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**The Exodus from Andover:
Migration Case Studies 1700-1750**

A Thesis in History

By

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Table of Contents

Introduction: The Question of Migration	4
Chapter One: The Migrants, 1700-1725	19
Philemon Chandler	19
John Lovejoy, III	30
Chapter Two: The Migrants, 1726-1750	41
Caleb Abbott.....	41
George Holt	55
William Osgood.....	68
Chapter Three: Conclusion, The Consequences of Migration	85
Appendices	
Appendix 1:	110
Map of New England drawn in 1775	111
Map of Connecticut drawn in 1766.....	112
Appendix 2:	113
Family Connection Charts	114
Appendix 3:	119
Migration Land Values Chart.....	120
Migration Inheritance Patterns Chart	121
Bibliography.....	122

Tables

3.1	Family Composition at Migration from Andover	95
3.2	Migration Patterns in relation to the Witchcraft Outbreak of 1692.....	106

~ Introduction ~

The Question of Migration

As the ship *Confidence* came into Ipswich Harbor during June 1638, John Osgood and his family looked out onto a vast New England wilderness.¹ Osgood had left Wiltshire, England for many of the same reasons others left during the Great Migration: religious intolerance, excessive taxation and a shortage of land which could be passed on to his sons.² The sight of so much seemingly available land as the *Confidence* docked in Ipswich must have made Osgood approve his decision to move his family across an unruly and dangerous ocean.

¹ There is some discrepancy as to where the *Confidence* landed in June of 1638; some accounts say Boston and others say Ipswich, which at the time had a significant harbor. Based on the movements of Osgood, Ipswich has been assumed to be the point where the *Confidence* docked in June 1638. See "The Confidence" 1638 out of London" 200 Tonnes, Ships Passenger List," *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* 2 (1848), 108-10. see also Virginia DeJohn Anderson, *New England's Generation: The Great Migration and the formation of Society and Culture in the Seventeenth Century* (New York: Cambridge University Press 1991), 103, n 22.

² David Grayson Allen, *In English Ways: The Movement of Societies and the Transferal of English Local Law and Custom to the Massachusetts Bay in the Seventeenth Century* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press 1981), 164.

Osgood and his family lived for a short time in Ipswich and then moved on to Newbury, Massachusetts later that summer. Soon after arriving in Newbury, Osgood was one of the leading petitioners requesting to settle the area to the north, now known as Hampton, New Hampshire. Here, Osgood's leadership shows that within months of arrival he was already looking for new opportunities away from Newbury, a town founded only three years earlier in 1635.³

Yet he did not move until the right situation presented itself. On the 4th of March, 1634/5, the General Court “. . . ordered that the land aboute Cochichowicke, shall be reserved for an inland plantacon, & that whosoever will goe to inhabite there, shall have three yeares imunity from all taxes, levyes, publique charges & services whatsoever, (military dissipline onely excepted), etc.”⁴ Osgood, along with seventeen other men, viewed this proclamation as an opportunity to acquire land for their families on the inland frontier of Massachusetts. By 1646, these first settlers would give the area called Cochichowicke the name Andover to reflect their English origins.⁵

Osgood is listed in Andover's earliest records as the second freeholder to arrive in the town after Simon Bradstreet. Bradstreet was considered a gentleman and his original house lot was the largest grant made in accordance with his status within the settlement. In total, town records show Bradstreet was granted thirty-one acres before 1662.

Osgood's original grant of land amounted to twenty acres, slightly less than Bradstreet's

³ Ira Osgood and Eben Putnam, Eds., *A Genealogy of the Descendants of John, Christopher and William Osgood, who came from England and Settled in New England Early in the Seventeenth Century* (Salem: The Salem Press, 1894), 1-9.

⁴ Nathaniel B. Shurtleff, *Records of the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay of New England, Printed by Order of the Legislature., Vol. I: 1628-1641* (Boston: The Press of William White, 1853), 141.

⁵ As noted, John Osgood emigrated from Wherwell, England. The closest market town to Wherwell at that time was Andover, England and it is thought to be the basis for the re-naming of Andover, Massachusetts; see www.osgoodancestry.com (accessed October 16, 2014).

but far more than what was granted to most of the other men who make up the first settlers of Andover.⁶

Bradstreet left the town and his holdings were sold off, his descendants choosing to set up their households elsewhere. Osgood and his family chose to stay in Andover and over time his landholdings increased significantly. By the time of his death, Osgood held over six hundred acres, including “. . .his house lot, his Shawsheen Field and his Newfield Land,” which he left to his first born son.⁷ A review of the early Andover records shows that Osgood’s experience in terms of land acquisition and disposition was not unique. Indeed, the first generation of Andover settlers were frontiersmen and they reaped the reward of land for their risk.⁸

But what happened when Osgood’s grandsons, along with other grandsons who were part of Andover’s third generation, came of age and needed land in order to support their own households through farming? In 1970, Philip J. Greven, Jr. addressed this question in his work *Four Generations: Population, Land and Family in Colonial Andover, Massachusetts*. Greven argues that because of an expanding population a land scarcity developed in Andover. In response, fathers began to settle the family land on only one son in order to keep significant tracts of land intact for farming. As noted by Alexis de Tocqueville: “. . .In Massachusetts estates are very rarely divided; the eldest son generally takes the land, and the others go to seek their fortune in the wilderness.”⁹

⁶ Philip J. Greven, *Four Generations: Population, Land and Family in Colonial Andover, Massachusetts* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1970), 44-47.

⁷ Greven, *Four Generations*, 60, n 25.

⁸ Kimberly A. Whitworth, “Land Ownership in Early Colonial New England,” *The American Colonies to 1763 Historiography Paper*, Salem State University, 2011, 10.

⁹ Greven, *Four Generations*, 227 n 2; see also Whitworth, “Land Ownership,” 13.

Andover was not unique in its suffering a shortage of land for its sons to inherit during the late 17th and early 18th centuries. As shown by the numerous town studies produced in the 1960s and early 1970s, land became a scarce commodity in established towns. These studies document this “land shortage phenomenon” by examining the migration patterns of grandsons and great-grandsons of those original settlers who founded Massachusetts towns before 1650. In general, these studies agree that the lack of land for farming caused emigration away from towns located on the eastern coast and inland waterways which, in turn, brought about the settlement of townships on what was then the next frontier.¹⁰

Few studies have followed the migrations of the third and fourth generations who were born in these Massachusetts towns founded before 1650 and who were also the descendants of the first settlers.¹¹ The idea of young men pushing ever westward to find fortune and success is as pervasive in the American psyche today as it was when it was first suggested by Frederick Jackson Turner in his 1893 essay “The Significance of the Frontier in American History.”¹² And because the town studies of the 1960s and 1970s do not address the issue of what happened to the third and fourth generation migrants, readers are left with a vague idea that they were young men on the make, looking to secure their fortune in the wilderness.

¹⁰ Greven, *Four Generations*; esp. chaps 5-8; Robert A. Gross, *The Minutemen and their World* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1976); Kenneth A. Lockridge, *A New England Town: The First Hundred Years 1636-1736* (New York: W.W. Norton and Co., 1970).

¹¹ Two of the most useful articles for this study have been: Patricia J. Tracy, “Reconsidering Migration within Colonial New England,” *Journal of Social History*, 23, No. 1 (Autumn 1989): 93-113 and Linda Auwers Bissell, “From One Generation to Another: Mobility in Seventeenth-Century Windsor, Connecticut,” *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Third Series, 31, No. 1 (January 1974): 79-110.

¹² Frederick Jackson Turner, *The Frontier in American History* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1920).

In theory, new townships meant land grants—or at the very least, land for purchase that was cheaper and more readily available than in more established areas. This then leads to the question of whether the third and fourth generations who chose to move from well established Massachusetts towns—to southwestern frontier areas such as Windham County, Connecticut or the northern frontier towns of Wilton and Concord, New Hampshire—set themselves up to prosper in a manner similar to the first and second generations who settled early frontier towns such as Andover.¹³

The focus of this study is a consideration of the settlement patterns and the prosperity of the third generation who chose to leave Andover, Massachusetts, those who struck out into the wilderness of Windham County, Connecticut (see Appendix 3 for eighteenth century maps showing the location of Andover as well as Windham County). What happened to this pioneering migratory generation? Do the economic and social patterns found in later Connecticut settlement replicate the original settlement patterns of early Massachusetts towns? And even more importantly, *who were these migrants?*

Connecticut settlement has not received the same level of scrutiny as the early settlement of Massachusetts. Historians in the past may have neglected the study of Connecticut because, in many instances, Connecticut is considered an outgrowth of Massachusetts, and therefore does not warrant further historical inquiry. This view of Connecticut settlement may have been compounded by other historians who have dismissed the migrants to Connecticut's interior during the late 17th and early 18th centuries as “. . .dull, rustic provincials . . .,” “more interested in profit than the spiritual

¹³ Greven, *Four Generations*, 162-3; Whitworth, “Land Ownership,” 13.

matters which drove their grandparents to voyage over an ocean and then tame the wilderness of Massachusetts during the early 17th century.¹⁴

While it might be argued that the motives behind migration for the third generation lacked the spiritual fervor of the first generation that left England, some parallel experiences can be drawn between the first and third generations. For example, numerous studies of the Great Migration from England (1630-1640) have shown that the majority who migrated did so in family groups and kinship networks. Historical examination of ship manifests and other primary sources have also shown that many who migrated to the Massachusetts wilderness were mature, married couples in their thirties or forties, travelling with their children.¹⁵

The case studies presented here reveal similar migration patterns as Andover's third generation prepared to leave for Windham County, Connecticut. As this paper will demonstrate, these five men who chose to migrate from Andover to the Connecticut wilderness towns of Windham County—Caleb Abbott, Philemon Chandler, George Holt, John Lovejoy and William Osgood—did so in kinship groups or nuclear families, much as their grandparents had done when they left England for the Massachusetts frontier. Moreover, four out of the five migrants considered were married at migration and three travelled with children. Yet by the third generation, the manner in which land was acquired for settlement had changed dramatically.

¹⁴ Bernard Bailyn, *The Peopling of British North America: An Introduction* (New York: Vintage Books, 1986), 92.

¹⁵ T.H. Breen and Stephen Foster, "Moving to the New World: The Character of Early Massachusetts Immigration," *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Third Series, 30, No. 2 (April 1973): 194; see also Virginia DeJohn Anderson, *New England's Generation*, 22 and Jack Greene, *Pursuits of Happiness: The Social Development of Early Modern British Colonies and the Formation of American Culture* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988), esp. 19.

Andover was settled much like other early towns in seventeenth century Massachusetts. As the coastal settlements of Ipswich and Newbury became crowded with settlers arriving from England, petitions were made to both the General Court and Governor John Winthrop requesting permission to settle the area then known as Cochikawick. These appeals were led by Reverend Nathaniel Ward, once a minister in Ipswich who eventually settled in Haverhill instead of Andover, and a Mr. John Woodbridge, a Newbury man who would become Andover's first minister.¹⁶

Andover, then, was established with its Puritan church in place at the very beginning of its settlement in 1646. The past historiography on the subject of early town formation in Massachusetts holds with the idea that a number select men would establish the new settlement under the rules of the Puritan "Covenant with God." The land would be divided amongst the founders of the town with any additional lands being kept in common ownership, reserved for division at a later time. Many of the town studies examine the eventual conflict that arose between the original founding families, who controlled the division of the common lands to their favor, and those non-landholding newcomers who began to demand shares of land when it came time to create new divisions in the original town common lands.¹⁷

By the time Andover's third generation came of age, the population of the town had multiplied in such a way that even the families of the original founders did not have

¹⁶ Sarah Loring Bailey, *Historical Sketches of Andover* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1880), 4-10; Julia Haines Mofford, *And Firm Thine Ancient Vow: The History of North Parish Church of North Andover*. (North Andover: The Naiman Press, Inc., 1975), 3-4.

¹⁷ See Sumner Chilton Powell, *Puritan Village: The Formation of A New England Town*, (Middletown, Conn: Wesleyan University Press 1963); Lockridge, *A New England Town*; John Frederick Martin, *Profits in the Wilderness: Entrepreneurship and the Found of New England Towns in the Seventeenth Century* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, 1991).

enough land on which to settle their sons.¹⁸ Studies have shown that to sustain a family in Puritan New England, a farmer would need about between twenty-five to fifty acres, depending upon the nature and quality of the land.¹⁹ Since, as Philip J. Greven argues in his book *Four Generations*, sons of Andover's third generation were forced to find land for farming outside of Andover, what were their options?

Records show that the predominate migratory destinations for Andover's third generation included the newly established towns of Wilton and Concord, New Hampshire, Fryeburg, Maine and towns in Windham County, Connecticut.²⁰ The migrants considered here looked to Windham County, Connecticut for available land on which to settle their families. But documentary evidence reveals that for the third generation, the experience of acquiring land in Connecticut was vastly different from the manner in which their grandfathers had acquired land in Andover.

When the Andover migrants set out into the Connecticut wilderness, they were not led by a minister so as to create a community under the Puritan Covenant with God. Instead, those who chose to migrate from Andover to Windham County did so over a period of years and often they were not amongst the first settlers in their chosen

¹⁸ Greven, *Four Generations*, esp. ch. 5-6.

¹⁹ The question of how many acres were necessary to support a nuclear family during the 17th and 18th centuries is one historians have examined in a limited fashion. The best discussion of this question based on available research is in Kenneth Lockridge's "Land, Population and the Evolution of New England Society, 1630-1790," *Past & Present* 39 (April, 1968) 62-80. The figure used in this paper of twenty-five to fifty acres is meant to be an acreage average based on those few studies which have given historians a baseline number to use. As Lockridge points out in the above article, many more studies are needed if historians are to have an adequate understanding of how much land was necessary for the support of a family through agriculture in early New England. For a discussion of the change in farming practices due to a lack of land during the period, see Brian Donahue, *The Great Meadow: Farmers and Land in Colonial Concord* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), esp. ch. 8.

²⁰ Charlotte Helen Abbott, typed genealogies of 180 Andover families located at Memorial Hall Library and Andover Historical Society, Andover, Massachusetts. Memorial Hall Library has uploaded these unpublished family genealogies to their website at <http://www.mhl.org/andover/Abbott/index.htm> (hereinafter Abbott *MS*); Greven, *Four Generations*, esp. ch. 5-6; Charles E. Clark, *The Meeting House Tragedy: An Episode in the Life of a New England Town* (Hanover: University Press of New England, 1998).

Connecticut town. In this sample, Philemon Chandler is the first to migrate in 1698/99, while William Osgood is the last to make the journey in 1747.

The Connecticut lands being sought after by the Andover migrants were controlled not by the General Court, but by land speculators and profiteers. By the late 17th century and the early 18th century, there was a fundamental shift in the manner in which towns were planted. After the Narragansett War and the cessation of hostilities with local Native American tribes, the frontier lands of Connecticut opened up for English settlement. The General Court responded to the demand for land coming from established towns in both Connecticut and Massachusetts by allowing land speculators and private proprietors to oversee the orderly formation of new townships—a task formerly reserved to the General Court. This new town formation model met with mixed success, the court having to step in on a number of occasions to settle land disputes which occurred due to mismanagement by some private proprietors.²¹

One of the first speculators in Indian lands in the northeastern corner of Connecticut was Major James Fitch, the son the Reverend James Fitch. At the onset of King Philip's War in 1675, the Reverend Fitch was instrumental in persuading Uncas and the Mohegans, along with the Pequot Indians, to side with the English against King Philip's Wampanoags and their allies. Reverend Fitch and his son were thought to be friends of the Native Americans. The relationships the Fitches had developed with the Native Americans in Connecticut may have been a leading reason why the Indian sachem Oweneco, the son of Uncas, chose to sign over his lands on the Quinebaug River to

²¹ Richard L. Bushman, *From Puritan to Yankee: Character and the Social Order in Connecticut, 1690-1765* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc. 1967), esp. section II; Bruce C. Daniels, *The Connecticut Town: Growth and Development 1635-1790* (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1979), 17-27; Martin, *Profits in the Wilderness*, 53-8.

James Fitch, Jr. In a deed dated December 22, 1680, Oweneco made over all his “right and title to any and all my lands and meadows unto my loving friend James Fitch, Jr., for him to dispose of as he shall see cause.”²²

Although it is difficult to determine the exact boundaries of the deed transfer between Oweneco and Fitch, it is believed that the land conveyed comprised much of what is now Windham County, Connecticut.²³ Fitch, Jr. petitioned the General Court to confirm the legality of the land transfer and received his confirmation in 1684. Within a year of receiving clear title, he began disposing of vast tracts of Windham County land. Many of Fitch’s buyers were speculators in their own right, seeing opportunity and the potential for profit to be made on the Connecticut frontier; and records show that two of those buyers had connections to Andover.²⁴

Andover had strong ties to prior settlements such as Newbury (1635) and Ipswich (1633) in Essex County and the town of Roxbury (1630) in Suffolk County. In following Andover’s first settlers in their migrations from England, documentary evidence shows they established themselves in these coastal towns for a number of years first, before making the decision to join the initial push into the Massachusetts interior. Thus, the ties between the towns of Newbury, Ipswich, Roxbury and Andover endured over time as family networks grew and fanned out between these communities.²⁵

²² Many Connecticut histories note that Oweneco deeded his lands to Fitch, Jr.—thought to be a friend of the Native population—as a protective measure due to Oweneco’s acknowledged inability to administer control over the land due to alcoholism. See Ellen D. Larned, *History of Windham County, Connecticut* (1874; repr., Pomfret, Conn: Swordsmith Productions, 2000), 1:12;. Bushman, *From Puritan to Yankee*, 86 and Daniels, *The Connecticut Town*, 20.

