years its president, was born in Willington. Cyrus Northrop, born in Ridgefield, was professor at Yale for eleven years, and in 1881, became president of the University of Minnesota. Daniel C. Gilman was born in Norwich, and after serving as professor in the Sheffield School, he became the first president of the University of California, and later of Johns Hopkins, which he did much to organize in 1875, holding office until 1902, when he became president of the Carnegie Institution in Washington. Among the one hundred and five college presidents furnished by Yale, eighteen have been the first presidents, and most of them natives of Connecticut.

The founder of the first dental college in the world was Horace H. Hayden, born in Windsor in 1769, and his versatile mind found play as an architect, builder, army-surgeon, and geologist. He became interested in dentistry through John Greenwood, Washington's dentist. Hayden opened an office in Baltimore. In 1840, he called together a few leading dentists in New York, and the American Society of Dental Surgeons was organized, with Dr. Hayden as its president until his death, four years later. The next step was the publishing of a journal, the *American Journal of Medical Science*. A college was opened in Baltimore in 1840, the College of Dental Surgery, with Hayden as its president, and professor of the principles and practice of dental surgery. In 1846, C. O. Cone, born in

East Haddam, was appointed professor of mechanical dentistry in the new college. Hartford has also the distinction of being the birthplace of E. M. Gallaudet, son of the distinguished founder of the American School for the Deaf in Hartford. Dr. Gallaudet organized, in 1864, the College for the Deaf in Washington, D. C. This institution, of which the founder was until recently president, is the only institution of its kind in the world of the grade of college. In view of these facts, nothing further need be said to establish the claim that Connecticut has been true to the purpose of its founders to establish a commonwealth of intelligence.

The coming, in recent years, of large numbers of people from Ireland, Italy, and other Catholic countries has led to the founding of important collegiate institutions, among which are Mount Saint Joseph's Seminary in West Hartford in 1874, by Bishop O'Reilly—a training school for young women; Saint Thomas' Seminary in Hartford in 1897, to educate young men in the classics for the priesthood; Missionary College of La Salette, in Hartford in 1898; and Novitiate and Senior Scholasticate of Saint Mary, under the Fathers of the Holy Ghost, in Ferndale in 1906. There are also seventy-five parochial schools in the state with 31,877 pupils.