²³ Larned, *History of Windham County*, 13.

²⁴ Bushman, *From Puritan to Yankee* 87; Larned, *History of Windham County*, 13-30; Daniels, *The Connecticut Town*, 20-23; Martin, *Profits in the Wilderness*, 96-7.

²⁵ Abbott *MS*; see also the following published genealogical histories: Abiel and Ephriam Abbott *A Genealogical Register of the Descendants of George Abbot, of Andover, George Abbot of Rowley, Thomas Abbot of Andover, Arthur Abbot of Ipswich, Robert Abbot, of Branford, Ct., and George Abbot, of Norwalk*,

One of the most significant connections for this study lies in Andover's relationship with the town of Roxbury. It is well established that during the late 17th century, dramatic population growth led to a land shortage in Roxbury much like that experienced in Andover. In response to the need for land on which to settle their sons, the men of Roxbury petitioned the Massachusetts General Court and in 1683, the court granted the town a tract of land in the Nipmunk region, which would first be named New Roxbury.

Between 1695 and 1745, Massachusetts and Connecticut engaged in a "border war" as to the location of the boundary line between the two colonies. Due to an error made by a survey performed in 1642, a portion of what is now Windham County in Connecticut was considered a part of Massachusetts. Thus, in some of the very early deeds examined for this paper, the migrant would state that they are of "New Roxbury or Woodstock in the Province of Massachusetts Bay" rather than of Connecticut. Between 1713 and 1749 the boundary between Massachusetts and Connecticut was resolved and many in the border towns preferred to come under the jurisdiction of Connecticut as the taxes were lower. Once the boundary dispute was settled, New Roxbury, Massachusetts would be renamed Woodstock, Connecticut and the town would come under the jurisdiction of the Connecticut General Court.²⁶ A number of the men from Roxbury

Ct. (Boston: James Munroe and Company, 1847); George Chandler, *The Chandler Family: The Descendants of William and Annis Chandler, who Settled in Roxbury, Massachusetts, 1637* (Worcester: Press of Charles Hamilton, 1883); Rev. Anson Titus, Jr. *The Sabin Family of America: The Four Earliest Generations* (Weymouth: Published by the Author, 1882). The most effective way to illustrate the town and family connections and movements is through genealogical family tree charts provided in Appendix 2.

²⁶ For reference to an early deed example, see Philemon Chandler to William Chandler, Essex South County Registry of Deeds, 53: 60. For further discussion regarding the boundary between Massachusetts and Connecticut during the colonial period, see Robert J. Taylor, *Colonial Connecticut, A History* (Millwood: KTO Press, 1979), 53-55 and Robert Barron, "Surveying Connecticut's Borders," in *Connecticut Explored; Connecticut History.org* <http://connecticuthistory.org/surveying-connecticuts-borders/> (Accessed November 28, 2014).

who would be the first to settle in New Roxbury would also engage in land speculation, purchasing large tracts from James Fitch, Jr., much of which would become the town of Pomfret, Connecticut.²⁷

Many of the surnames involved in the New Roxbury acquisition and settlement, as well as the purchases from Fitch, are some of the same surnames found in Andover. Indeed, a review of the genealogical records show that two of the major speculators in Windham County lands—John Chandler, Sr. and Benjamin Sabin—had close family ties to both Andover and Roxbury.²⁸ And while no direct evidence exists to establish why the Andover migrants in this study chose to resettle themselves in Windham County, the secondary evidence found through town and genealogical connections is compelling. These connections show that through events such as migration from England, town founding and marriage, these five migrants considered here, along with the speculators John Chandler, Sr. and Benjamin Sabin, all knew one another—or at the very least, knew of one another through familial channels (see Appendix 2 for each migrant’s genealogical family connections chart).²⁹

In April of 1686, Benjamin Sabin and twelve other pioneers travelled over eighty miles down the rough frontier road known as the Connecticut Path to survey the terrain and put down stakes in the township of New Roxbury for the others who would follow. By July of that year, forty men from Roxbury had taken personal possession of lands in the new plantation, Benjamin Sabin and John Chandler, Sr. being among them.³⁰ Again,

²⁷ Bushman, *From Puritan to Yankee*, 83, 87; Daniels, *The Connecticut Town*, 96-97; Francis S. Drake, *The Town of Roxbury: Its Memorable Persons and Places, Its History and Antiquities with Numerous Illustrations of its Old Landmarks and Noted Personages*, (Roxbury: Published by the Author, 1878), 40.

²⁸ Martin, *Profits in the Wilderness*, 96-97; See also genealogical family tree charts provided in Appendix 2.

²⁹ Abbott *MS*, esp. the family genealogies of Abbott, Chandler, Holt, Lovejoy, Osgood and Sabin.

³⁰ Drake, *The Town of Roxbury*, 40; Larned, *History of Windham County*, 15-17.

although there is no direct evidence, information must have travelled through kinship networks from Windham County and up the Connecticut Path to Andover; and having reports from relations and people of known character who had surveyed this northeastern corner of Connecticut must have given the Andover migrants an understanding of the risks they faced as well as the rewards they could potentially reap if they decided to brave settlement on this wilderness frontier.

What, then, do the five migrants examined here tell us? As noted, very few historians have considered what happened to the “leavers” described in the original town studies—“leavers” being those in the third and fourth generations who decided to settle away from a subject town. Instead, the migratory experience of the leavers has been considered established due to an acceptance of the Turnerian frontier model.³¹ The sketches presented here attempt to understand the migration experiences of a small sample of the Andover leavers described by Philip Greven in his book *Four Generations* as a way to determine the accuracy of past historical assumptions.³²

These five men are used as representative examples of migration from Andover to Windham County because the amount of documentary evidence they left behind allowed a rich biographical sketch to be developed about each man and his family. Another important reason for choosing these five men rests in the fact that all of them are direct decedents of one of Andover’s original settlers.³³ Choosing to follow these specific families allows for a comparison of the success of Andover’s pioneering wilderness

³¹ Tracy, “Reconsidering Migration within Colonial New England,” 107 n 2.

³² Greven, *Four Generations*, esp. chs. 5-6.

³³ For the purposes of this study, an original settler of Andover is considered to be either one of the 18 settlers listed in the earliest book of town records or one of the settlers to whom house lots were given prior to 1662. For reference see Bailey, *Historical Sketches of Andover*, 11 and Greven, *Four Generations*, 46.

generation against the success of the third generation that settled the Windham County frontier.

To study the process of migration from Andover to Windham County, Connecticut, required following these five individuals and their families through genealogical and vital records located in both Massachusetts and Connecticut. As a way to organize the information contained in these records, family trees were built using genealogical software to help identify kinship interconnections such as the ones provided in Appendix 2. The family trees created from genealogical and vital record data helped determine important facts such as age at migration, identification of the likely members of the family who participated in the migration experience, and what year the migration occurred. Deeds and land ownership records located in the Essex County Registry of Deeds in Massachusetts provided additional evidence. In Connecticut, these land records are maintained by each town in the clerk's office. The information provided through land records was then coupled with additional evidence found in wills and probate documents located at the Essex County Registry of Probate in Massachusetts and the various town clerks' offices in Connecticut. These documents helped provide an understanding of the mechanics of migration—when and why a migrant would decide to leave the established town of Andover for the Connecticut wilderness—and then if their choice to risk migration resulted in financial success for the migrant and his family.

The migrants are presented in chronological order in accordance with their migration date. Most of the town studies discuss migration in terms of the “third and fourth generations” who chose to leave the town and then, of course, they leave the study. The town studies give the impression that the third and fourth generations left en masse,

whereas detailed analysis of the migration process shows that, at least in the case of Andover, those in the third generation who chose to leave, did so over a period of roughly fifty years. The research reveals that it is more useful to consider the migrant's birth date and the year they chose to leave Andover instead of placing them within a generational category, a method that works best with a large sample. By approaching the evidence in this way, the focus of the project rested on the details surrounding each migrant's decision to leave Andover. From these details patterns could then be developed from a small sample of five migrants which either agreed or disagreed with the conclusions of the broader based town studies.

Another important comparison for this paper are the few articles written after the town studies which began to address the question of what happened to those who chose to migrate away from the established towns. Two key studies are Linda Auwers Bissell's examination of mobility in seventeenth century Windsor, Connecticut and Patricia J. Tracy's inquiry into the emigrants from Northampton, Massachusetts between 1660 and 1770. These works take on the task of following the emigrants from Windsor and Northampton in order to examine their relative success or failure in their newly chosen communities through the use of social and economic indicators. How, then, do the stories of Andover's migrants mirror or contradict the findings of Bissell and Tracy? And what conclusions, if any, can we draw from those similarities or differences? Through these biographical sketches, this thesis incorporates its findings into previous conclusions as a way to broaden our understanding of this generation.

~ Chapter 1 ~

The Migrants

1700-1725

Philemon Chandler

Mary Dane Chandler gave birth to her son, Philemon, on September 4, 1671 when she was thirty-three years old, thirteen years after she married William Chandler in Ipswich, Massachusetts.³⁴ Mary and William's fathers, both of whom were named John, first settled in Roxbury, Massachusetts. Mary's father John Dane soon left Roxbury with his family, moving to Ipswich in order to worship with the Reverend John Norton. The earliest recorded land grant to John Dane in Ipswich is dated April 9, 1639 and he was

³⁴ For the purposes of this study, Philemon Chandler is considered a third generation migrant, although he is actually part of Andover's second generation, his father William being the first to settle in Andover. However, Philemon may be considered part of the third generation if you include his grandfather's settlement in Roxbury. When the town studies discuss the third and fourth generations, they consider the first generation to be those who settled Massachusetts towns during the period of the Great Migration, which took place between the years 1630 and 1640. Andover was not founded until 1646, so her third generation would, in theory, occur later. This is why birth year rather than generation was a more effective category for this study.

admitted freeman in Ipswich in June 2, 1641. However, his ties to Roxbury remained strong for John Dane died there on September 14, 1658.³⁵

The early Massachusetts histories of the Dane and Chandler families are deeply intertwined. In fact, Mary Dane Chandler's father, John Dane, took her husband's mother, Annis Chandler, as his second wife and according to court records, “. . .brought up the ye children of Chandler w'ch have been chargeable to him.”³⁶ Thus, Mary Dane Chandler and her husband William Chandler were related by marriage even before their own marriage in 1658.

William Chandler, much like John Osgood, saw the opportunity offered by the new “. . .inland plantacon . . .” called “Cochichowicke”³⁷ Although he was not among the first eighteen men listed in the earliest town records, he had followed his brother, Thomas Chandler to the new settlement and was given a house lot some time prior to 1662.³⁸ A review of the Andover vital records show that after their marriage, William and Mary had made the move to Andover by 1659, where their first daughter, Mary, was born on July 5.³⁹

In *Four Generations*, Greven's research into deed and will transfers between second and third generation fathers and sons led him to the conclusion that a lack of land in Andover led to the exodus and migration patterns of the late 17th and early 18th

³⁵ See Abbott *MS*; see also the following published genealogical histories: George Chandler. *The Chandler Family: The Descendants of William and Annis Chandler, who Settled in Roxbury, Massachusetts, 1637* (Worcester: Press of Charles Hamilton, 1883); John Dane, *A Declaration of Remarkable Providences in the Course of My Life, to which a Pedigree of the Dane Family and a Few Notes by a member of the New England Historic-Genealogical Society* (Boston: Samuel G. Drake, 1854); see also genealogical family tree charts provided in Appendix 2.

³⁶ Chandler, *The Chandler Family*, 1.

³⁷ Shurtleff, *Records of the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay*, 1:141.

³⁸ Bailey, *Historical Sketches of Andover*, 11; Greven, *Four Generations*, 46; see also genealogical family tree charts provided in Appendix 2.

³⁹ *Vital Records of the Town of Andover to the end of the year 1849* (Topsfield: Topsfield Historical Society, 1912). This is hereinafter cited as “Andover VR.”

centuries.⁴⁰ By his death on August 18, 1698, William Chandler had four living sons and had amassed a significant amount of land, although the exact acreage is difficult to determine. While records showing William Chandler's acquisition of land in Andover are scanty, his will does provide some specifics as to what he owned at death. The largest parcels appear to be reserved for his oldest son, William, and his youngest son, Joseph, who was left with the responsibility of caring for his mother, provided she did not remarry. His second and third sons, Philemon and Thomas, were given specific tracts upland, meadow and swamp “ . . .being, by Estimation, one hundred acres—more or less—to be Equally Divided between them—Excepting Eighteen acres w’eh is my son Philemon’s own purchase . . .[and which upland and meadow] I value to be worth seventy-five pounds.” William Chandler also bequeathed to “my sons forty pounds apiece.”⁴¹

The exact date of Philemon Chandler's migration to Windham County Connecticut can not be determined, but in a deed dated January 6, 1699, he states in the grantor clause that he is of “New Roxbury or Woodstock in the Province of Massachusetts Bay.” What then, does the small amount of information in this deed reveal? His choice to emigrate to “New Roxbury or Woodstock” may have been based on his kinship relation with his uncle and land speculator, John Chandler, Sr. As noted, Chandler, Sr. was one of the original proprietors who began settlement of the area in 1686. Philemon's cousin, John Chandler, Jr., is also mentioned in early New Roxbury town records where it is requested that he “ . . . teach and instruct children and youth how

⁴⁰ Greven, *Four Generations*, 155-7.

⁴¹ Essex County Registry of Probate Docket No. 4979, Probate of Estate of William Chandler of Andover.

to write and cypher.”⁴² The presence of established family in the new settlement may have given weight to Philemon’s decision to leave Andover.

The date of the deed, January 6, 1699, is the first record in Massachusetts which confirms that Philemon migrated away from Andover. But a review of the Connecticut records reveals that on June 8, 1697, “for thirty-two pounds current money” Thomas Ruggles of Gilford, Connecticut and Elizabeth Ruggles of Roxbury sold Philemon Chandler “one hundred and ninety eight acres and a halfe of Woodland be the same more or less. Three hundred & fifty-five acres of Woodland be the same more or less [and] six acres of meadow land lying in common with the other proprietors of Wipegrians Meadow . . .”⁴³ This Connecticut deed dated June 8, 1697 reveals Philemon to be residing in the new town at least a year before his father’s death on August 18, 1698.

The Massachusetts deed confirms Philemon’s relocation was complete by January 6, 1699, stating that “. . . forty pounds in currant money of New England to me well & truly paid by William Chandler my Brother of Andover . . .” The purpose of this deed was to convey all of Philemon’s “. . . rights, titles, estates and interest in the said Town of Andover given me by my father William Chandler Deceased in his Last Will and Testament.”⁴⁴ Philemon sold his interest in his Andover lands to his brother William for the exact amount of his father’s monetary bequest. Philemon’s financial gain is confirmed, then, in the land value difference between the established town of Andover, where he sold less than one hundred acres to his brother William for forty pounds and in

⁴² Larned, *History of Windham County*, 25. This emigrating kinship cluster model “headed by a father or an uncle” concurs with the finding of Patricia J. Tracey in her article “Re-Considering Migration Within Colonial New England,” 98.

⁴³ Pomfret Deeds, 1: 21-23; this deed also references that the land was acquired by the Ruggles family from James Fitch. The Ruggles family were Roxbury speculators, much like Chandler and Sabin.

⁴⁴ Essex South Registry of Deeds (hereinafter ESCRD), 53: 60.

the fact that he then was able to purchase of over seven hundred and sixty acres in the wilderness settlement of New Roxbury for £35 pounds.

Unfortunately, the records which remain leave no indication as to whether Philemon's father, William Chandler, gave him the means to purchase acreage in the Connecticut wilderness. Nevertheless, the records do show that Philemon did not need to wait until he received his inheritance from his father's estate or sell land he already owned in Andover in order to emigrate and acquire land in New Roxbury.⁴⁵

When Philemon migrated, he was a young single male of twenty-six years making his way down the Connecticut Path. He spent a number of years establishing himself in the new settlement before deciding to marry. He looked outside the immediate New Roxbury area, marrying Hannah Cheney of Cambridge, Massachusetts in Cambridge on April 18, 1700. Their marriage is yet another illustration of the strong connection Andover men maintained with the town of Roxbury.⁴⁶

Hannah's grandfather, William Cheney, migrated to Roxbury and, according to the earliest town records, he settled there with his family at some time before 1640. The Cheney presence in Roxbury remained strong throughout the period of the New Roxbury purchase, although the Cheney men did not participate in the settlement of the new town. Hannah, however, decided to strike out into the Connecticut wilderness once she married Philemon. The evidence we have for their removal from Cambridge after marriage is found in the Pomfret, Connecticut vital records, showing that Hannah gave birth to her

⁴⁵ For a discussion of land transfer practices in Andover between the second and third generations, see Greven, *Four Generations*, esp. 140-153; for a discussion of the mechanics of selling land in order to emigrate to a new town, see Tracy, "Reconsidering Migration within Colonial New England," 101.

⁴⁶ Charles Henry Pope, Compiler, *The Cheney Genealogy* (Boston, Mass., 1897), esp. pgs 34-42; see also Lee Kugler, *NEHGS Book of Corrections*, Vol. 3., No. 4 Chandler—*The Descendants of William and Annis Chandler who settled in Roxbury, Mass., 1637* by George Chandler (1872), Submitted 16 March 1986 by Marilyn Labbe. <http://www.americanancestors.org/see-book-of-corrections-vol-3-no-4/> (Accessed November 24, 2014).

first child, Ebenezer Chandler, on June 7, 1703. Over the years, Hannah gave birth to six children in Pomfret, three boys and three girls. Hannah and Philemon experienced the sadness of losing each of their sons, but their daughters, Hannah, Mary and Mehitable all lived well into adulthood.⁴⁷

Philemon's stature in the new settlement grew over time and he held various positions, particularly when it came time in 1713 to organize the Mashamoquet Purchase into the town of Pomfret. Philemon was chosen to be clerk of the organizing proprietors. The other positions of authority he held included acting as lieutenant of the train band and he was chosen to be a town selectman numerous times. Philemon's social position within the town is further measured by the offices he held relative to the church. On December 22, 1713, the new town of Pomfret voted "that there should be a meeting-house built with all convenient speed." Philemon was included on the committee charged with the task of building the church and to then "treat" with the Reverend Ebenezer Williams of Roxbury about his ordination in the newly formed town of Pomfret. Upon the ordination of Reverend Williams, Benjamin Sabin and Philemon Chandler were both elected as deacons of the church and it was "Voted that Lieut. Chandler shall have liberty to build a pew for himself and family in our meetinghouse on ye south side between ye great door and ye next east window."⁴⁸

Within six years or so, the people of Pomfret recognized the need for a convenient place to bury their dead. At town meeting on March 24, 1719, "by vote of ye Town ye burying place was prefixt in ye Land of Deacon Philemon Chandler on the right side of

⁴⁷ Pomfret, Connecticut Vital Records; Hampton, Connecticut Vital Records, Windham Connecticut Vital Records and Andover, Massachusetts Vital Records.

⁴⁸ Larned, *History of Windham County*, 157-160, 166-169; Chandler, *The Chandler Family*, 33-35.

Wappaquains Brook . . .”⁴⁹ This annexation of land by the town was confirmed by Philemon in a deed dated January 16, 1727/8 which states:

“Philemon Chandler of Pomfret, husbandman, for love and good will which I have and do bare for my Loving friends and Christian neighbors, ye inhabitants of town of Pomfret have given to ye sd inhabitants for ye use and service of a burying place a certain parcel of land containing 2 acres more or less . . .”⁵⁰

Beyond being a deed of two acres to be used for the purpose of a burial ground, this document also reveals what Philemon considered himself to be a husbandman or farmer. According to early accounts, the land he acquired as a young man was some of the best for farming located in the town.⁵¹ From deed descriptions located in the Pomfret deed records, the majority of Philemon’s land when he acquired it was described as woodland which abutted both the Wappaquains Brook and the Mashamoquett Brook, necessary and vital water sources for farming. He also acquired rights to at least six acres of meadowland, “in common with the other proprietors of Wapequians Meadow . . .”⁵²

The value of land in Pomfret shifted over time as the wilderness became an established and thriving town. In addition, the connection between Andover and Windham County, Connecticut remained strong. In a deed dated December 30, 1731, “Philemon Chandler of Pomfret, for four hundred & ten pounds current money rec’d from Thomas Grow of Andover, Mass., yeoman, do sell him a tract of land together with a dwelling house standing thereon in the town of Pomfret containing 100 acres.”⁵³ In 1731, Philemon was 60 years of age and he had lived in Pomfret for about thirty-four

⁴⁹ Chandler, *The Chandler Family*, 33.

⁵⁰ Pomfret Deeds, 2: 23-24.

⁵¹ Chandler, *The Chandler Family*, 34.

⁵² Pomfret Deeds, 1: 23-24.

⁵³ Pomfret Deeds, 2: 81.

years. When he arrived in the Connecticut wilderness, he paid thirty-five pounds for seven hundred and sixty acres of land; thirty-four years later he was able to sell one hundred acres of that land for four hundred and ten pounds. Without even trying to account for the considerable inflation in those years, it seems clear that the risk he took as a young man by settling and building a home and farm on the Connecticut frontier with his wife, Hannah, paid off handsomely in later life.

Hannah Cheney Chandler passed away on June 24, 1735 at the age of sixty-four, a little less than four years after the deed to Thomas Grow was signed. She is buried in what is known today as the South Burying-Ground in Pomfret on the land that was once part of the farm she helped to build with her husband Philemon. By 1739, Philemon decided to remarry and he chose a woman he likely had known for most of his life. Her name was Patience Sabin Griggs, occasionally called “Patty” in the Pomfret records.⁵⁴ Patience was the daughter of Benjamin Sabin, one of the first migrants to arrive in the Connecticut wilderness settlement of New Roxbury. She was born in Roxbury on May 3, 1682 and travelled down the Connecticut Path with her father, mother, brothers and sisters when she was four years old.⁵⁵

Her father’s land abutted Philemon’s as noted in a deed signed by both men and dated April 6, 1730, its purpose being to establish a division line between their farms and

⁵⁴ The historical and genealogical records with regard to Patience Sabin/Parker Griggs is confused for a number of reasons due to name changes and the fact that her daughter is also known as Patience Griggs. Patience Sabin’s mother was named Sarah Parker and she is often found in genealogical histories as Patience Parker Griggs. In addition, some of the genealogical histories have daughter Patience Griggs married to Philemon Chandler, who, based on vital record information available, would have been 15 years old to Philemon’s 68. A thorough review of the vital records in Roxbury and Pomfret reveals that Philemon’s second wife was in fact Patience Sabin Griggs, born May 3, 1682.

⁵⁵ Ancestry.com. *Massachusetts, Town and Vital Records, 1620-1988* [database on-line]. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2011. Original data: Town and City Clerks of Massachusetts. *Massachusetts Vital and Town Records*. Provo, UT: Holbrook Research Institute (Jay and Delene Holbrook; hereinafter *Massachusetts Town and Vital Records, 1620-1988*.)

prevent “. . .any controversies yt might arise from ye want of having ye bounds between our lands near Mashamoquett brook . . .”⁵⁶ Thus, “Patty” grew up with Philemon and Hannah as her neighbors and, after her first husband Benjamin Griggs—also originally from Roxbury—passed on August 19, 1724, it is perhaps understandable that when she married a second time, she chose to marry a man she knew well.

Patience Sabin Griggs Chandler would lose her second husband, Philemon, on May 7, 1752. As noted, all three of Philemon’s sons predeceased him, Ebenezer at two years of age in 1705 and Josiah at sixteen years of age in 1724; Philemon, Jr. passed in 1735 at twenty nine years of age, leaving two sons, the first named Josiah, born November 8, 1731 and the second named Philemon, who was born January 24, 1733. All of Philemon’s daughters survived him and were married with children when he passed. A review of his will filed with the probate records at Pomfret Town Hall reveals his wish to care for his family members in accordance with the customs of the day, the women of his family receiving moveable goods and money while the men of his family inherited his land.⁵⁷

In his will dated February 11, 1748/9, Philemon provided for his second wife Patience for one year after his death and “in compassion to & in consideration of my wife’s lameness I [also] give her ten pounds in bills of publick credit of ye old tenor to be paid her by my executor within a year after my decease.” Philemon remembered his daughters by leaving them “all my personal estate that I have not herein this my will other wise given or disposed of to be equally divided between them.” The land which he

⁵⁶ Pomfret Deeds, 2: 42.

⁵⁷ James Henretta, “Families and Farms: Mentalité in Preindustrial America,” *Third Series*, 35 no. 1 (1978): 21-31; Laurel Ulrich: *Good Wives: Images and Reality in the Lives of Women of Northern New England, 1650-1750* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1972), 148.

acquired as a young man he reserved for his grandsons Josiah and Philemon. When the will was drawn, both boys were minors and upon coming of age would have each received one half of the land, along with one half of Grandfather Philemon's
“ . . .wearing apparel . . . two guns, & each of them a Bible and also all my outdoor moveables, or husbandry tools & utensils . . .”⁵⁸

Philemon died a wealthy man. An inventory of his estate was taken on May 15, 1752 and presented to the court with his land and buildings being valued at £15,000 pounds and his moveable property being valued at £3,558 pounds.⁵⁹ Based on the surviving deed records, Philemon Chandler died owning roughly six hundred and forty acres of land which, in accordance with his will was to be evenly divided between his two grandsons.⁶⁰ But on April 28, 1752, his grandson Philemon died at the age of nineteen, nine days before his grandfather passed on May 7, 1752, which left his brother Josiah as the sole devisee under the will. Josiah received the entire six hundred and sixty acres of land owned by his grandfather at the age of twenty-one.⁶¹

With the assumption of the farm came new responsibilities within the town of Pomfret. Josiah came of age during the French and Indian War, and in 1753 he took an oath of fidelity in the town. He remained active in town leadership and served as surveyor of highways during the Revolutionary War period, an important position where

⁵⁸ Pomfret Town Probate Records, Plainfield Probate District 2: 249-251, Probate of Estate of Philemon Chandler of Pomfret.

⁵⁹ The total value of his estate at death in today's dollars is roughly 2.7 million. This figure is based on information generated by the British National Archives Online Historical Currency Converter; <http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/currency/> (Accessed August 20, 2014).

⁶⁰ Over his lifetime, Philemon disposed of a number of acres of land. See the following Pomfret Deeds recorded at 2: 81; 2: 23-4; 2: 17.

⁶¹ Ancestry.com. *Connecticut Town Birth, Marriage and Death Records, pre-1870 (Barbour Collection)* [database on-line]. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations Inc, 2006. Original data: White, Lorraine Cook, ed. *The Barbour Collection of Connecticut Town Vital Records. Vol. 1-55*. Baltimore, MD, USA: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1994-2002, hereafter cited as *Connecticut Vital Records*; Pomfret Town Probate Records, Plainfield Probate District 2: 249-251, Probate of Estate of Philemon Chandler.

he was responsible for overseeing the maintenance of town ways to keep them passable for public use.⁶²

Josiah Chandler would remain in Pomfret for the rest of his life. A little over a year after his grandfather's death on June 14, 1753, Josiah married Hannah Holbrook. The couple had eleven children over the span of twenty years—six boys and five girls. Three children would predecease Josiah, two of his boys and one girl. Of those who survived, his oldest son, Philemon, and all of his daughters appear to have stayed in Pomfret. Josiah's two younger sons, Josiah and William, were much like their great grandfather, seeing opportunity and settling to the West in the new wilderness frontiers of Pennsylvania and Ohio.⁶³

⁶² Chandler, *The Chandler Family*, 207-8; Larned, *History of Windham County*, 2: 150.

⁶³ Chandler, *The Chandler Family*, 208; *Connecticut Vital Records*. As to William: Ancestry.com. *U.S., Sons of the American Revolution Membership Applications, 1889-1970* [database on-line]. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2011; Volume: 186; SAR Membership Number: 37038; Find A Grave Memorial # 65248592; Seventh Census of the United States, 1850; (National Archives Microfilm Publication M432, 1009 rolls); Records of the Bureau of the Census, Record Group 29; National Archives, Washington, D.C. As to Josiah: Ancestry.com. *U.S., Sons of the American Revolution Membership Applications, 1889-1970* [database on-line]. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2011, SAR Membership Number: 78364.; Find A Grave Memorial # 8148699; Sixth Census of the United States, 1840. (NARA microfilm publication M704, 580 rolls). Records of the Bureau of the Census, Record Group 29. National Archives, Washington, D.C.

John Lovejoy III

John Lovejoy, Sr. arrived in New England on the ship *Confidence* during June 1638 just as he celebrated his seventeenth birthday. In England, his grandfather John Lovejoy had apprenticed as a “Goldsymthe” while his father, Rowland Lovejoy, had apprenticed himself to a tailor. John, Sr. took a different path and instead of apprenticing himself to a tradesman as his father and grandfather had done, he chose to “bond” himself as an indentured servant to a Mr. John Stevens in return for the cost of his passage to the New England frontier.⁶⁴ As an indentured servant, John, Sr. would be required to work for Stevens for a term of three to five years, after which he may have been entitled to receive “freedom dues” which would have included items such as tools, livestock and perhaps even some land, which would allow him a good start in the Massachusetts colony.⁶⁵

After his arrival, John Sr. settled in Newbury with the Stevens family. By 1646, John, Sr. had served his term of indenture and was free to begin using his labor for his own benefit. And, much like other Newbury men, John, Sr. saw the opportunity offered him in the new settlement of “Cochichowicke.” In the earliest book of town records, John, Sr. is listed among the original freeholders, along with John Osgood and his “master” John Stevens.⁶⁶ At the time of Andover’s settlement, John, Sr. was twenty-four

⁶⁴ W. Barrett Lovejoy, Jr. *Lovejoy Family History—800-2001* (October, 2004) <https://home.comcast.net/~bennabre/bennabre.htm> (accessed August 21, 2014), 6; see also Greven, *Four Generations*, 92-3.; James R. Henderson, “English Origins of John Lovejoy of Andover, Massachusetts” *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, 163 (January 2009), 27-32.

⁶⁵ Mark R. Snyder, “The Education of Indentured Servants in Colonial America” *Journal of Technology Studies*, 33, Issue 2, (Spring 2007): 66.

⁶⁶ Bailey, *Historical Sketches of Andover*, 11.

years old to Osgood's fifty years of age and Stevens' forty years of age.⁶⁷ His willingness to strike out into the wilderness which would become the town of Andover, along with the respect granted him by older men in the community, earned John, Sr. a house lot of seven acres, which he would work to turn into the ownership of roughly two hundred acres by the time of his death in 1690.⁶⁸

John, Sr. established himself on his land in Andover before deciding to marry at the age of twenty-eight in 1651. The woman he asked to marry him was named Mary Osgood, the eldest daughter of Christopher Osgood who settled his family in Ipswich. Mary travelled with her parents on the ship the *Mary and John*, which departed London on March 24, 1633/4. At the time of departure, Mary was one or two years old.

Although no definitive family connection can be made, it is likely that John Osgood of Andover and Christopher Osgood of Ipswich were related. This supposition is based on evidence which shows that, upon his death in 1650, Christopher Osgood's children were taken in by the family of John Osgood in Andover.⁶⁹ Perhaps this family association is how John, Sr. found himself introduced to Mary.

John Lovejoy, Sr. and Mary Osgood wed on January 1, 1651 in Ipswich and Mary moved to John's farm in Andover. They had twelve children together, although only nine would survive John, four girls and five boys. Of the sons that passed before John, Sr.'s death, only John Lovejoy, Jr.—John, Sr.'s eldest son—would leave issue: a daughter,

⁶⁷ Lovejoy, Jr., *Lovejoy Family History* 19; Ira Osgood, ed., *A Genealogy*, 1; G. Andrews Moriarty, "Stevens of Newbury and Andover, Mass," *The New England Historical and Genealogical Register* 85 (October 1931).

⁶⁸ Greven, *Four Generations*, 46, 92-93.

⁶⁹ Ira Osgood, ed., *A Genealogy*, 255-6; Dick Osgood, *Osgood Ancestry* <http://www.osgoodancestry.org/emigrants.html#christopheranchor> (accessed August 24, 2014).

Frances, and a son, John, III, both of whom would be cared for by his wife, Naomi Hoyt Lovejoy, and by both his parents.⁷⁰

John Jr. married Naomi Hoyt in Andover on March 23, 1677 when they were both twenty-two years old.⁷¹ Unlike many of his peers in Andover, John, Jr. married before his father had settled any type of inheritance on him. To accommodate his son's wish to marry, John Sr. allowed his son to build a house and farm a parcel of land on which he could support his family.⁷² John, Jr. died at the age of only twenty-five on July 14, 1680, two months before the birth of his son, John, III.⁷³ The unexpected and premature death of John, Jr. meant that he had yet to contemplate drawing a will, leaving an intestate estate. His wife, Naomi, was appointed administratrix by the court. The estate contained no land, but included "one house & a crope of corn" along with other farming tools and personal items.⁷⁴

Deed records indicate that the parcel of land farmed by John, Jr. was intended to be gifted from father to son at a later date. In recognition of that intention, John, Sr. transferred the land the late John Jr. had farmed to his three year old son. A deed was prepared on April 6, 1683 for ". . . Consideration of ye Naturall Affeccion which I did Bear my Son John Lovejoy, deceased . . . [and] I Confirm unto my Grand Son John

⁷⁰ Andover VR and Abbott *MS*, Lovejoy Family.

⁷¹ There is no evidence of Naomi's birth but it is believed she is the daughter of John Hoyt and his second wife Frances Tuxbury, who appear in the early records of both Salisbury and Amesbury, Massachusetts, coastal towns near both Newbury and Ipswich. For reference, see David W. Hoyt, *A Genealogical History of the Hoyt, Haight, and Hight Families With Some Account of the Earlier Hyatt Families, A List of the First Settlers of Salisbury and Amesbury, Mass., etc.* (Boston: The Providence Press Co., 1871), 15-25.