CHAPTER XVIII

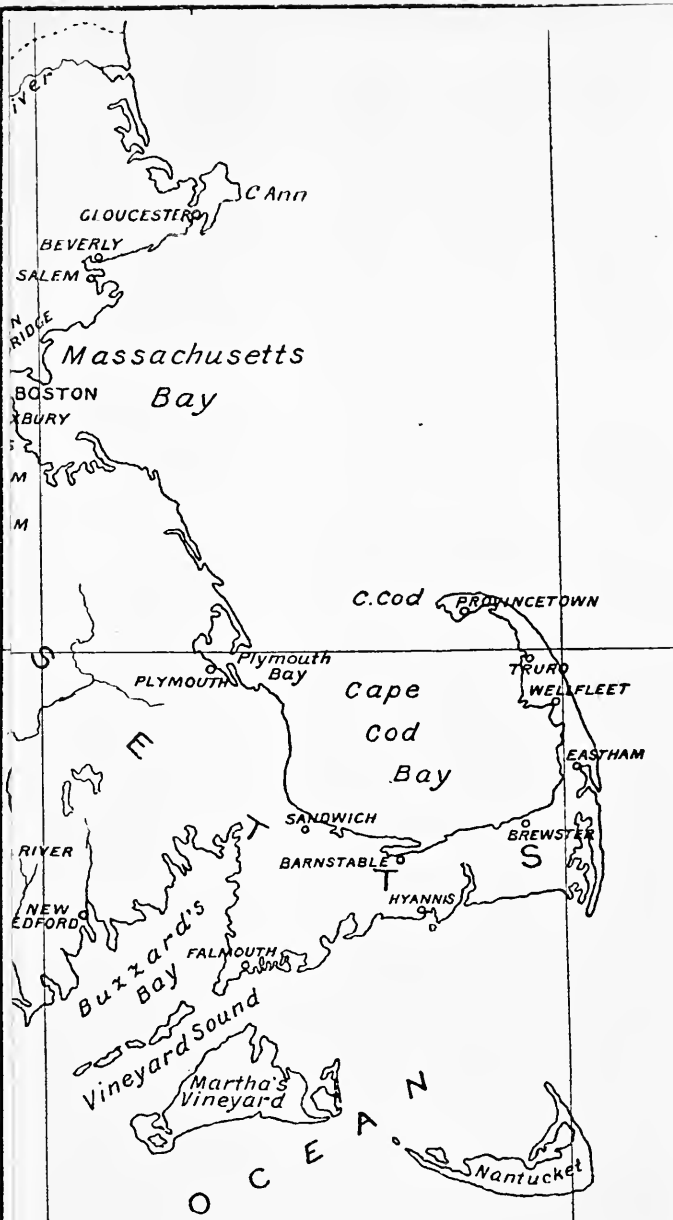
DEVELOPMENT OF THE HIGHWAYS

THE development of a state is marked not only by its courts, industries, and schools, but also by its highways, since the road is a type of civilization, a duct of trade, a symbol of culture and progress. At the start, there were in the wilderness only Indian paths—"trodden-paths," they were called in the early court-records—narrow passages scarcely two feet wide, deepened by the Indian moccasins, the hobnailed shoes of the settlers, the tread of cattle, and the feet of horses, often with blazed trees as guide-posts,—later known as "bridle-paths." For many years there were few horses in New England, and those that were owned there were too valuable on the farms to be spared for traveling. When Bradstreet was sent to Dover as Royal Commissioner, he walked both ways in the Indian path. Streams were crossed on fallen trees, or at fords. There is one record of Governor Winthrop carried "pick-a-back" by a sturdy Indian guide. The Indians showed the English the two turnpike trails from Connecticut to Boston.

The New Connecticut Path started from Cambridge, and ran through Waltham, Framingham, Dudley, and Woodstock, through the "Wabbaquasset Country." The most famous of all the trails was the Bay or Connecticut Path, through Framingham, Ashland, Hopkinton, Oxford, Charlton, and Brookfield (where turned off the Hadley Path), then south to Hartford. J. G. Holland wrote of these trails:

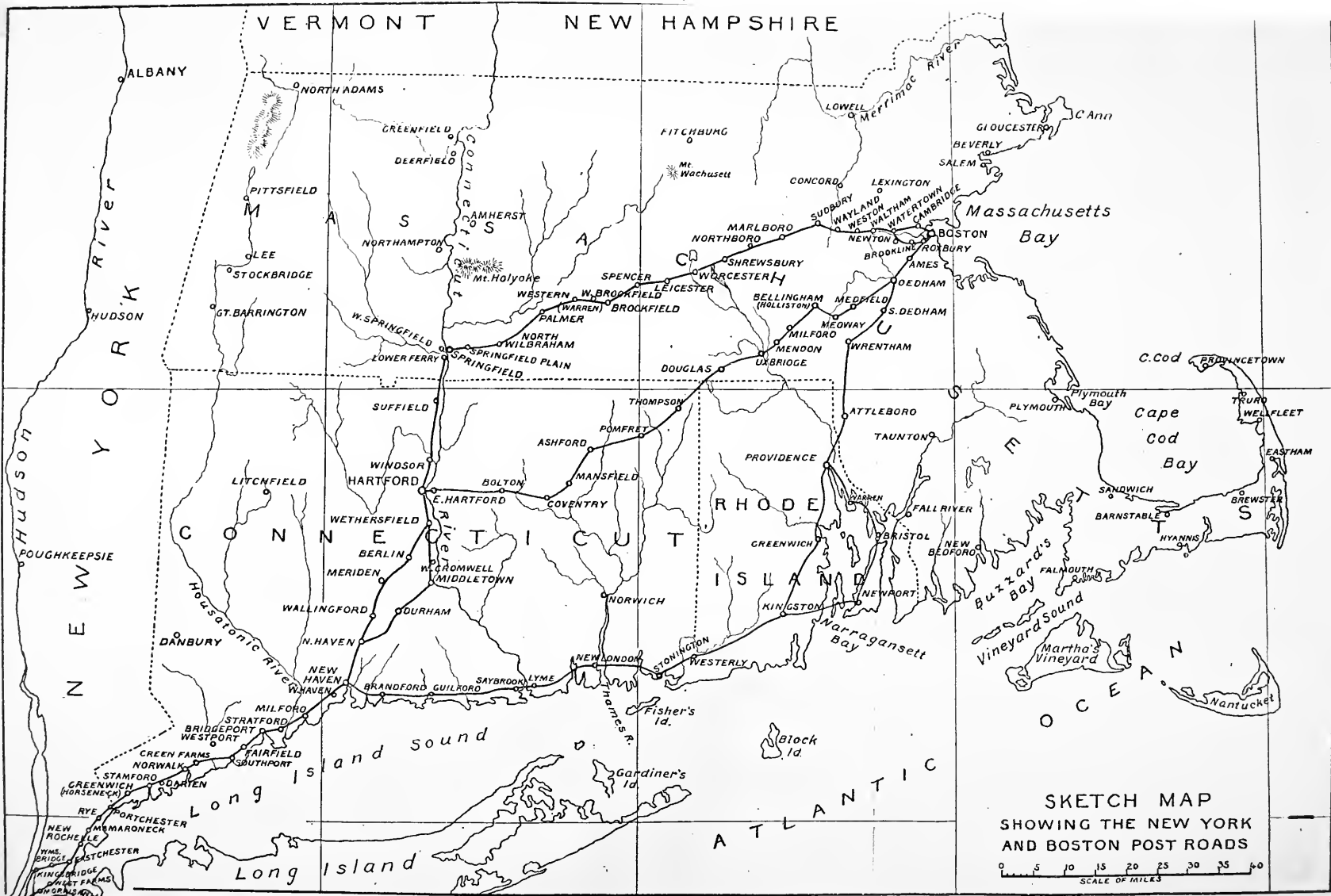
No stream was bridged, no hill graded, no marsh drained. It was the channel through which laws were communicated, through which flowed news from distant friends, loving letters and messages. That rough thread of soil was a trail that radiated at each terminus into a thousand fibres of love, and interest, and hope and memory. Every rod had been prayed over by friends on the journey and friends at home.