⁷² Greven, *Four Generations*, 91-93.

⁷³ Andover VR.

⁷⁴ For the inventory of John Lovejoy, Jr., see *Essex Quarterly Court*, VIII, 56.

Lovejoy . . .fifty acres of upland [and meadow] . . .” Ownership of this land would fully vest in John III when he “. . .comes to ye age of twenty one years . . .”.⁷⁵

While there is no indication in Essex County court records that John, Sr. petitioned to become the guardian of John, Jr.’s two children, this deed of land contains language expressing the elder Lovejoy’s wish to care for his son’s young family, stating that “I do freely give my Daughter in Law . . .full power to Enjoy, Occupy, & Improve for her own life Behoof and Benefit all y above lande and premises.” Within six years, Naomi Lovejoy would remarry a man from Chelmsford named Richard Stratton.⁷⁶ At that time, her daughter Frances was eight years old and John, III was six years old. Naomi and her children would move to Chelmsford where Stratton owned land and a mill.⁷⁷ A little less than two years later, Naomi would give birth to her third child, her first and only with Stratton. She would die seven days later, likely due to complications from the birth.⁷⁸ Her little boy, born on December 1, 1687/88 was named Ichabod, which means “child of sorrow.”⁷⁹

After her death, it would appear Frances and John, III returned to Andover to live with their paternal grandparents. This assumption is based on statements made by John, Sr. in a codicil to his will. Both the will and codicil of John Sr. are dated 1690 when Francis and John, III were twelve and ten years old, respectively. In the codicil, John Sr. addresses the care of Frances, stating that she “. . .is now under my Care & Charge . . .is yt she remain w th her grandmother my loving wife & her uncle my son Ebenezer until she

⁷⁵ ESCRD Book 33, Page 40; see also Greven, *Four Generations*, 92-3.

⁷⁶ *Vital Records of Chelmsford, Massachusetts to the End of the Year 1849*, Marriages, (hereinafter Chelmsford VR), 269 (Salem, Mass., 1914).

⁷⁷ Harriet Russell Stratton, *A Book of Strattons* (1908-1918; repr., Bethany, OK: Richardson Reprints, 1985).

⁷⁸ Chelmsford VR.

⁷⁹ 1 Samuel 4:21-22 (King James Version).

be of ye age of eighteen years.”⁸⁰ Interestingly, John, Sr. only names Frances in his codicil, perhaps because he felt had already acknowledged John, III in the deed dated April 6, 1683. The ownership of John, Sr.’s remaining one hundred and fifty acres of Andover land would be apportioned among his remaining five sons through deeds of gift during his life and thorough inheritance after his death.⁸¹

John, III and Frances grew to adulthood under the care of their step-grandmother Hannah (Prichard) Lovejoy⁸² and their Uncle Ebenezer. John came of age and turned twenty-one in 1701, which allowed him to take full control of the land deeded to him when he was three years old. The land given to him by his grandfather included the house built by his father. And because of his father’s early death and the actions of his grandfather, John III found himself in a position to marry and start a family before most of his peers in Andover.⁸³

Within a year and a half of establishing himself on his farm, John III married Bathsheba Blunt. When they married on May 12, 1703, John III was twenty-two years old, just as his father had been when he married. Bathsheba was only nineteen. The Blunts were latecomers to Andover, the first evidence of their arrival being the marriage of Bathsheba’s parents, William Blunt of Andover to Elizabeth Ballard in Chelmsford, Massachusetts on November 11, 1668.⁸⁴ The Blunt family’s path to Andover is murky, but some of the old family genealogies state that William’s father emigrated and was “in

⁸⁰ Probate of Estate of John Lovejoy, Essex County Probate Docket No. 17068; see also Greven, *Four Generations*, 93-4.

⁸¹ Probate of Estate of John Lovejoy, Essex County Probate Docket No. 17068; see also Greven, *Four Generations*, 93-4.

⁸² Their birth grandmother, Mary Osgood Lovejoy, passed in 1675 before either of them were born. Both Frances and John III would have only known Hannah Prichard Lovejoy as their grandmother. She married John, Sr. on February 12, 1676/77 and she died on August 1, 1705.

⁸³ Greven, *Four Generations*, 272.

⁸⁴ Andover VR.

the Barbados” in 1635, as well as being in Newbury before arriving in Andover.⁸⁵ There is no evidence of a Blunt settling in Newbury nor is there a record of William’s birth in Andover. Further, neither William’s name, nor his father name, appear with the original 18 men who came to the plantation called Cochichowicke; their names are also absent from the settlers to whom house lots were given prior to 1662.⁸⁶

Yet despite not being amongst the first settlers of Andover, William Blunt did well because he married Elizabeth Ballard whose father, William Ballard, was one of the original eighteen men to settle Andover. William Ballard died intestate and contained in the administration of the estate is evidence that Elizabeth’s father “gave William Blunt upon the marriage with [my] daughter [the land and meadow] which Iyeth on the south of the land . . .” where the original Ballard family house stood.⁸⁷ William Blunt and his wife Elizabeth would stay in Andover and have seven children together, three of whom would migrate to Plainfield, Connecticut.

What made these three children of William and Elizabeth Blunt choose Plainfield, Connecticut as their migration destination? And, more importantly, what do the records reveal about the motivations of John Lovejoy, III, the subject migrant of this study? To answer these questions, it is necessary to look at how family connections, especially those connections created through marriage, encouraged the migration process and affected decisions such as *where* to migrate as well *when* to migrate.

⁸⁵ Abbott *MS*; Blunt Family; see also Helen M. Blount Prescott *Blount and Blunt* (Washington: Press of W.F. Roberts, 1902).

⁸⁶ Bailey, *Historical Sketches of Andover*, 11; Greven, *Four Generations*, 46.

⁸⁷ Charles Frederic Farlow, Comp., *Ballard Genealogy: William Ballard (1603-1639) of Lynn Massachusetts and William Ballard (1617-1689) of Andover, Massachusetts and their Descendants* (Boston: Charles H. Pope, 1911), 64-67: citing Essex County Probate Records, 304, 387-390; See also Greven, *Four Generations*, 85; n.b. the actual probate of William Ballard, Essex County Probate Court Docket No. 1604 is missing its contents. In addition, there is no evidence of this gift of land in the ESCRD.

Plainfield developed differently from other towns in Windham County, such as Woodstock or Pomfret. Land on the Connecticut frontier was subject to the forces of intense speculation during the period between 1655 and 1720. Two of the major investors in Connecticut's wilderness during that time were the Winthrop family and Major James Fitch. The area which comprised the town of Plainfield was fraught with competing claims by these rival land owners, leaving only risk seeking and adventurous types to purchase this land which came with questionable ownership rights.⁸⁸

Due to the confusion in land titles stemming from the Winthrop and Fitch "double claims" in the early records of the town of Plainfield—many of which were subsequently pronounced valid or invalid by the Connecticut General Court—tracing the order of settlement and development in Plainfield is near to impossible.⁸⁹ Nevertheless, the records do show that in the early 1690s, sixteen families from Massachusetts purchased land from the Winthrops. By 1702, of the thirty-four "freeholders residing on the east side of the Quinebaug River," four men hailed from Chelmsford: John, Edward, Joseph and Benjamin Spaulding.⁹⁰ The Spauldings who are named in the early town records of Plainfield were not risk adverse if they chose to migrate to the town during its early settlement period. In Chelmsford, the Spauldings were a prominent founding family with large land holdings.⁹¹ They became an equally prominent land investment and land holding family when they migrated to Plainfield. John Spaulding of Chelmsford was born in 1657. He was the grandson of Edward Spaulding, one of the earliest settlers in

⁸⁸ Martin, *Profits in the Wilderness*, 47-58.

⁸⁹ Larned, *History of Windham County*, 87; Bushman, *From Puritan to Yankee*, 87-88.

⁹⁰ Samuel J. Spaulding, *Spaulding Memorial: A Genealogical History of Edward Spaulding of Massachusetts Bay and his Descendants* (Boston, 1872), 16-17; Daniels, *The Connecticut Town*, 20-22.

⁹¹ Abbott *MS*, Ballard Family; Hannah also may have been known as "Anna;" Spaulding, *Spaulding Memorial*, 26.

Chelmsford. In 1681, John would marry Hannah Ballard the daughter of William Ballard, a member of Andover's eighteen founders.⁹² He would leave Chelmsford accompanied by his uncles and cousins immigrating with his wife and children to Plainfield some time before 1699.⁹³ The kinship connection between the Spauldings and the Ballards was strong. This is evidenced by records which show that Hannah's brother, William Ballard, along with his family, made the decision to join their Spaulding in-laws in Plainfield by 1714, if not earlier.⁹⁴

Both William Ballard and John Spaulding were uncles to Bathsheba Blunt, wife of John Lovejoy, III. In contrast to her uncles, Bathsheba's father, William, chose to stay in Andover until his death in 1709. Three of his children, however, followed their uncles William and John into the Connecticut wilderness to settle themselves and their families in Plainfield. The Blunts who chose to migrate instead of staying in Andover were all siblings: brother Ambrose, sister Bathsheba and brother Samuel. Based on his actions in choosing migration, John Lovejoy, III would appear to have been more attached to his wife's family than his own. Perhaps this is understandable since he lost both of his parents at such a young age. By the time he decided to migrate, John III and Bathsheba had two sons and one daughter born in Andover. Having only fifty acres for his sons to inherit between them, John III understood that a move to the Connecticut wilderness, where he could acquire more acres on which to settle his sons, would be beneficial to his family's financial future.

⁹² Clarence Almon Torrey. *New England Marriages Prior to 1700* (1985; repr., Baltimore: Genealogical Publ. Co., 1997), 695; see also Emily W. Leavitt, transcriber, "Chelmsford Marriages." *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* 51 (Oct 1897), 447-448.

⁹³ Larned, *History of Windham County*, 91.

⁹⁴ For a visual representation of these family connections, see Appendix 2; the only record found thus far is a deed that places William in Plainfield as of 1714. A Connecticut vital record or an Andover record that placed him there earlier could not be found; see also Abbott *MS*, Ballard Family.

Vital records indicate that at the age of thirty-two John Lovejoy III, along with his wife Bathsheba and their children, Benjamin, Richard and Anne—at ages six, three and one, respectively—made the move to Plainfield some time in 1712 or 1713, just as land disputes in the area were beginning to be settled with some finality.⁹⁵ Bathsheba gave birth to her son Timothy in Plainfield on October 13, 1713.⁹⁶ When John III and Bathsheba migrated to Connecticut, they must have stayed with family for a time because deed records in Massachusetts and Connecticut show that John III waited until 1714 to sell land in Andover and then buy in Plainfield. On February 1, 1714/15, “. . . John Lovejoy of Andover, husbandman . . . in consideration of One hundred & fifty-five pounds . . . paid by William Foster . . . do hereby . . . grant . . . all my upland and meadow . . . described viz fifty acres of upland . . . and meadow . . . formerly belonging to my Grandfather . . .”⁹⁷ Interestingly, the deed John III received from his grandfather, which was drafted when he was three years old, was not recorded until February 28, 1714/15 and John III’s deed to Foster, dated February 1, 1714/15 was subsequently recorded on March 1, 1714/15, thereby keeping the title to the land in good order.

Within nine days, John, III put the sale proceeds from his land in Andover to good use, purchasing an established farm in Plainfield from a cooper named Phillip Prest. John, III paid “160 pounds money of New England” for “several tracts of land in Plainfield and over Moosups river, and also taking a part of [] meadow. 1st parcel begin 2 meadow lots; the other division of plowland; with all buildings, fences, orchards

⁹⁵ Andover VR and Abbott *MS* Lovejoy Family.

⁹⁶ Connecticut VR.

⁹⁷ ESCRD 28: 128.

and improvements, both parcels to be bound together.”⁹⁸ Although the exact acreage is not stated in the deed from Prest to John, III the description indicates that John, III acquired more land in Plainfield than he sold in Andover, and for roughly the same price.

Within seven years, John, III felt comfortable selling Samuel Blunt “. . . a tract of plowland in Plainfield in the north part thereof and is by estimation eight acres be it more or less.”⁹⁹ But like his father, John Lovejoy, III would die early. He passed away at the age of thirty-seven in 1727/8, leaving his widow Bathsheba with two surviving sons, Benjamin and Richard, ages twenty-two and eighteen respectively, along with three surviving daughters, Anne, Naomi and Freelove, aged sixteen, ten and seven.¹⁰⁰

No acreage amounts are stated in any of the deeds which were recorded in Plainfield with regard to land owned by John III, either during his life or after his passing.¹⁰¹ Even if we presume he doubled the amount of land he owned when he settled in Plainfield—fifty acres in Andover to one hundred acres in Plainfield—this would then leave his surviving sons with only fifty acres each on which to raise their families, leaving each of them in the same situation their father was in when he decided to migrate to Plainfield. This is perhaps why Benjamin Lovejoy would first migrate to Brimfield, Massachusetts some time before 1731, and finally end his migratory search for land

⁹⁸ Town of Plainfield, Deeds, 2: 80; note that Vol. 1 of Plainfield deeds is missing pages 91-99—there may have been deeds into John III which could not be examined although that is doubtful since it would appear that John III traded his land in Andover for land in Plainfield for approximately the same price and it is unlikely that he had additional capital until later in life to purchase more land. Further, this is the only deed granting land to John, III found in the Plainfield records.

⁹⁹ Town of Plainfield, Deeds, 2: 158.

¹⁰⁰ The exact date of the death of John Lovejoy, III and Bathsheba Lovejoy is uncertain as no vital records appear to be recorded as to this event in the State of Connecticut. In addition, as of the date of this writing, no probate or administration of the estate of John Lovejoy, III has been located and therefore no value is able to be assigned to the value of his estate at date of death. The best clue as to the date of his death are provided in subsequent deeds recorded in Plainfield when John III's son, Benjamin, deeds out his interest in the land, received through his father's estate. Thus, the ages stated here of both John, III and his children at the date of death are best estimates based on the documentation available.

¹⁰¹ Town of Plainfield, Deeds, 3: 99, 141.

opportunity when he settled in upstate New York near the western Massachusetts border. Prior to leaving for Brimfield, Benjamin would deed his interest in his father's estate to his brother Richard, who would stay in Plainfield until around 1771.¹⁰²

In 1771, Richard was 62 years of age. He and his son, William, found their land opportunity in the new frontier of Sharon, Vermont, which was then a part of New York. The meetings for the Proprietors of Sharon, Vermont were held in Plainfield from 1763 to 1766. Clearly Richard and William were attendees. When the lots for the town of Sharon were being drawn, Richard and his son William received allotments. Both Richard and William were original grantees of land parceled out in Sharon, Vermont, each receiving 100 acres in the first division. Father and son made the decision to migrate and settle in Sharon some time between the years 1771 and 1776.¹⁰³ Richard was soon chosen to be highway surveyor in town and old family genealogies record William as a soldier during the American Revolution.¹⁰⁴ And with their decision to strike out into the wilderness of Vermont, the son and grandson of John III furthered his dream of owning a sufficient amount of land so as to improve the family's economic position.

¹⁰² Town of Plainfield, Deeds, 3: 141; Evelyn M. Wood Lovejoy, *History of Royalton, Vermont with Family Genealogies 1769-1911* (Burlington: Free Press Printing Company, 1911), 855.

¹⁰³ Sharon, Vermont Land Records, 1: 50; see also Lovejoy, *History of Royalton*, 855.

¹⁰⁴ The position of highway surveyor would qualify as civil service during the Revolutionary War for lineage organizations such as the Daughters of the American Revolution or the Sons of the American Revolution; Lovejoy, *History of Royalton*, 855.

~Chapter 2~

The Migrants

1726-1750

Caleb Abbott

Caleb Abbott came into the world on August 3, 1704, the second to last son in a family that would grow to have a total of five sons and one daughter.¹⁰⁵ His father, William Abbott, Sr., was a member of the first generation to be born in Andover. His mother, Elizabeth Gary, was amongst the second generation to be born in Roxbury. Both of Caleb's parents had strong ties to Roxbury through both his maternal and paternal grandparents.

¹⁰⁵ Caleb's parents, William Abbott and Elizabeth Gary would have 12 children together, but only 6 would survive their parents, five boys and one girl. See Andover VR and Abbott *MS*, Abbott Family.

Caleb's maternal grandparents, Arthur Gary and Frances Warman Gary, emigrated from Bishop's Stortford in England as a married couple some time between 1635 and 1638. Based on vital records found in England, they would have been in their mid to late thirties when they made the decision to leave England for Massachusetts. They brought with them two sons, William and Nathaniel, both under the age of ten when they began their journey. The first evidence of their arrival in Roxbury is found in early records which reveal that Arthur was admitted as a Freeman in the Colony on March 14, 1638/9. Their last son, Samuel, would be born in Roxbury shortly thereafter on September 22, 1638.¹⁰⁶

Caleb's paternal grandparents, George Abbott and Hannah Chandler, also emigrated from Bishop's Stortford in England when they were young. Hannah arrived and settled in Roxbury with her parents, William and Annis Chandler, in 1637 when she was about seven years old. Although no records exist which confirm George's passage to Massachusetts, he first appears in Roxbury when he marries Hannah on December 12, 1646.¹⁰⁷ She was sixteen years old on the day of her marriage to George's thirty years of age. Some time before their marriage, George, as one of the original eighteen men of Andover, seized the opportunity to acquire land on the frontier where he was granted a four acre home-lot near the town center.¹⁰⁸ Before marrying, George made sure he

¹⁰⁶ Lawrence Brainerd, *The Descendents of Arthur Gary of Roxbury, Massachusetts with an Account of the Posterity of Stephen Gary of Charlestown, Massachusetts and also a South Carolina Family of this Name* (Boston: T.R. Marvin & Son, Printers, 1918), 27-33; *Massachusetts, Town and Vital Records, 1620-1988*.