Gradually the paths widened into roads, though for years the phrase was "the path to New Haven," "the path to Agawam," and the first reference to a road appears to be in 1638, when it was ordered that a road be made to Windsor, which is probably the oldest road in the state. There are records of appeals to the General Court for permission to lay out roads until all the towns were connected. In 1679, it was ordered that the roads from plantation to plantation be repaired, and that the inhabitants once a year should clear a roadway of a rod wide at least on "the country roads, or the king's highway." In 1684, the records say, "great neglect was fowned in mayntaining of the highways between towne and towne; the wayes being incumbered with dirty slowes, bushes, trees and stones." It was at that time that William and Mary granted the colonies the right to have a postal system, and the first regular mounted post from New York to Boston started January 1, 1684. The first post road between those two cities passed through Providence, Stonington, and New London, and extended two hundred and fifty miles, following closely the old Pequot Path as far as Providence. In 1698, travelers and postmen complained that they "met great difficultie" in journeying, especially through Stonington, which "difficultie arises from want of stated highways, or want of clearing and repairing, and erecting and maintaining sufficient bridges, and marks for direction of travellers," and it was ordered by the legislature that these defects should be remedied, under penalty of a fine of ten pounds. A road was laid out, by order of the General Assembly before 1700, between New London and Norwich,



SKETCH MAP
 SHOWING THE NEW YORK
 AND BOSTON POST ROADS

0 5 10 15 20 25 30 35 40
 SCALE OF MILES



SKETCH MAP
 SHOWING THE NEW YORK
 AND BOSTON POST ROADS

0 5 10 15 20 25 30 35 40
 SCALE OF MILES

passing through the *Mohican fields*, being surveyed by Joshua Raymond, who was paid with the gift of a fine farm upon the route.

In 1704, Madame Knight went from Boston to New York on horseback, and her experiences with bad roads, miserable taverns or huts, where she stopped for the night, give us a dismal picture of the rudeness of the times. On October 2, 1704, she wrote in her journal: "Began my journey from Boston to New Haven; being about two hundred mile." The food offered at the taverns was apt to be trying; in one place the "cabage was of so deep a purple," she thought it had been "boiled in the dye-kettle." She speaks of a "cannoo" so small and shallow that she kept her "eyes stedy, not daring so much as to lodg my tongue a hair's breadth more on one side of my mouth than tother, nor so much as think of Lott's wife, for a wry thought would have oversett our wherely." She wrote that after leaving New London,

Wee advanced on the town of Seabrook. The Rodes all along this way are very bad. Incumbered with Rocks and mountainous passages, which were very disagreeable to my tired carcass. In going over a Bridge, under which the River Run very swift, my hors stumbled, and very narrowly 'scaped falling over into the water; which extremely frightened me. But through God's goodness I met with no harm, and mounting agen, in about half a miles Rideing came to an ordinary, was well entertained by a woman of about seventy and advantage, but of as sound Intellectuals as one of seventeen.

After crossing Saybrook ferry, she stopped at an inn to bait, and to dine, but the broiled mutton was so highly flavored that the only dinner received was through the sense of smell. After leaving Killingworth, she was told to ride a mile or two, and turn down a lane on the right hand. Not finding the lane, she continues, "We met a young fellow, and ask't him how farr it was to the lane, which turned down to Guilford. He said we must ride a

little further, and turn down by the corner of Uncle Sams Lott." She found the people possessed of as "large a portion of mother witt, and sometimes larger than those who have been brought up in Citties" but needing "benefitt both of education and conversation." Making shrewd comments she reached Rye, and stopped at a tavern where she ordered a fricassee, but could not eat it; she was then conducted to her bedroom, by way of a very narrow stairway. She says:

arriving at my apartment, a little Lento Chamber furnisht among other Rubbish with a high Bed and a Low one,—Little Miss went to scratch up my Kennell, which Russelled as if she'd been in the Barn among the Husks, and suppose such was the contents of the tickin—nevertheless being exceedingly weary, down I lay my poor Carkes, and found my covering as scanty as my Bed was hard. Annon I heard another Russelling noise in the Room—called to know the matter,—Little Miss said she was making a bed for the men; who, when they were in Bed, complained their leggs lay out by reason of its shortness. My poor bones complained bitterly, not being used to such Lodgings; and so did the man who was with us: and poor I made but one Grone, which was from the time I went to bed to the time I Riss, which was about three in the morning. Setting up by the Fire till Light.

Through mud, forests, and all sorts of difficulties she made her journey to New York and home again in Boston, and after an absence of five months, she broke out into the following verse:

Now I've returned to Sarah Knight's,
Thro' many toils and many frights,
Over great rocks and many stones,
God has presarv'd from fractured bones.

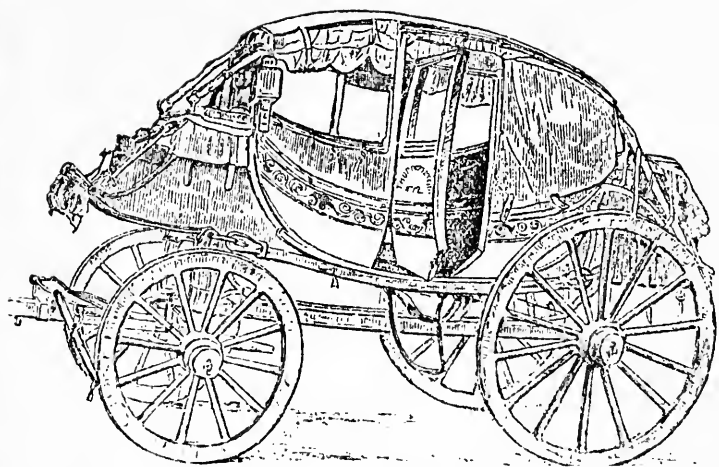
In 1711, the General Assembly of Rhode Island voted that "a highway be laid out from Providence through Warwick and West Greenwich to Plainfield," and the following year the legislature of Connecticut voted that the selectmen of

Plainfield lay out at once a road to make the connection eastward from the Quinnebaug River; a part of the distance the road was four rods wide, and elsewhere eight rods. Highways improved slowly: at the opening of the eighteenth century there was no good road through Thompson, except mean gangways to Boston and Hartford, crooked paths, winding among "rocks, mountains and miry swamps," which had been trodden out by the people, and made barely passable. It was in 1732, that the first was reported in that section, and soon after that, references are found to roads "to the meeting-house" from the houses of "a considerable number of the nabors"; and some of those "nabors" were compelled to pull down twelve pairs of bars before they reached the village. The layout of the early roads depended largely on the location of the houses, and since it was customary to build on the hilltops, perhaps as greater security against the Indians, the roads were as hilly as possible. The roads were also poor even in Hartford, where wheels sunk to the hub in the native clay of Pearl Street after the nineteenth century was well advanced. About the middle of the eighteenth century some effort was made to improve Main Street, but little was done then or for fifty years afterwards except to fill the worst holes and quagmires with stones. Benevolent farmers in Wethersfield, and no doubt in other towns, kept oxen yoked in "mud time" to relieve distressed teamsters, and there is a tradition that, near the opening of the nineteenth century, Mrs. Daniel Wadsworth on Thanksgiving Day was unable to cross Main Street from her home near City Hall to Colonel Wadsworth's home on the Atheneum lot, except on horseback. In 1774, when the county jail was on Trumbull Street, the prisoners petitioned that the jail limits be extended to the court-house on the east, that the charitable who might aid them could get to them, since "all the roads which lead to it (the Hartford jail) being for a considerable part of the year miry and uncomfortable to walk in."