¹⁰⁷ Ancestry.com. *U.S., New England Marriages Prior to 1700* [database on-line]. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations Inc, 2012. Original data Clarence A. Torrey *New England Marriages Prior to 1700* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 2004).

¹⁰⁸ Greven, *Four Generations*, 46; see also Marjorie Wardell Otten, "The Two George Abbot Families of Andover, Massachusetts" *The Essex Genealogist*, 20 (2000): 19-23.

established himself in the settlement before bringing his young wife to her new home in the Massachusetts wilderness.

Over the span of twenty-five years, Hannah would give birth to thirteen children—eight sons and five daughters. Eleven of George and Hannah’s children would survive to maturity, seven of those children being sons who would need land on which to settle and start their own families. According to English custom brought with the early settlers to Andover, the men who married George’s three daughters would be responsible for their welfare and thus, women generally do not enter into the land inheritance or acquisition equation during this time period.¹⁰⁹

When George died on December 24, 1681, he was sixty-six years of age. At death, the inventory of his estate filed with the Essex County Probate Court states that his real property, including “Housing and Land and Medows of all sorts” was worth £387 pounds, indicating that he died owning a total of between one hundred and fifty and two hundred acres in Andover.¹¹⁰ For a young man who, by all indications left in the records, came to the wilderness with very little, he ended his life with some wealth and comfort to pass on to his sons.

The records with regard to the transfer of George’s land are murky, at best. It would seem the actual deeds, if there were deeds transferring the land, were not deposited for recording at the Essex County Registry of Deeds. The only indication we have of the land transfer between George and his sons, then, is found in his will. He left his entire estate to his wife Hannah, for her life “considering her care and dilligans in helping to get and save what God hath pleased me with, all and also her prudens in management of the

¹⁰⁹ Ulrich, *Good Wives*, 148.

¹¹⁰ Essex County Probate Docket No. 43, Probate of Estate of George Abbott; see also Abbott *MS*, Abbott Family; see also Greven, *Four Generations*, 60, n 25.

same.” Excepted from George’s gift of real property to Hannah was a “double portion” which, he states has already been given to his eldest son, John. George also gives Hannah the discretion to distribute the remainder of the land amongst his six other sons, but directs her to treat them equally unless “by their [disobedient] carige to hire there be rasen to cut them short.”¹¹¹ No deeds, nor a probate of Hannah’s estate, were found to indicate whether she followed her husband’s wishes—or not. But what we do know is that a division of one hundred and fifty to two hundred acres between George and Hannah’s seven sons left them with just enough land to provide for each of their families, but not enough land to in turn provide for George and Hannah’s grandsons and their future families.

Hannah and George’s third surviving son, William, who was the father of our subject migrant Caleb Abbott, is an illustrative case in point. William was born in Andover on November 18, 1657. He married Elizabeth Gary of Roxbury in Andover on June 19, 1682 when he was twenty-five and she was twenty-one.¹¹² Although there are few deed transfers of record to show what land William owned and by which he supported his family during his adult life, there are indications in his will that his father George gave him “land on the west side of the Shashin River and all my meadow laying to it which was given me by my father Abbott.”¹¹³ William also states in his will that he purchased additional meadow land from Samuel and Edward Phelps, which, according to

¹¹¹ Essex County Probate Docket No. 43; Abbott *MS*, Abbott Family; Greven, *Four Generations*, 82n-83n. This statement is also based on the fact that further divisions of land by the Town of Andover were either complete by the time the 3rd generation came of age or available town land was not offered under attractive terms to those of the 2nd and 3rd generation whose families had been amongst the first to arrive and settle in Andover. See Greven, *Four Generations*, 62-64.

¹¹² Andover VR.

¹¹³ Essex County Probate Court Docket No. 148, Probate of Estate of George Abbott.

the deed, contained “by estimation about three acres.”¹¹⁴ William notes another parcel of “meadow that I bought of my Uncle Cap’t Thomas Chandler . . .” which contained an uncalculated number of additional acres of land for his sons to inherit.¹¹⁵

Together, William and Elizabeth would have twelve children, ten boys and two girls. Two of the boys would die very young and would not survive their parents. Elizabeth Gary Abbott died on November 26, 1712 and William followed her less than a year later, dying on October 24, 1713. Elizabeth was fifty-one years old when she passed in 1712 and William had attained the age of fifty-six when he died in 1713. Their oldest son, William, died on October 23, 1713 and their next oldest sons Ezra and Nathan passed on November 19, 1712 and January 9, 1712, respectively. William and Elizabeth’s oldest child, named Elizabeth for her mother, died on May 4, 1718 at the age of thirty-five. All of the children who survived William and Elizabeth—except for their daughter Elizabeth—were minors upon the death of their father William, which resulted in a complicated administration of his estate in the Essex County Probate Court.¹¹⁶

William’s will is dated January 2, 1711/12, a little over two years before his death. In the will he excludes his oldest then living son, William, from any gifts of land and instead leaves him a token £5 pounds, stating that “the reason I give him no more is because I gave him to my uncle William Geary att about three years old he promising to

¹¹⁴ ESCRD 19: 172.

¹¹⁵ This deed does not appear to be of record as William died in 1713. The only deed found from a Thomas to a William is dated 1714 and is recorded at ESCRD 31:25.

¹¹⁶ The children who survived William, such that they would inherit, are as follows: James Abbott (1694-1787), Paul Abbott (1697-1752), Phillip Abbott (1699-1748), Hannah Abbott (1701-1788), Caleb Abbott (1704-1778) and Zebediah Abbott (1706-1769); William Abbott, Jr. who survived his father by 4 days (William Sr. passing on October 24, 1713 and William Jr. passing on October 28, 1713 was provided for in William. Sr.’s will as follows: “I give my son William Abbott five pounds and the reason I give him no more is because I gave him to my uncle William Geary (wife Elizabeth’s brother) att about three years old he promising to take him as his own and provide for him which he has done to god satisfaction I hop on all accounts.” Thus, according to the law of the Colony at the time, if William, Jr. had any heirs, they would not be entitled to an inheritance as William, Jr. was specifically excluded from the will.

take him as his own and provide for him which he has done to god satisfaction I hop on all accounts.”¹¹⁷ William then proceeded to divide the land he acquired from his father and through purchase, making very specific bequests to his then living sons Ezra, Nathan, James, Paul and his youngest, Zebediah, who is directed to share William’s homestead with his mother and his brother Nathan. William notes that he already gave his daughter Elizabeth “twenty pounds which she is all redy paid upon her marriage by me” and he remembers to provide his younger daughter Hannah with “twenty pounds in or as money when shee shall come of age or upon her marage.”¹¹⁸

William appears to have been acknowledging his lack of sufficient land on which to settle his sons in clauses five and six of his will. He gives his second and third youngest sons Paul and Caleb “twenty pounds in or as money to be put out to a trade.” There is also indication in William’s will that his son Nathan was learning the art of weaving to compliment the husbandry skills he would have needed to exercise on his land inheritance if he had not died before his father when he was but twenty years old in 1712.¹¹⁹

As noted, the available records have left only a vague indication of the amount of land William owned on his death. Rough estimates would indicate that of George’s one hundred and fifty to two hundred acres, William likely received between twenty-one and twenty-eight acres from his father’s estate and he then purchased additional acres over time. Historians have estimated that twenty-five to fifty acres were necessary to sustain a

¹¹⁷ Wife Elizabeth’s brother; see Brainerd, *The Descendents of Arthur Gary*, 36.

¹¹⁸ Essex County Probate Court Docket No. 148, Probate of Estate of William Abbott.

¹¹⁹ Essex County Probate Court Docket No. 148, Probate of Estate of William Abbott.

family in colonial Massachusetts depending on its quality.¹²⁰ William, then, clearly recognized that his sons—particularly his younger sons—would need to find a way to support themselves other than husbandry because he simply could not give them that living through a land inheritance.

As fate would have it, William’s sons Ezra and Nathan would both die in 1712, a year before their father. William did not change his will after the death of his two oldest sons, who both stood to inherit under the will. Instead, because no changes were made, the last clause of the will controlled at William’s death, which directed that “if it should please the lord to take a way any of my children by death be fore thay come of age to Receive thair portions than his or her portion to be equally divided among the surviving children excepting [my son] William. . .” When William passed on October 24, 1713, all of his children, except for Elizabeth, were minors.¹²¹ The will would be administered over time as the surviving sons came of age in accordance with the last clause of the document. The sons of William partitioned the land amongst themselves under the supervision of the Essex County Probate Court. As stated in the court documents, the partitions of land between William’s sons are for small amounts of land amounting to divisions of between two and five acres¹²² Presuming William died owning between twenty-one and twenty-eight acres, this division of two to five acres between each of his five surviving sons would be considered equitable, yet it would leave each of them impoverished in a society where land equaled wealth.¹²³ Even with a trade with which to

¹²⁰ Kenneth Lockridge, “Land, Population and the Evolution of New England Society, 1630-1790: 62-80; Brian Donahue, *The Great Meadow* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), esp. ch. 8.

¹²¹ When he passed, William’s oldest, William, Jr. was 28 (and he died 4 days after his father), James was 19, Paul was 16, Philip was 14, Hannah was 12, Caleb was 9 and Zebediah was 7.

¹²² Essex County Probate Docket No. 148, Probate of Estate of William Abbott.

¹²³ During the 17th and early 18th centuries, the New England economy was agrarian in nature and therefore all wealth was derived from ownership of land.

produce income, William's sons would need more than two to five acres each if they hoped to support families of their own.

The deed transfers between William's sons and the executor of his estate, Timothy Abbott, are as complex as the administration of his estate. Much of the complexity found in the deed transfers stems from the same reasons the estate was so difficult to administer—the early deaths of those sons named in William's will and the fact that those sons who did survive William remained minors for a number of years. Analysis of the recorded deeds indicate that as soon as each of William's younger sons turned twenty-one they would quickly release all their "Right, Share & title" to either their oldest surviving brother James or to the Executor of William's estate, his brother Timothy Abbott.¹²⁴ The purpose of these multiple deed transfers which took place over a span of years was to clarify title in William's oldest surviving son, James, who appears to have been the only member of William's family to remain in Andover.¹²⁵

Once the deed transfers were complete and all matters of William's estate were settled, our subject migrant, Caleb Abbott, chose Windham County, Connecticut as his destination. He was not alone in his decision to move to Windham County. His three brothers, Paul, Philip and Zebidiah would also migrate to Windham County, along with his sister, Hannah. Zebidiah would not become a permanent resident of Windham County. Instead, he would return to Andover where he would die in 1769.

The exact dates of migration for the four siblings is difficult to determine, but vital records help narrow Paul, Phillip and Hannah's migration to some time between the

¹²⁴ ESCRD 40: 170-171; 47: 175-176; 48: 276; 69; 185-187.

¹²⁵ It is thought that James Abbott stayed in Andover and married Abigail Farnem on January 6, 1713 when he was 20 years old. His other siblings, Paul, Philip, Hannah, Caleb and Zebidiah all migrated to Windham County, Connecticut; see Abbott *MS*, Abbott Family.

years 1721 and 1723. During these years, vital records in Andover report Hannah's intention to marry "Abiel Holt of Windham, Conn, Feb. 12, 1721-2."¹²⁶ Paul Abbott migrated in 1722 when he was twenty-five years old, bringing with him his wife, Elizabeth Grey Abbott and their one year old son, Nathan. Paul and Elizabeth would have their second child, William Abbott, in Windham, Connecticut on February 18, 1723.¹²⁷ Phillip Abbot would migrate from Andover as a bachelor when he was twenty-three years old and within a year, he would marry Abigail Bigford in Windham, Connecticut on October 8, 1723.¹²⁸

Caleb would follow his two brothers and sister, but not until after he turned twenty-two in 1726 and had the legal capacity to finalize matters with regard to the land he acquired from his father's estate. Two deeds were drafted and signed by Caleb in 1725/26. In both documents he states his occupation to be that of a "taylor." The first deed is dated January 12, 1725/6 and in it he grants to his brother James "My share rights and title" in a number of meadow parcels for the "sum of five pounds and five shillings in Currant Money of New England."¹²⁹ This deed appears to be a portion of the land owned by his father and apportioned to his sons in the administration of his estate. The second deed is dated July 16, 1725 and in it Caleb states he is of the Town of Andover—which reveals he had yet to leave for Connecticut as of the date of this deed. In this second deed, he conveys to his uncle Timothy Abbott for the sum of "Forty three pounds Currant Money of said province . . . Three Acres be it more or less . . . On which my Father William Abbott late of Andover did dwell." Further examination of the deed reveals that

¹²⁶ Andover VR.

¹²⁷ Connecticut VR

¹²⁸ Connecticut VR.

¹²⁹ ESCRD 69: 187.

the three acre parcel also included Caleb's "right & Share in the Buildings which as my Father William Abbotts late of Andover together with all my part & Share in the Common Rights which fall to me out of the Common Rights of my Father William Abbott."¹³⁰ This additional information provided in the deed helps explain the high value placed on the three acres of land by his Uncle Timothy.

About a month later, at twenty-two years of age, young Caleb Abbott travelled down the Connecticut Path, arriving in the Town of Pomfret. The evidence for his arrival is found in a deed dated August 18, 1726 which grants ". . .for 120 pounds current money paid by Caleb Abbot of Pomfret, taylor, 72 acres and 3 rods . . ."of land located in Pomfret.¹³¹ The grantor of the deed is Caleb's uncle, Samuel Gary. Samuel Gary and Nathaniel Gary were brothers of Caleb's mother, Elizabeth. Nathaniel was one of the "original 13" involved in the Roxbury purchase of Woodstock from Major Fitch in 1686.¹³² And like John Chandler, both Nathaniel and Samuel saw opportunity in the Connecticut wilderness and participated as land speculators, buying large tracts of land for a small capital investment; one example being Nathaniel's payment of £12 pounds to Fitch in 1699 to secure five hundred and fifty acres in the southeast corner of Woodstock.¹³³

It is likely this family connection with the Garys is what encouraged Caleb and his siblings to try their luck on the Connecticut frontier. In addition, other familiar connections from Andover, such as the Chandlers, had already settled in the area and whose reports would give these migrants an understanding of what they could expect in

¹³⁰ ESCRD 48: 276.

¹³¹ Pomfret Deeds, 1: 267.

¹³² Bushman, *From Puritan to Yankee*, 87; Larned, *History of Windham County*, 15, 155-156, Brainerd, *The Descendents of Arthur Gary*, 38-48.

¹³³ Larned, *History of Windham County*, 156.

the new settlement before undertaking the actual move. Probate and deed records demonstrate that Caleb and his siblings recognized there was little opportunity for them in Andover after their father's death. In contrast, Windham County, Connecticut offered these young Abbott migrants land, family connections and the potential for economic advancement.

Caleb would spend five years establishing himself in Pomfret before marrying Elizabeth Paine on December 31, 1731. Elizabeth was twenty-one years to Caleb's twenty-seven on the day of their marriage. Elizabeth and Caleb had clearly been seeing one another for some time, as their first child, named Caleb for his father, was born in Pomfret three months prior to their marriage. Elizabeth and Caleb would have seven children in Pomfret over the span of fourteen years, three boys and four girls.¹³⁴ The young family would receive an infusion of cash in 1734. According to Pomfret deed records, "Caleb Abbott, taylor, of Pomfret and his wife Elizabeth ye eldest daughter of Samuel Pain late of Pomfret, yeoman, deceased intestate; we acknowledge to have received 150 pounds current money from our loving brother Samuel Pain of sd Pomfret, yeoman, eldest son of our deceased father Samuel Pain in full for our part & portion of our sd fathers estate . . ." ¹³⁵ In exchange for the one hundred and fifty pounds—a substantial cash sum at the time—Elizabeth and Caleb would release all of their rights to land claims against her father Samuel's estate. This release of rights was following

¹³⁴ Connecticut VR; Caleb and Elizabeth's children were as follows: Caleb (1731-1778); Elizabeth (1733-1742); Hannah (1734-1813); Sarah (1736-1761); Sarah (1736-1761); Mary (1739-1757); Samuel (1743-1826); William (1745-1832).

¹³⁵ Pomfret Deeds, 2: 134. Massachusetts Vital Records reveal that Samuel Paine was originally from Rehoboth, Massachusetts, much like Benjamin Sabin, one of the original men from Roxbury who came to settle Windham County. This fact is significant because it shows how Benjamin Sabin, a man who left record of his presence in Rehoboth, Roxbury and Andover helped to connect inhabitants of each of these towns to land opportunities in Windham County, Connecticut.

customs of the time, giving precedence to Elizabeth's brothers' claims to their father's land.