Early in the eighteenth century horses were more numer-

ous though the drain to the West Indies was heavy and constant. The Narragansett pacers were much bred, and highly esteemed; heavy draft horses were also imported, and from them sprang a race of powerful animals. Coaches were not common for years, though John Winthrop had one in 1685, and Andros in 1687. Roads were too poor for them outside of the towns, and the Puritan leaders lamented their coming as savoring of luxury and extravagance. A variety of carriages came into use as the roads improved, and wealth increased. There were the calash, a chaise with a folding top, the chaise with the fixed top, a two-wheeled gig with no top, the sulky for one traveler; these being hung on thorough-braces. There was also a four-wheeled carriage called a chariot. There is a reference in an inventory of 1690, to a "sley," and Bostonians had such vehicles for snow, though they were not common in Connecticut until a generation later.

It was a little before the Revolution that the first chaise appeared in Norwich; owned by Samuel Brown, who was fined for driving in it to church, since the rolling of the wheels broke the solemn and holy stillness of the Sabbath. At the Revolution there were six chaises in Norwich; the most wonderful was that of General Jabez Huntington, the first in town with a top that could be thrown back, being a large, low, square-bodied affair, studded with brass nails. Another belonged to Dr. Daniel Lathrop, said to have been the first druggist in the state. This had a yellow body and large windows in the sides of the top. We find references to carriage-making in Windham Green in 1808, and in the following year a wagon owned by Roger Huntington of Windham was sent to Leicester for a load of machine cards, and there could not have been more curiosity manifested along the road if it had been a menagerie. At Woodstock a crowd gathered to examine the new vehicle that was to kill the horses. One man had seen such a thing in Hartford, "and the horse dragging it was fagged nearly to death."



The Stage Coach America

Drawn by Capt. Basil Hull, R. M., by means of a camera obscura



Chaise belonging to Sheriff Ward of Worcester

From a Photo. by H. C. Hammond

On the return the next day with a load, Esquire McClellan and the others decided "that perhaps such wagons might come into use after all."

Taverns came early, and under order of the General Court in 1644, they were established "not only in Hartford, but others in each town upon our river." An old authority tells what a guest might expect:

Clean sheets to lie in wherein no man had been lodged since they came from the landresse, and have a servante to kindle his fire and one to pull off his boots and make them clean, and have the hoste and hostess to visit him, and to eat with the hoste or at a common table if he pleases, or eat in his chamber, commanding what meate he will according to his appetite. Yea, the kitchen being open to him to order the meat to be dressed as he liketh it best.

The landlord was not to allow a person to be intoxicated in his house, or to drink excessively, or to tittle after nine at night. Reference has been made in an earlier chapter to the tavern of Jeremy Adams on Main Street, Hartford, where the legislature held its meetings for nearly fifty years. Quite as famous was the Black Horse Tavern, which was built near the line of Main Street, not far from the Atheneum, and for half a century it was the most widely known of all the inns in the region. After a time the Bunch of Grapes Tavern of David Bull outstripped its neighbor in popularity. Many taverns were poor affairs, as Madame Knight discovered. From the first, they were closely connected with the church, and were licensed to promote public worship. It was usually next to the church, and such proximity was the single condition on which it was permitted to sell "beare." There is a record of a permission granted to John Vvall in 1651,— "libertie to keep a house of Common Entertainment, if the County Court consent, provided he keepe it near the new meeting house,"—convenient for worshipers and voters. Strict laws regulated taverns, and in New Haven

twenty acres of land was set apart to pasture the horses of travelers in.

Just before the Revolution, John Adams wrote of an Enfield landlord as follows: "Oated and drank tea at Peases—a smart house and landlord truly; well-dressed with his ruffles &c. I found he was the great man of the town, representative as well as tavern-keeper; retailers and taverners are generally in the country, assessors, select-men, representatives and esquires." Notices of town meetings, elections, new laws, and ordinances of administration were posted in the taverns, where also could be found bills of sale, records of transfer, business exchanges, and daily gossip,—a local substitute for a daily paper. Distances were more apt to be reckoned from tavern to tavern than from town to town. Courts and town meetings were sometimes held there, as well as committee meetings and consultations of selectmen. Care was taken to clear the tavern when the time came for public worship in the bleak meeting-house, and citizens were frozen out of the one to be frozen within the sacred refrigerator. The Black Horse Tavern, which was built in 1732, by Samuel Flagg on Main Street, Hartford, nearly opposite the First Church in its present location, was for half a century the most widely known of all the inns for miles around, and later, the Bunch of Grapes Tavern of David Bull, standing near the corner of Asylum and Main streets, was more popular.

Next in importance to the tavern was the stage-driver with his stage. As early as 1717, the General Assembly voted to grant Captain John Munson of New Haven, together with his executors, administrators, and assigns the sole and only privilege of transporting persons and goods between Hartford and New Haven for seven years. The only condition was that on the first Monday of every month, except December, January, February and March, he should, if the weather permitted, drive to Hartford and back again within the week. In winter there was no regular communication between the two cities by stage or boat. The most famous

stage-driver in those days was Captain Levi Pease, who was born in Enfield in 1740, and on October 20, 1783, he started a stage-route from Boston to Hartford, leaving Boston at six in the morning, and a man named Sykes set out from Hartford, changing horses at Shrewsbury. Pease advertised to go in "two convenient wagons," but the tradition is that the "carriages were old and shackling," and the harnesses partly ropes. At ten at night the passengers put up at a tavern, and were called at three, or before, the next morning. If the roads were heavy with mud or snow, the passengers were expected to get out to lessen the load. The wagon of Pease's stage-route was at first almost empty, but a resolute man like him was undisturbed, and he started a movement for better roads, an effort which resulted in the first Massachusetts turnpike, which was laid out in 1808. Pease has been called the "Father of the American Turnpike." After a time there was the

New Post-Coach Line Dispatch, in six hours from Hartford to New Haven, leaving Hartford every Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday at eleven in the forenoon, passing through Farmington, Southington and Cheshire, and reaching New Haven in time for the steamboat. . . . The above line of Post-Coaches are new and modern in style, horses selected with great care and are first rate, drivers that are experienced, careful and *steady*.

The horses were usually tough and wiry, weighing about a thousand pounds. Stages became less rude and primitive as the turnpikes spread, and as the schedule time was ten miles an hour, a breakneck speed was required down hill to compensate for the slow up-hill progress. A frightened passenger, after a terrible jolting down the western slope of Talcott mountain, stuck his head out of the window, and beckoning to the driver said, "My friend, be you goin' down any further? Because if you air, I'm goin' to get out right here. I want to stay on the outside of the airth a

leettle longer." Another traveler, who, to relieve the horses, had toiled on foot up a long hill in Barkhamsted, entered the tavern, and asked if the Lord was in. "For," he explained, "it seems to me that we've come high enough to find Him."

After a time the roads leading to the cities were used in the winter by farmers, who filled their two-horse pungs or one-horse pods with the products of toil and skill, and drove to market. They carried dressed pigs, a deer or two, firkins of butter, cheeses in casks, poultry, beans, peas, corn, skins of mink, fox and fisher-cat, birch-brooms the boys had made, stockings, mittens, and yarn. They carried their rations with them with feed for the horses; *rye and injun*, doughnuts, pies, cold roast sparerib, and inevitably some frozen bean porridge, and when the pung was crowded, the chunk of porridge was suspended by a string to the side of the sleigh; a hatchet was put in to chop off a dinner of this nourishing food, called by the Indian name of tuck-a-nuck or mitchin. On reaching the city the goods were disposed of and a less bulky load carried home; a few yards of cotton cloth, spices, raisins, fish-hooks, powder, shot, a few pieces of English crockery, jackknives, and ribbons. Emigrant wagons were often seen on the roads, and the peddler, the commercial link between city and country, was welcome everywhere, as he carried tinware, dry goods, and a hundred notions. Many a pack peddler was seen, and as he plodded along the dusty road, he dreamed of the time when he should have a wagon, and of the still more distant day when he should own a permanent stand in the city, whence he would send out wagons in all directions.

It was an important epoch in Connecticut history when the turnpikes came in, for then began some method in building roads. There had been the trails and bridle-paths from scattered farms to one another and to the church, store, and mill, and there had also been communication between the towns by the country roads, which were sandy in summer and