By 1749, Caleb made the decision to sell his land in Pomfret and move northwest to Union, Connecticut, located in Tolland County. Deed records in Pomfret indicate that with the passage of twenty-three years, Caleb was able to make a tidy profit on the exact piece of land he bought in 1726. In this same deed we also find that Caleb's profession had changed and he no longer considered himself to be a "taylor." Instead, the deed as drafted describes "Caleb Abbot of Pomfret, Yeoman, for 1,100 pounds in bills of public credit of ye old tenor by Steven Abbott of Windham, husbandman, 72 acres and 3 rods of land in Pomfret."¹³⁶ This shift in Caleb's named occupation shows that his move to Pomfret allowed him to rise both socially and economically—when he arrived in Pomfret he was a man with a trade—when he left Pomfret, he was a man who owned and managed land. There is no indication in the recorded land records that Caleb ever purchased another parcel of land in Pomfret and the metes and bounds description of the deeds in 1726 and 1749 are identical, indicating that Caleb sold Steven Abbott his homestead in Pomfret at a £980 pound profit.¹³⁷

On June 22, 1749, Caleb bought land in Union, Connecticut from an Elisha Loomis of Windsor. In 1756, the town was sparsely populated with only about 500 inhabitants. Caleb would live in Union for twenty-nine years with his wife, Elizabeth, until both passed in 1778. Their three sons, Caleb, Jr., Samuel and William would all reside in Union for a time with their father, but only Caleb, Jr. would remain in the town.

¹³⁶ Pomfret Deed Records, 3: 200.

¹³⁷ The comparison of the purchase and sale price of this same parcel of land (£120 pounds in 1726 and £1,100 pounds in 1749 does not take into account the considerable inflation of those years, but it nevertheless does make it clear that land values were increasing in Connecticut over time as the area became more settled.

His brother Samuel would move north to Windsor, Vermont at some time before December 2, 1778 where he married his second wife, Lydia Stow. Caleb, Jr.'s youngest brother, William, would move west in 1792 to Cambridge, New York.¹³⁸ All Caleb's daughters would move with their husbands away from Union to locations in western Massachusetts, Vermont or New York.¹³⁹

Caleb, Sr.'s probate in Union is missing and the deed records in town are incomplete. Thus, it is difficult to measure what Caleb, Sr. was able to pass on to his children at the end of his life. Both Caleb, Jr. and William participated in the Revolutionary War. Caleb, Jr. served as a waiter to General Israel Putnam of Connecticut and William served under Captain Thomas Lawson during the Lexington Alarm.¹⁴⁰ Caleb, Jr. lost his life in 1778 during his service and died twenty eight days before his father passed on January 31, 1778. There is no evidence that Samuel Abbott joined the cause, but his move to Vermont may have been a connected to the inheritance he received from his father's estate. After the War for Independence, western lands were being opened up for settlement. William's move to New York in 1792 appears to have been a benefit for his service during the Revolution.

Caleb, Sr. was much like his grandfather, George Abbott, in that he started life with little in the way of property. When he settled in Andover, George was granted a

¹³⁸ Charles Hammond and Harvey Merrill Lawson, *The History of Union, Connecticut* (New Haven: Press of Price, Lee & Adkins, Co., 1893), 506, 253-254.

¹³⁹ For Hannah, see State of Vermont. Vermont Vital Records through 1870. New England Historic Genealogical Society, Boston, Massachusetts; for Sarah see: Find A Grave Memorial # 72955048 and John Alonzo Boutelle, Compiler, *The Burke and Alvrod Memorial, A Genealogical Account of the Descendants of Richard Burke of Sudbury, Mass.* (Boston, Mass., 1864), 24; for Mary: *Abiel Abbot and Ephraim Abbot, Compliers, A Genealogical Register of the Descendants of George Abbot of Andover, George Abbot of Rowley, Thomas Abbot of Andover, Arthur Abbot of Ipswich, Robert Abbot of Branford, Ct and George Abbot of Norwalk, Ct.* (Boston, MA, 1847), 61.

¹⁴⁰ Hammond and Lawson, 253-254, Henry P. Johnson, ed. *The Record of Connecticut Men in the Military and Naval Service during the War of Revolution 1775-1783* (Hartford: The Case, Lockwood & Brainard Company, 1889), 23.

four acre home lot, the smallest size of all the parcels conveyed to settlers prior to 1662.¹⁴¹ George would eventually turn these four acres into between one hundred and fifty and two hundred acres by the end of his life. Caleb, Sr. began his adult life with a little over three acres and a trade he could ply. With a bit of pluck and the help of his family, Caleb seized opportunities granted to him just as his grandfather did. Although records with regard to the end of his life are scant, it is clear Caleb Sr.'s decision to strike out into the wilderness of Connecticut helped him improve his family's economic and social position in colonial New England society.

¹⁴¹ Greven, *Four Generations*, 46.

George Holt

Twenty-nine year old Sarah Ballard Holt gave birth to her son, George Holt on Mary 17, 1677, eight years after her marriage in Andover to Henry Holt Sr.¹⁴² Both Sarah and Henry were part of the first generation to be born in Andover.¹⁴³ Both of their fathers, William Ballard and Nicholas Holt, set sail to Massachusetts during the Great Migration. William left England on the ship *Mary & John* when he was about sixteen years old, arriving in the port of Boston in May 1634. He would then follow the Reverend Thomas Parker and most of his fellow passengers and families to settle in the area known to the local Indians as Agawam, which would be renamed Ipswich by the early English settlers.¹⁴⁴

Nicholas left England around April 5, 1635 on the ship the *James*. He was about twenty-seven years old when he made the passage and it is believed that he travelled with his wife Elizabeth Short Holt and their daughter Hannah, although there is no record of their passage with him.¹⁴⁵ They arrived in Boston on June 3, 1635 and made their way to Newbury, where they settled for about ten years.¹⁴⁶ Shortly after arriving in Massachusetts, both William and Nicholas would recognize the opportunity offered to them at the new settlement called “Cochichowicke,” each of their names being amongst the list of original proprietors who formed the Town of Andover.

¹⁴² Andover VR; Abbott *MS*, Ballard Family.

¹⁴³ For Henry: Robert Charles Anderson, *The Great Migration: Immigrants to New England 1634-1635*, Vol. 3, G-H, (Boston: New England Historic Genealogical Society, 2003), 400; Abbott *MS*, Holt Family; for Sarah: Andover VR; says "Sara Ballerd"; Farlow, *Ballard Genealogy*, 67; Abbott *MS*, Ballard Family.

¹⁴⁴ Samuel G. Drake, Ed., *NE Historical and Genealogical Register for the Year 1855*, 9 (Boston: Samuel Drake, Publisher, 1855), 267.

¹⁴⁵ Abbott *MS*, Holt Family.

¹⁴⁶ Anderson, *The Great Migration*, 398-400.

Nicholas Holt listed his profession as “tanner” when he boarded the ship *James*.¹⁴⁷ Although he had a profession, it is clear Nicholas was interested in land. After his arrival in Newbury he was able to amass a four acre house lot, along with another one hundred acres or so before he removed to Andover with Elizabeth and their three daughters, Hannah, Elizabeth, and Mary and one son, Sam.¹⁴⁸ Their son Henry was their first child to be born in Andover in 1644.¹⁴⁹ They would have two more boys and two more girls in Andover.

Nicholas was thirty six years old when he moved his family to Andover. He would be granted a fifteen acre lot prior to 1662, second only to Simon Bradstreet and John Osgood, who both received twenty acres each. The amount of land granted to Nicholas in this first division of town land is a mark of the respect granted to him by his fellow settlers—as well as a measure of his wealth upon arrival in the new settlement. Over time, Nicholas would increase his land holdings to at least four hundred and fifty-seven acres in Andover.¹⁵⁰

Elizabeth Short Holt would die on November 9, 1651 at the age of forty-six. After the passage of almost two years, Nicholas would marry Hannah Bradstreet Rolfe on June 10, 1658. She was the daughter of Humphrey Bradstreet who settled in Ipswich. At the time of her marriage to Nicholas, Hannah was a young widow with two children,

¹⁴⁷ In later documents, such as recorded deeds, Nicholas states his occupation to be that of a “dishturner,” which is defined as “a worker who turns wooden dishes on a lathe”; see Merriam-Webster.com. [http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/dish turner](http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/dish%20turner) (Accessed October 26, 2014); see also ESCRD 32: 130.

¹⁴⁸ *The Winthrop Society Ships Index*, <http://www.winthropsociety.com/ships.php> (Accessed September 15, 2014); Greven, *Four Generations*, 60; Newbury Proprietors’ Records from 1635; Abbott *MS*, Holt Family; *Vital Records of Newbury Massachusetts to the End of the Year 1849*, (Salem, MA, 1911), pg 227.

¹⁴⁹ See Abbott *MS*, Holt Family. There is no record of Henry’s birth in either Newbury or Andover. Andover is presumed as the family appears to have moved to Andover during the year 1644. Henry is the father of George, the subject migrant of this sketch.

¹⁵⁰ Greven, *Four Generations*, 46, 60.

Hannah and Daniel. Her first husband, Daniel Rolfe, of Rowley and Ipswich passed away in 1654 at the age of thirty-eight.¹⁵¹ On the day they married, Hannah was thirty-three years old to Nicholas' fifty. Nicholas and Hannah would have two children together, daughter Rebecca born November 14, 1662 and son John born January 14, 1664.¹⁵²

The Essex County Probate Court records show no entry under the name Nicholas Holt. It is possible the reason for the absence of an estate which needed probate rests in the fact that Nicholas engaged in 17th century estate planning, transferring his property to his sons at the end of his life before he died. Unlike many of the other early Andover fathers, deed records reveal that during the time period of 1681 to 1685 Nicholas gifted each of his five sons some portion of the four hundred and fifty-seven acres he acquired over time through division of the town's original common land.¹⁵³ On December 15, 1681, Nicholas gifted his second son Henry, "for consideration of Natural Love & Affection . . . three score acres of upland . . . which said Henry Holt's house Now stands [and] one hundred & thirty acres of my Great Division of upland . . ." ¹⁵⁴

Henry had built a house on his father's land, married and started his family twelve years before Nicholas actually deeded him the land he was farming to support his young family. Henry grew up in Andover knowing Sarah Ballard, her parents and her siblings.

¹⁵¹ There does not appear to be a vital record correspondent to Daniel Rolfe's death; see James Savage, *A Genealogical Dictionary of the First Settlers of New England Showing Three Generations of Those Who Came Before May, 1692*, Vol. 2 (Boston: Little, Brown & Company, 1860), 455; also note that Rolfe was also spelled "Roffe" and "Roff."

¹⁵² The children of Nicholas and Elizabeth are as follows: Hannah (b. England-1728), Elizabeth (1636-1683), Mary (1638-1700), Sam (1641-1703), Henry (1644-1719), Nicholas (1647-1715), James (1651-1690), Pricilla (1653-1653), Sara (? - 1690); the children of Nicholas and Hannah are as follows: Rebecca (1662-?) John (1664-1687).

¹⁵³ ESCRD 6: 129; 7: 152; 23: 88; 32: 130; 34: 255; see also Philip J. Greven, Jr. "Family Structure in Seventeenth-Century Andover, Massachusetts" *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Third Series, 23: 2 (Apr., 1966), 248-251, Greven, *Four Generations*, 88-92.

¹⁵⁴ ESCRD 34: 255-256.

The couple married on February 24, 1669 when he was twenty-five and she was twenty-one. Sarah would have fourteen children with Henry over a period of twenty-six years, nine boys and five girls. Sarah and Henry also would have the extraordinary good fortune to see all of their children survive them, except for their baby, Benjamin, who died on September 15, 1703 at the age of seven.

According to records at the Essex County Registry of Deeds, it does not appear that Henry increased his land holdings in Andover beyond what his father, Nicholas, gave him. Having inherited roughly one hundred and thirty acres, Henry did not have much of an inheritance to offer his eight sons—certainly not enough on which they could each settle a family. Henry dealt with his sons’ inheritance much as his father had, deeding land to each of them shortly before his death rather than forcing his family to go through the probate process.

Evidence of Henry’s position with regard to his estate can be found in two instances: first, there is no probate filed in the Essex County Probate docket; second, three months after the death of Henry, in a deed dated March 25, 1719, the “Surviving Children of our Honored father Henry Holt of Andover late dec.d for each of our Selves & our heir do forever . . . Quitclaim all our Estate both real and personal of whatever kind or nature . . . w. ch our Honored Father had not disposed of in his lifetime . . .to our Honored Mother Sarah Holt . . .”¹⁵⁵ This deed confirms that Henry had handled his estate by gifting the majority of his property away before his death. And the deed also acts as a way of cleaning up any loose ends that Henry may have left, functioning much like a residual clause in a will. Although no probate appears to be recorded under Sarah’s name in Essex County, on March 30, 1721, she does deed some acreage and division land in

¹⁵⁵ ESCRD 36: Page 253.

Andover to her “beloved son Josiah Holt.”¹⁵⁶ After this deed, the record is silent as to Sarah’s ownership of any other real property.

A review of the deeds from Henry to his sons which made their way to the Essex County Registry for recording reveals that each son received around thirty acres, more or less, from their father before his death in 1719.¹⁵⁷ In a number of deeds from Henry, particularly if the son seemed to have been granted a lesser amount of land overall, language such as “also two rights & one half of Second Division . . .” or “also one Right & half of second Division Land” would appear in the document, suggesting that Henry held rights to the common land in town that had not yet been distributed and which he was passing on to his sons.¹⁵⁸ Thus, although the record shows that Nicholas deeded Henry one hundred and thirty acres of land which he then would attempt to divide between his nine surviving sons, it is clear that Henry’s sons likely held more acreage than what is stated in the deed records located in Essex County.

George Holt, the subject migrant of this sketch, illustrates this point. There is no deed of record which confirms the amount of land which George received from his father Henry before his death in 1719, nor are there any deeds which record George purchasing land from other men in town. Yet an examination of the grantor index at the Essex

¹⁵⁶ ESCRD 100: 213.

¹⁵⁷ Some sons certainly appear to receive more than 30 acres and some sons appear to receive at most, about 15 acres. ESCRD 34: 253-255; 35:130-132. It is clear that, for whatever reason, some of the deeds from Henry Holt, Sr. to his sons did not get recorded. The evidence for this rests in his son, George Holt, who is the subject migrant of this sketch. A review of the grantee index at the Essex South County Registry of Deeds reveals no entry for the name George Holt for the recording time period of 1640-1799. However, the Grantor Index for the same time period shows that George did acquire land by some means and sold it prior to his migration to Windham County, Connecticut. Based on the land records found for his brothers, it is a reasonable assumption that George received a deed from his father that was never recorded. Many deeds in this study are dated years earlier than their recording date which illustrates that the importance of deeds was most certainly understood by these New Englanders and deeds were kept in a safe location until recording was necessary.

¹⁵⁸ ESCRD 34: 253-255; 35: 130-2.

County Registry of Deeds reveals George selling parcels of land equaling roughly sixty-four acres during the years 1725-1726.¹⁵⁹

George would marry three times while he lived in Andover. He married his first wife, Elizabeth Farnum, on May 22, 1698 when he was twenty-one and she was twenty-six. They would have five children together, two boys and three girls. Only their daughter, Elizabeth, would not survive childhood. Elizabeth Farnum Holt would die on September 28, 1714. George would then marry his second wife, Pricilla Preston, within four months of Elizabeth's death. Pricilla was almost twenty years old on her wedding day whereas George was thirty-eight. Pricilla gave birth to their first and only son, Elias, on January 16, 1716. Both mother and child would pass within days of the birth. Over a year later George would marry his third wife, Mary Bisbee, on June 17, 1717. Mary was only twenty-four when she married George and they would have eight children together, four boys and four girls, their last three children being born in Hampton, Connecticut.¹⁶⁰

From the surviving records, it is likely Henry treated George much like his other sons and as his father treated him, perhaps settling George on land where he was allowed to build a house and farm for his family while Henry retained ownership.¹⁶¹ By the time George made the decision to migrate in 1726, he had five sons and sixty-four acres of land, which, if divided in fifths, equaled only about thirteen acres for each of them. So George and his sons were forced to look outside of Andover to the wilderness of Windham County, Connecticut for new land ownership opportunities.

When George migrated in 1726 he was fifty years old and, based on surviving records, his wife and children travelled with him down the Connecticut Path. His wife,

¹⁵⁹ ESCRD 45: Page 232; 53: 5.

¹⁶⁰ Andover VR; Abbott *MS*, Holt Family; Connecticut VR.

¹⁶¹ Greven, *Four Generations*, 268.