buried in snow in winter, and in the spring, when the frost was coming out, almost impassable. The story of the highway to the Great Green Woods, as the north half of Litchfield County was called, illustrates the way roads were built. Dissatisfied with the rude bridle-paths, the inhabitants of Simsbury and Farmington joined the settlers of New Hartford in 1752, in a petition to the County Court for an order to open a road from Hartford to New Hartford. After the charter for the road was granted there came a war of words with emphatic language concerning the layout, and when the Old North Road was completed it was a wonder to the world that a direct route could be found through swamps and over steep hills, with all sorts of queer turns to keep it within the two-mile distance from a straight line, yet avoid rocks, and accommodate as many farmers as possible. Travel on the road was largely on horseback, and the wagons found a single roadway, with slight opportunity to turn out. In the Revolution, troops and munitions passed over that road, and detachments of Burgoyne's army marched there as prisoners of war. Iron was carried there on the way from Salisbury to Hartford; ship-builders found in the Litchfield forest lumber and masts; grist-mills were built on the streams, often with sawmills attached, and the road was convenient to some of these. It was over that road that Ethan Allen marched toward Ticonderoga; rugged men hastened over it toward Lexington and Bunker Hill.

When the New London Turnpike Company was chartered in 1800, it was ordered that all were to be exempt from paying toll who were going to attend worship, funerals, school, society, town or freemen's meetings, to do military duty, attend training, go to and from grist-mills, and attend to ordinary farm business. The towns on this forty-two-mile stretch from Hartford to New London were to build and maintain bridges over certain streams. The charter required four toll-gates on the road and the toll rate was as follows: four cents for a person and horse or for an empty one-horse

cart; six and a quarter cents for a one-horse pleasure sleigh, an empty two-horse cart, or a loaded one-horse cart; twelve and a half cents for a chaise, sulky, or a two-horse loaded sleigh, also for a loaded cart, sled, sleigh, or wagon; twenty-five cents for a four-wheeled pleasure carriage or a stage-coach; two cents for every horse, mule, or cow, and half a cent for every sheep or pig. It was not until 1857, that this road was wholly turned over to the towns through which it ran. Toll-gates were a favorite resort for the people who were eager to learn something of the doings of the great world. It was provided in some of the charters of the turn-pike companies that when the net earnings exceeded twelve per cent., the road reverted to the state.

One of the problems of the highway was the crossing of rivers, and the earliest method was by fords and ferries. As early as 1681, Thomas Cadwell of Hartford was licensed to

Keepe the ferry for seven years with sufficient boats to carry over horses and men, and a canoe for a single person. . . . Fare for horse and man, 6d if not of this town. Fare for a man, 2d if not of this town. Fare for a man, 1d in silver if of this town or 2d in other pay. Fare for horse and man, 3d in silver if of this town or 6d in other pay. And of those of this town whom he carrys over after the daylight is shutt in, they shall pay sixpence a horse and man in money or 8d in other pay. For a single person, 2d or 3d.

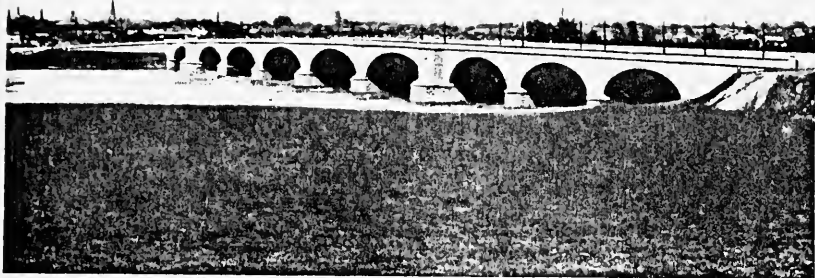
In 1691, complaint was made of the great disorder at the ferry on Sundays because of the many who were on their way to church, and three years later the difficulty was relieved when the people on the east side of the river obtained the "liberty of a minister among them." In 1712, the legislature granted Richard Keeney of Hartford liberty to keep a ferry near the bounds of Hartford and Wethersfield, and ten years later another ferry was established near the former. The old records contain many references to ferries at various

points on the Connecticut and the other rivers, with a rigid fixing of rates. In 1745, the fares for the Hartford ferry were 9d for a man, horse, and load; for a man, 4d; for meat cattle, 7d a head, and 2d for sheep. In 1758, Hartford voted that two boats be used at the ferry, and two years later, that one of the two ferrymen should live on the east side.

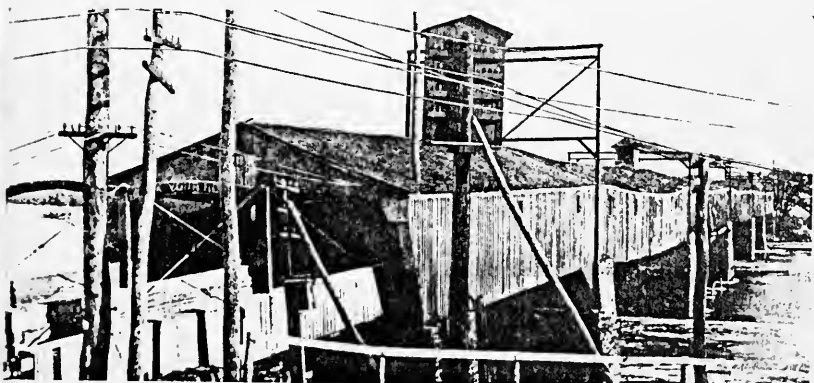
As Hartford grew and its business increased, it became evident early in the nineteenth century that the ferry was insufficient, and on April 24, 1810, a bridge across the Connecticut was opened to the public. The construction of this bridge was pushed through by the Hartford Bridge Company, the president of which was John Morgan, and the cost of the bridge—ninety-six thousand dollars, was obtained by the sale of assessable shares. The toll was twelve and a half cents for a double team, sixteen cents for a barouche, twenty-five cents for a stage, and two cents for a foot passenger. This bridge was so seriously injured by the freshet of 1818, that the company vacated its charter, but was persuaded to go on under a more favorable charter and rebuild. The second bridge of 1818, was seriously injured in the great storm of January 23, 1839. The growing demands for a free bridge came to a climax in 1889, when the state paid the company forty per cent. of the cost of the old bridge, and Hartford, East Hartford, Glastonbury, Manchester, and South Windsor the remaining sixty per cent. The bridge was made free on September 11, 1889, burned on May 17, 1895, and as the pine lumber sent out its blaze, twenty thousand people looked on. Work on a temporary structure began at once and a month later it was open to traffic, but before a year passed it was swept away. A second temporary bridge was opened on May 4, 1896, and that lasted until the present bridge was ready in 1907. The stone bridge was built under the auspices of a commission appointed by the legislature soon after the burning of its predecessor. Its total length is twelve hundred feet lacking seven and a half, and it is said to be the largest

stone bridge in the world. It is of granite, and the stone came from Leete's Island and Stony Creek. There are nine spans, and the weight of the largest finished stone is forty tons. The cost apportioned among the towns of the bridge district was one million six hundred thousand dollars.

The present interest in good roads and promotion of them owe much to the invention of the Blake stone-breaker. This machine had its origin in the brain of Eli Whitney Blake of New Haven, a relative of Eli Whitney of cotton-gin fame. The Blake Stone-Breaker is ranked with the great labor-saving inventions of the world. Wherever railroads are to be ballasted, foundations of bridges or great buildings to be laid, and roads macadamized, the Blake Stone-Breaker is used. Blake was led to make the invention by seeing the need as he superintended the macadamizing of a street in New Haven. During the ten years between 1862, and 1872, the direct saving, computed from the actual working records of the five hundred breakers then in use, was over fifty million dollars. Since that time the machine has found its way over the world. The systematic movement for good roads began in 1895, when the legislature appropriated seventy-five thousand dollars to be distributed throughout the state, with the conditions that the counties should furnish one-third and the towns another third. In 1897, one hundred thousand dollars was appropriated; in 1899, one hundred and seventy-five thousand; in 1901, two hundred and twenty-five thousand; in 1903, the same; in 1907, three-quarters of a million, a third of which was for trunk lines, of which the longest is the road from Westerly to Port Chester—one hundred and twenty miles long. In 1812, there were three thousand miles of roads in the state, and in 1913, fifteen thousand. Much attention has been given of late to a system of trunk lines, of which there are fourteen, gridironing the state, enabling the commissioner to superintend the outlay of appropriations with foresight and system. The General Assembly of 1911, appropriated for two years



The Connecticut River Bridge



The Connecticut River Bridge

The Original Bridge was Built 1809 and Carried away by Freshet in March, 1818.
Rebuilt as Shown above in December, 1818. Became a Free Bridge
September 11, 1889. Destroyed by Fire May 17, 1895

two million dollars for trunk lines, in one million of which the towns have a share, two hundred thousand for repairs, and twenty thousand for special post-roads.

The coming of the automobile calls for better roads and furnishes more money to make and repair them, and now oil and tar harden and coat the surface of them that the swift tires may not destroy them. Multiplication of accidents at grade crossings, since touring cars raced over the state, has given an impetus to the movement to remove this fertile source of danger. It is a long cry from the Indian trails, the Bay Path, and the Newer Connecticut Path to the Hartford and New Haven Turnpike, carefully graded and smooth as a floor, with its flying motor-cars from every state in the Union, suggesting the complex conditions into which the commonwealth has grown.

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