Mary, was thirty-three years old upon migration, giving birth to their daughter Priscilla in Andover just a year before on September 4, 1725. Although the exact date of migration can not be determined, George and his family must have left some time after the birth of Pricilla on September 4, 1725 and February 5, 1726, the date George acquired from Ebenezer and Mary Abbee for “410 pounds in good public bills of credit . . . [a] 100 acre lot of land on part whereof [Abbee’s] dwelling house & barn stand lying in Windham, Connecticut and scituate on both side of the Little River.”¹⁶²

In preparation for migration, George sold fourteen acres of land on July 3, 1725 to Captain Peter Osgood for “twelve pounds in Province Bills of Credit.” In this deed George notes that he is both a “Weaver & Husbandman,” indicating that he likely had another source of income besides farming.¹⁶³ A second deed, dated February 24, 1726, helps to pin down a more exact time George left Andover with his family. Upon migration, George had children who ranged in age from twenty-seven years old to less than one year, the majority of them being under ten years of age.¹⁶⁴ Thus, even though George had acquired a new farm in Windham, Connecticut for his family, they needed to wait out the New England winter before they could make the journey. This, then, explains why in this second deed of fifty acres to Peter Russell for consideration of “Three Hundred & Fifty-Five Pounds Current Money of New England” he reserved “to myself all my Household Staff and all my Moveables whatsoever . . . [along with] the House for myself & Family to Dwell in and to hold my Household Goods . . . [until] the

¹⁶² Windham Deeds, F: 358.

¹⁶³ ESCRD 45: 232.

¹⁶⁴ George’s children in 1726 were the following ages: Zebediah, b. 1700—27 yrs; Elizabeth b. 1706—20 yrs.; Dinah, b. 1710—16 yrs; George, b. 1713—13 yrs; Mary, b. 1717—9 yrs; Jonathan, b. 1718—8 yrs; Josiah, b. 1721—5 yrs; Nehemiah, b. 1723—3 yrs; Pricilla, b. 1725—less than 1 yr.

fifth day of June next Ensuing the date hereof.”¹⁶⁵ In the sale of his Andover farm, George negotiated a “rental period” with the buyer, Peter Russell, so that he could prepare his family for the move to Connecticut, leaving only when he was certain his baby daughter Pricilla was strong enough for travel and spring had arrived in New England.

George’s oldest son, Zebediah was twenty-seven years old and unmarried when he migrated with his father and family to Windham, Connecticut. At the time of migration, Zebediah better fits the “Turnerian” idea of who would be attracted to staking a claim on the Connecticut frontier than his father, George, who was fifty and needed to relocate not only himself but also his wife and eight children. A review of the records at the Essex Registry of Deeds shows that Zebediah owned no land in his own right at the time of the move. This fact suggests Zebediah was dependent on his father to raise the needed capital to purchase land elsewhere; it also indicates George, not Zebediah, was the deciding force in the family when it came time to migrate to Windham, Connecticut.

What factors made George and his son Zebediah choose Windham as their migration destination? As with other migrants discussed in this study, a web of interfamily kith and kin can be created around them to show how they were connected to Windham County before they actually began their migration experience.¹⁶⁶ However, their closest connections to the town of Windham were George’s brother Paul and his cousins, Abiel and Robert Holt. None of the Holts from Andover appear to have migrated with the first wave that went to New Roxbury and Woodstock in the late 17th century. Instead, the Holts waited until after 1712 when cheap land with good soil was

¹⁶⁵ ESCRD 53: 5.

¹⁶⁶ See Holt Family Connections Chart in Appendix 2.

opened up by other settlers in an area which would come to be known as Windham Village.¹⁶⁷ Abiel and Robert Holt were among some of the first to buy land in the area, although the remaining land records show they were not speculators such as Sabin or Chandler who bought large tracts of land at a very early date for a small investment and then risked settlement in the wilderness.¹⁶⁸

From an examination of the records in both Andover and Windham, it appears cousin Abiel migrated to Connecticut some time between 1721 and 1722 at the age of twenty-four with his young wife, Hannah Abbott Holt.¹⁶⁹ Their children would all be born in Connecticut. When they travelled down the Connecticut Path to their new home, Abiel and Hannah were likely accompanied by Abiel's twenty-six year old bachelor brother, Robert.¹⁷⁰ Essex County deed records reveal that George's brother Paul also migrated to Windham at some time after April 1722.¹⁷¹ At the time he left Andover, Paul was thirty-eight years old and had been married to his wife (and cousin) Abigail Holt for ten years. They moved to Windham with their two children, Abigail, six, and Paul, two, both of whom had been born in Andover.

With a significant number of close family in the area, George's network in Connecticut would have helped give him a good understanding of property values and what he could purchase in Windham if he sold his land and farm in Andover. In making his decision, George had to take into consideration a number of things, the first being whether the move would benefit his family economically. He sold his farm and sixty-four acres in Andover for £367 pounds and then bought one hundred acres with "dwelling

¹⁶⁷ Larned, *History of Windham*, 77.

¹⁶⁸ Larned, *History of Windham*, 77-82.

¹⁶⁹ ESCRD 69: 187.

¹⁷⁰ Andover VR; Connecticut VR.

¹⁷¹ ESCRD 69: 187; 43: 25.

house & barn” for £410 pounds, thereby gaining about forty acres at a price of roughly £1 per additional acre.¹⁷² Thus, adding forty acres to his estate allowed the possibility of increasing the amount of land he could give his five sons from thirteen acres each in Andover to twenty-five acres each in Windham.

Second, being fifty years old with a number of small children in tow put restrictions on what George could consider for purchase; at his stage of life, it would be much more difficult for him to carve a place for his family out of the wilderness in 1726—even with the help of his older sons—than it would have been for him to have done so twenty years earlier before he had such a large family. This may be why he purchased an established house and one hundred acre farm in Windham from Ebenezer Abbe and his wife Mary, rather than attempting to find raw land with substantial acreage on the frontier edge, which could be had at a more favorable price.¹⁷³ The very first settlers in the town of Windham, such as Ebenezer Abbe’s father, arrived around 1696-7, but the area was not fully opened for settlement until 1712. George, then, was not a true “wilderness pioneer” seeking his fortune on the frontier. Instead, he decided to migrate fourteen years after the town of Windham was open for settlement, which indicates that the opportunity to acquire more land for his family may have been only one of many factors he considered when moving his family away from Andover.

Land records in Windham reveal that George never added acreage to the farm he bought in 1726. He would remain in Windham for twenty-two years, where he died in

¹⁷² ESCRD 45: 232; ESCRD 53:5; Windham Deeds, F: 358.

¹⁷³ Ebenezer Abbe’s father, Samuel, was one of the original settlers in Windham, purchasing about 500 acres of land in the Center from Benjamin Howard and moving to the area around 1696-7. By arriving and establishing the family in Windham early, Samuel’s children benefitted from the acquisition of plentiful cheap land which could be developed into farmland to be sold at a higher price at a later date, as is illustrated by Ebenezer Abbe’s deed to George Holt. See Cleveland Abbe and Josephine Genung Nichols, *Abbe-Abbey Genealogy in Memory of John Abbe and his Descendants* (New Haven: The Tuttle, Morehouse & Taylor Company, 1916), 8-11, 20-22; also Larned, *History of Windham County*, 61, 77-78.

the summer of 1748 when he was seventy-one years old.¹⁷⁴ George prepared his will in 1746, but prior to his death he began to convey parcels of the farm to his sons, much as his father had in Andover. The first conveyance took place in 1734, when George deeded “for love & affection I bare my son Zebediah Holt a tract of land in Windham in No. Easterly part, being part of ye hundred acres lot of land which I bought from Ebenezer Abbe begin ye northerly side of ye lot about 40 acres by measure . . .”¹⁷⁵ At the time Zebediah received land from his father, he was thirty-five years old and had been married to Sarah Flint Holt for almost two years.¹⁷⁶ Perhaps this land transfer to George’s oldest son was meant as a wedding gift to the young couple.

Following his father’s model, George would wait until a year before his death to convey other portions of the farm to his younger sons. On May 1, 1747 and June 1, 1747, George deeded land to his sons Jonathan and Nemiah “for the love I bare my son(s).” The deeds contain descriptions but no acreage. It is remarkable that there is no record of George deeding land to his son, George, Jr., yet he is mentioned in his father’s will, given a legacy of only “. . .fifteen pounds old tenor to be paid one year after my decease.”¹⁷⁷ This bequest to George, Jr. is in sharp contrast to their father’s mention of his oldest son Zebediah, who is given “ten shillings old tenor the rest of his portion I have given in full by deed.” Genealogical histories claim that George, Jr. removed to the neighboring town of Hampton and that his son Benjamin served in the Revolutionary War “. . .with [the army] under Washington, when his headquarters were in Cambridge.”¹⁷⁸ After George’s

¹⁷⁴ Town of Windham Probate Records, George Holt

¹⁷⁵ Windham Town Deed Records, G: 520.

¹⁷⁶ Andover VR, Connecticut VR.

¹⁷⁷ Town of Windham Probate of Estate of George Holt deposited at the Connecticut State Library, Hartford, Connecticut.

¹⁷⁸ The Town of Hampton is made up of lands originally shared by the towns of Pomfret and Windham. It was incorporated from the towns of Pomfret, Brooklyn, Canterbury, Mansfield, and Windham in 1786;

death, his son Nehemiah would serve in the French and Indian War and three of his grandsons would serve in the Revolution.¹⁷⁹

George mentions all of his other surviving children in his will, providing those daughters who were not yet married with dowries and dividing what land he had retained “to Jonathan Holt & Nemiah Holt and to their heir for every after my decease all my real estate not disposed of equally to be divided for quantity and quality . . .”¹⁸⁰ George’s youngest son, Nathaniel, was only fourteen when his father passed away. His father left him no land, but a legacy of “one hundred and ten pounds old tenor to be paid at the age of 21. . .” Nathaniel lived to receive his legacy and on December 16, 1756, at the age of twenty-two he married twenty-one year old Phebe Canada in Hampton, Connecticut.¹⁸¹

When George Holt died in late spring 1748, most of his children—both sons and daughters—were also living in Windham County, Connecticut. His children who migrated with him in 1726 remained in Windham County for the remainder of their lives, even after their father’s death.¹⁸² The deed records in Windham do not show that George’s sons expanded their land holdings beyond what was gifted to them by their father. By making the choice to migrate to Connecticut in 1726 at the age of fifty,

Daniel S. Durrie, *A Genealogical History of the Holt Family in the United States: more particularly, the descendants of Nicholas Holt of Newbury and Andover, Mass., 1634-1644, and of William Holt of New Haven, Conn.* (Albany: J. Munsell, 1864), 37.

¹⁷⁹ *Sons of the American Revolution Membership Applications, 1889-1970*, Louisville, Kentucky: National Society of the Sons of the American Revolution. Microfilm, 508 rolls; Volume: 199; SAR Membership Number: 39708; Durrie, *A Genealogical History of the Holt Family*, 20; Henry R. Johnston, Ed. *Record of Service of Connecticut Men in the War of the Revolution*; 1. (Hartford: Adjutant General, 1889).

¹⁸⁰ Windham Town Probate Records, George Holt; here it is interesting that George acknowledges that land quality is an important measure of its relative worth.

¹⁸¹ Ancestry.com. *Connecticut, Church Record Abstracts, 1630-1920* [database on-line]. Provo, UT, USA: 2013. Original data: Connecticut. Church Records Index. Connecticut State Library, Hartford, Connecticut; Ancestry.com; Ancestry.com. *Early Connecticut Marriages* [database on-line]. Provo, UT, USA: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2012. Original data: Bailey, Frederic W. *Early Connecticut Marriages as Found on Ancient Church Records Prior to 1800* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1997).

¹⁸² This statement is based on vital records in Windham County for those children of George who could be traced and followed. Research shows that a number of them seem to “disappear,” both in official records and family genealogies from the 1840s to early 1900s.

George was able to acquire enough additional land so as to maintain an economic status quo for his sons in that the acres they inherited would allow them to support their own families. Yet based on the records left for examination, it appears that George was neither able to nor wanted to acquire additional land such that partible inheritance could continue on with his grandsons. George's choice to move his family to Windham, then, seems to have been calculated to benefit only his sons and perhaps his daughters—but only if they made economically advantageous marriages to men with sufficient lands of their own.

The Holt family was blessed with great fertility and healthy children. Unlike the stories of the other families considered here, the Holts were lucky in that their families included many births where the children lived to adulthood. However, in terms of land ownership in an agrarian society where fathers practice partible inheritance, the economics for the family becomes difficult for future generations. George's grandfather, Nicholas Holt, was second only to John Osgood in terms of his original land holdings in Andover, receiving a fifteen acre home lot prior to 1662, which he turned into the ownership of four hundred and fifty seven acres by the end of his life.¹⁸³ Nicholas divided those four hundred and fifty seven acres amongst his five sons at the end of his life.

By the time George received his inheritance, he was entitled to only sixty four acres of land with five sons to provide for. While his success in moving to Windham County seems to pale in comparison to his grandfather Nicholas' achievements, it is clear George was limited by time and circumstance and he did the best he could for his family in accordance with his means.

¹⁸³ Greven, *Four Generations*, 46.

William Osgood

William Osgood was the great-grandson of John Osgood, Sr., one of the most prominent founders of the town of Andover, Massachusetts.¹⁸⁴ John, Sr. came to the New England frontier from Wherwell, England located in Hampshire County. He hailed from an established middle-class English family who owned the land they farmed. John, Sr. would maintain the status of landowner and respected yeoman upon his settlement first in Newbury and then in the town of Andover.¹⁸⁵ Over time he and his heirs would grow the one hundred and sixty-three acres he originally owned in Newbury to six hundred and ten acres in Andover.¹⁸⁶

Like many of the Great Migration generation, John, Sr. was a restless sort.¹⁸⁷ He migrated from England on the ship *Confidence* in April 1638 with his wife, Sarah Booth Osgood and their five children aged between nine and one year of age.¹⁸⁸ The family would live for a short time in Ipswich after arrival in Massachusetts but they would move on to Newbury later that summer. Not long after purchasing land and settling in Newbury, John, Sr. would be one of the most vocal petitioners requesting to establish the

¹⁸⁴ William Osgood (b. 1697) is technically part of the fourth generation of Osgoods in Andover. This is due to the fact that John Osgood was 50 in 1646 when the town of Andover was founded, whereas other men who are included in the list of founders range in age from 24 years (John Lovejoy, Sr.) to 36 years (Nicholas Holt) to 43 years (Simon Bradstreet). John Osgood was senior in both years and experience when he arrived in Andover. Other migrants in this sketch who are in the third generation from their family's original English arrival include Caleb Abbott (b. 1704), Philemon Chandler (b. 1671) George Holt (b. 1677) and John Lovejoy (b. 1680). Thus, for this study, *which generation* they are included in is less important than *when they were born* and how they reacted to their landholding opportunities when they came of age in a society where land meant wealth.

¹⁸⁵Osgood Field, "A Contribution to the History of the Family Osgood" *The New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, 20 (1866), 22-24.

¹⁸⁶ Greven, *Four Generations*, 60.

¹⁸⁷ Linda Auwers Bissell, "From One Generation to Another: Mobility in Seventeenth-Century Windsor, Connecticut," *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Third Series, 31, No. 1 (January 1974): 81-83.

¹⁸⁸ At the time they set sail from England, John, Sr. was 43 years old, his wife Sarah was 40. In 1638, their children who also travelled on the *Confidence* were as follows: Sarah, 9 years old, John, Jr., 7 years old, Mary, 5 years old, Elizabeth 2 years old and William 1, year old. Sarah may have been pregnant upon migration with their fifth child, Stephen, who was born in Newbury, Massachusetts in 1638. Sarah and John's last child, Hannah, would be born in Andover in 1644; see Ira Osgood, ed. *A Genealogy*, 1.

area to the north, now known as Hampton, New Hampshire. John's actions suggest that within months of arrival, he may have already felt restive on his one hundred and sixty three acres in the coastal town of Newbury as he began looking outside of the town for additional land ownership opportunities.¹⁸⁹

John, Sr. saw the opportunity for land offered in the new wilderness plantation of "Cochichowicke" and he was among the first settlers to move there with his family around 1646 or perhaps a little earlier. Because he came to Andover with some wealth and position—evidenced by the fact that in the initial parceling out of land, John, Sr. was given twenty acres of land—his land division was second only to Simon Bradstreet who would become Governor of Massachusetts.¹⁹⁰ Osgood's time in Andover would be brief as he would die at fifty-six years of age on October 24, 1651. He left behind his widow Sarah, along with two sons and four daughters.¹⁹¹

In his will dated April 12, 1650, John, Sr. gives "unto my sonn John Osgood my home and house lot with all accommodations thereunto Belonging Broaken Up and Unbroaken Up land with all the meadow ther Unto."¹⁹² In 1651, John, Jr. was twenty years old and his younger brother, Stephen, was thirteen. All of John, Sr.'s children are mentioned in the will with a monetary bequest. However, only his oldest son, John, Jr., received land as his inheritance, as would have been custom in England.¹⁹³

¹⁸⁹ Ira Osgood, ed., *A Genealogy*, 1-9.

¹⁹⁰ Greven, *Four Generations*, 46.

¹⁹¹ Andover VR.

¹⁹² Ira Osgood., ed., *A Genealogy*, 6-7

¹⁹³ John Osgood, Sr. is the only first generation migrant out of the five families studied here who practiced patrimonial inheritance, a practice where the eldest son was given the father's entire estate. In Osgood's case, his practice may have been a holdover from his time in England, thus showing that Osgood remained "English" until his death. The other first generation fathers considered in this study all practiced partible inheritance, whereby they tried to divide their estates equitably between all of their sons. This may have been a reaction to the amount of land available and owned by these early settlers, giving them the freedom

John, Jr. was very young when he received his inheritance from his father as compared to other members of Andover's second generation, who often had to wait until their mid-thirties or so before they would receive land bequests from their fathers.¹⁹⁴ John Jr.'s early inheritance allowed him to marry early and he chose Mary Clements from Haverhill to be his wife on November 15, 1653. On the day of his wedding, John was twenty-two to Mary's sixteen years of age.¹⁹⁵ They would live in the house given to John, Jr. by his father, where the first recorded Andover town meeting would be held in 1656.¹⁹⁶ Mary gave birth to their first child, John III, in Andover on September 3, 1654. Over the next twenty-seven years, Mary and John would have a total of thirteen children, seven boys and six girls. Of their thirteen children, four boys and four girls would survive their father's death.¹⁹⁷

In 1659, John, Jr. diversified his occupation as a husbandman and became a licensed innkeeper allowed to "sell wine and strong waters."¹⁹⁸ Along with running an inn and managing his substantial farm, John, Jr. also took active interest in government and military service on behalf of the town of Andover. He was a representative to the General Court from 1668 to 1669 and again from 1689 to 1690. From 1670 to 1682, he also served as one of Andover's select men. Both he and his wife, Mary, however, were no strangers to trouble with the law.¹⁹⁹

to divide their land amongst all of their sons. For a further discussion, see Greven, *Four Generations*, 97, n. 40.

¹⁹⁴ Greven, *Four Generations*, 84-99.

¹⁹⁵ Mary was born in England around 1637, see "Ancestral File," database, *Family Search* (<http://familysearch.org/pal:/MM9.9.1/MWBC-Z15>; accessed 2014-10-22), entry for Mary CLEMENTS; Andover VR..

¹⁹⁶ Ira Osgood, ed., *A Genealogy*, 9.

¹⁹⁷ Andover VR.

¹⁹⁸ Abbott *MS*, Osgood Family.

¹⁹⁹ Ira Osgood, ed., *A Genealogy*, 9-12.

In 1687 when Sir Edmund Andros came to power in Massachusetts, John, Jr. found himself imprisoned for nine or ten days when he led Andover in its opposition to taxes enacted by Andros and his counsel and then imposed without the consent of the General Court, the colony's representative legislative body.²⁰⁰ Five years later, at the age of fifty-five, Mary found herself, along with many others in Andover, accused of witchcraft and arrested in September 1692. In mid July, Joseph Ballard sought the help of two of Salem's afflicted girls, hoping to expose the "witches" who were affecting his health and that of his wife. Many of Andover's residents were called forth, blindfolded and then made to lay their hands on the afflicted. If the Salem girls fell in fits, then those Andover residents accused of witchcraft were arrested. Mary Osgood, along with five other women, was then taken to Salem and pressured to confess. Mary was amongst those who confessed to the magistrates in Salem. During her interrogation on September 8, 1692 she stated "that about two years ago, she was carried through the air, in company with deacon Frye's wife, Ebenezer Baker's wife, and Goody Tyler, to five mile pond, where she was baptized by the devil, who dipped her face in the water and made her renounce her former baptism . . ." ²⁰¹

Mary would recant her confession when she was later interviewed by Increase Mather, stating that her admission of witchcraft was due to the way her interviewers "so long and so violently urge[d] and press[ed] her to confess that she thought verily her life

²⁰⁰ When Sir Edmund Andros was appointed Governor of the Dominion of New England in 1686, he implemented a new tax system to the colonies, which was done without the consent of the assemblies, including the Massachusetts General Court. For further discussion, see Martin, *Profits in the Wilderness*, 41.; Ira Osgood, *A Genealogy*, 9, John Gorham Palfrey, *History of New England During the Stuart Period*, (Boston: Little, Brown & Company, 1870), 3: 523-525.

²⁰¹ The Salem Witch Trials Documentary Archive and Transcription Project, SWP No. 96.1 http://saalem.lib.virginia.edu/texts/tei/swp?term=mary%20osgood&div_id=n96.1&chapter_id=n96#n96.1 (Accessed October 4, 2014); see also Dee Liffman, *Raising the Devil: The Story of Witchcraft in Andover, Massachusetts* (North Andover: North Andover Historical Society, 1996).

would have gone from her.”²⁰² In an undated petition, Mary’s husband, John Osgood, Jr., and more than fifty other Andover residents, attested to the good character of Mary and the other Andover women who were imprisoned, stating that their confessions were unreliable because they were given under duress. This petition achieved its objective and Mary and a number of other Andover women were released. Mary would return home to Andover with her husband, John, Jr., in late 1692 or early 1693.

John, Jr. would die on August 31, 1693, a little over eight months after Mary returned home from her ordeal in Salem. He was sixty-two years old when he passed and it seems that his death was relatively unexpected, for he died intestate, without a will. However, from the documents filed in the probate records, it is clear John, Jr. knew that death was upon him and on or around August 21, 1693 he summoned neighbors to his house, including Dudley Bradstreet and Abigail Faulkner, to witness his oral will. After his death, both Bradstreet and Faulkner submitted affidavits to the court as to how John, Jr. wished to dispose of his estate. He first made provision for his wife Mary and then considered the division of his estate amongst his eight surviving children. Although the precise acreage is not stated in these affidavits, thereby making it difficult to determine from descriptions exactly how much land he intended to give to each of his four surviving sons, it is apparent that John, Jr. wished to make an equitable division of his six hundred and ten acres between each of them. Both Faulkner and Bradstreet agreed that he directed the “last division of upland & meadowe to be equally divided among his four

²⁰² Mofford, *And Firm Thine Ancient Vow*, 38, See also Charles W. Upham, *Salem Witchcraft* (1867; repr., Dover Publications, Inc., 2000), 589-592. See also The Salem Witch Trials Documentary Archive and Transcription Project, SWP No. 96.2 http://salem.lib.virginia.edu/texts/tei/swp?term=mary%20osgood&div_id=n96.1&chapter_id=n96#n96.1 (Accessed October 4, 2014).

sons: John, Timothy, Peter & Samuel.” John, Jr. also remembered each of his surviving daughters, giving “Mary, Lydia, Mehitable & Sarah twenty pounds apiece . . .”²⁰³

John, Jr.’s oldest son, John, III, was forty years old upon his father’s death. As was the case with other families in Andover at the time, it is likely John, Jr. allowed his sons to build homes on his land so that they could start a family, but did not convey the title to them until a later date or upon his death. Based on the affidavit of Dudley Bradstreet, John, Jr. desired to give his son John, III “one third of his . . . meadowe besides what he had given him a deed of before & a third part of his Boston meadowe . . .”²⁰⁴ The deed referred to in the affidavit is not recorded in the Essex Registry of Deeds, but this statement made by John, Jr. to Bradstreet indicates that John III certainly had established his own household—separate from his father’s—by 1693.

Upon his father’s death, John Osgood III had been married to his wife, Hannah Ayer Osgood of Haverhill, Massachusetts, for twelve years.²⁰⁵ As noted, he was forty years old when his father died. Based on the records left behind in John, Jr.’s probate it is reasonable to assume that John Osgood, III received about one hundred and sixty acres in Andover as his inheritance and that he had likely located a house for his family on these acres some time before his father’s death. When John, Jr. passed, John III and Hannah were parents to five boys, ages ten to less than one year old. Over a period of twenty-three years, Hannah would give birth to a total of ten children, of which six boys and one girl would survive the death of their parents, John, III and Hannah.²⁰⁶ John, III continued his father’s tradition of being active in politics, serving as selectman in

²⁰³ Essex County Probate Docket No. 20215, Probate of Estate of John Osgood of Andover.

²⁰⁴ Essex County Probate Docket No. 20215, Probate of Estate of John Osgood of Andover.

²⁰⁵ Andover VR.

²⁰⁶ Andover VR; Connecticut VR.

Andover for many years. He was also a lieutenant in the militia and he served as surveyor in the year 1693 and as constable in the year 1694. In 1719, he served as a deacon in the Andover church he attended.²⁰⁷

William Osgood was born on February 16, 1697 when Hannah was thirty-five and John III was forty-four years old. William was their fifth son. When John, III died on April 22, 1725, William was twenty-eight years old and he had been married but a year to Sarah Chickering of Boston.²⁰⁸ John, III died testate and his will, dated February 2, 1725, was allowed by the court in Salem on May 11, 1725. He provides for his wife Hannah, first, leaving her all of his “. . .money, household goods and moveables . . .” along with “. . .the one end of my Dwelling house: from top to the bottom to be kept in Repaier for her by my [youngest] son Josiah Osgood.” He continues on, declaring “And it is to be understood: That I have given and paid my sons: John, Ebenezer, Nathaniell, Jeremiah, Daniell, William Osgoods all their full portions out of my Estate in Lands by Deeds and other moveable and by money. . .”²⁰⁹ John, III conveyed portions of his property to his five sons through deeds of gift, a good number of them dated 1724, the year before his death.²¹⁰

²⁰⁷ Ira Osgood, ed., *A Genealogy*, 13.

²⁰⁸ Andover VR,

²⁰⁹ Essex County Registry of Probate Docket No. 20216, Probate of Estate of John Osgood.

²¹⁰ See ESCRD 44: 4-5; 44 :62; 45 :40; one of the more interesting conveyances is between John, III and his son, Jeremiah. Jeremiah was John, III and Hannah’s third son. According to a deed dated March 10, 1721/2, “John Osgood for and in consideration of that Parentall Love good will and affections which he hath and doth bear towards his well beloved Son Jeremiah Osgood . . .Joyner . . .as his full portion out of [my] Estate a certain tract of Land lying and being in the Township of Haverhill . . .” Here we see John, III conveying a parcel of land to his son Jeremiah when he is 34 years of age. But as the deed continues, we see that John, III can not fully convey the interest without the consent of Hannah who signs off stating that she gives “. . .up the Right of a fifth part in said Land which she had by Agreement out of her Father’s Estate . . Mr. Peter Ayers, Deceased. . .” Although it is rare to see a woman in early Colonial New England have an interest in land which was given to her through either a father or husband which did not contain some type of life interest only—and certainly if she was married she had no real control over the disposition of the land—this deed nevertheless shows that in early Colonial New England a woman’s legal

On October 15, 1724, William, received his portion of his father's estate for "consideration of that parentall Love, goodwill & affection that I have & do bear towards my well beloved son . . ." In the deed, John, III notes that William worked as a husbandman in the town of Andover and gives him "several parcels of Land & Meadow . . .the greatest part of them lying & being in the Township of said Andover . . .the first parcel [of land conveyed] lyeth on the West side of Haverhill Road where my said son William now Dwells partly upon . . ." ²¹¹ Here, it is clear that in accordance with custom, William had been allowed to build upon his father's land before it was actually deeded over to him. It is likely John, III wanted to give William the opportunity to prepare a home for his new wife Sarah, whom he married just two months earlier on August 13, 1724. ²¹²

Although there is no exact acreage stated in the deed, William receives from his father ". . .several parcels of Land & meadow" along with ". . .the land within these last bounds for Quantity and Quality when it shall be divided further. . ." From this language, it would appear that along with actual land, William was also given an expectation of receiving additional acres to be derived from his father's rights in the town's common lands, rights which were originally established by John Osgood, Sr., one of the eighteen men who founded of the town of Andover. ²¹³

rights to land ownership were acknowledged by society even if that woman's ability to fully exercise those legal rights was curtailed by both law and custom.

²¹¹ ESCRD 45: 40; It is interesting to note the language John, III uses in this passage: "*the greatest part of them lying & being in the Township of said Andover . . .*" This indicates that perhaps William, like his brother Jeremiah, was also given some land in the abutting town of Haverhill which was sourced from his maternal grandfather's estate as there is no indication in the records that John Osgood, III owned any land outside of Haverhill.

²¹² ESCRD 45: 40; Andover VR.

²¹³ The exact acreage owned by William at this point can not be precisely determined, but if it is assumed that his father, John III divided his land more or less equally amongst his five sons, that would mean William was given about 32 acres of land. This does not account for future divisions of town common land

Sarah and William would have two children in their house which sat on the west side of Haverhill Road. Their first child, a boy they named William, was born on June 3, 1725. A second child would come a year later on January 5, 1726, a girl they named Susannah.²¹⁴ Sarah died two years later on January 3, 1728, followed by her two year old son, William on June 3, 1728. A little over a year would pass before William would marry his second wife, Mary Appleton. Mary came from a large and prominent family in the nearby town of Ipswich, the second daughter of Isaac Appleton and Priscilla Baker Appleton.²¹⁵ When William and Mary married on January 26, 1729, he was thirty-two years of age to her twenty-eight—and William’s daughter Susannah had turned three just a few weeks before the wedding.²¹⁶ Mary would move to Andover with William and over the span of sixteen years she would give birth to nine children, five girls and four boys. Only three of their boys and one girl would survive to adulthood.²¹⁷

During the time he lived in Andover, William followed in his father’s footsteps. He was active in town politics and by 1746 he held the position of lieutenant in the local militia.²¹⁸ Because of his great grandfather’s recognition of substantial land ownership opportunities that could be found in the wilderness of Massachusetts during the late 1630s and into the 1640s, William and other descendants of John, Sr. continued to remain prominent members of the town of Andover, benefiting in many ways from the elder Osgood’s foresight. The actions of John, Sr. created a situation such that his heirs would continue to own enough land which would allow many Osgood nuclear families to be

he was entitled to nor does it account for the “extra” land in Haverhill that may have come through their mother Hannah and which was given to Jeremiah, which perhaps made additional land available to his brothers in Andover.

²¹⁴ Andover VR.

²¹⁵ W.S. Appleton, *A Genealogy of the Appleton Family* (Boston: Press of T.R. Marvin & Son, 1874), 5-8.

²¹⁶ Andover VR; Vital Records of Ipswich, Massachusetts to the Year 1850 (Salem, Mass., 1910).

²¹⁷ Andover VR.

²¹⁸ Andover VR; Ira Osgood, ed., *A Genealogy*, 21-22.

supported until around 1745 or so—one hundred years after the first settlement of “Cochichowicke.”²¹⁹

Of all of John, III’s sons, only William chose to move away from Andover.²²⁰ But his decision to do so came later in life. Rather than being a young man striking out into the wilderness, William was fifty years old when he travelled down the Connecticut Path to Pomfret. His wife Mary and their sons Zachariah, William, and Appleton migrated with him, along with their oldest child and daughter, Mary.²²¹ At the time of migration, William had three sons who, in accordance with custom, he felt bound to provide for in terms of a land inheritance. Based on the information provided by deeds drafted by William before he left Andover, he owned sixty-five acres of land.²²² If William remained in Andover, he would have been able to give only about twenty-one acres to each son in the event he was unable to procure more land locally. William, as an experienced husbandman, certainly recognized the need for additional acres if he were to provide a good start in life for each of his sons.

Unlike other Andover migrants who left within a year or so of their father’s death, William chose to stay in town for another twenty-two years. What, then, was the impetus for his migration? A review of the records on William’s wife’s side of the family reveals that Mary’s father, Major Isaac Appleton, died on May 22, 1747. Major Appleton’s probate, which was filed and allowed at the probate court in Ipswich, is incomplete and missing the most important documents—the will and its codicils. However, it is clear from the one document which does survive—a deposition of Elizabeth Stevens—that

²¹⁹ Greven, *Four Generations*, 216.

²²⁰ Andover VR; see also Abbott *MS*, Osgood Family.

²²¹ Ages upon migration: Mary, 46; Mary, 17; Zachariah, 15; William 7; Appleton, 4. Andover VR, Births, 282-289; Ipswich VR, Births, 27.

²²² ESCRD 91: 66; 92: 117; 92: 31; 92: 141.

when the will and other documents were presented to the court there was some family controversy around the disposition of the estate.

In the deposition Elizabeth states that “about two years ago past I lived at the house of Maj. Isaac Appleton and he has a will wrote by Mr. Wigglesworth and [Major Appleton] kept it by him some time before he signed it and I heard no uneasiness about said will until Mr. Oliver Appleton [his brother] and he had some discourse about it” at which time the will was then altered for 5 shillings. After the alteration, “ye said Major Delivered sd will to Mr. Oliver to keep and deliver to ye judge of probate after his death.”²²³ Elizabeth’s testimony appears to have been needed to verify the accuracy of the will and codicils presented to the court which, according to the documents in the file, were eventually allowed on November 14, 1748. It is unfortunate that the allowed will and codicils have been lost, but William’s actions in 1747-1748 nevertheless appear to be tied to Major Isaac Appleton’s death.

As noted, the Appleton family during the late 17th and early 18th century was socially prominent and they maintained extensive land holdings in Ipswich.²²⁴ Mary’s father, Isaac, inherited his farm in Ipswich from his father, Samuel Appleton, who divided his land, “embracing the whole original grant, between his four sons.”²²⁵ When Isaac died on May 22, 1747, he may well have left a portion of his estate to his daughter Mary and, because she was married, to her husband William as well. This additional

²²³ Essex County Probate Docket No. 787, Probate of Estate of Major Isaac Appleton

²²⁴ Thomas Franklin Waters, *Ipswich in the Massachusetts Bay Colony*, (Ipswich: *The Ipswich Historical Society* 1905), 1: 322-4

²²⁵ William Richard Butter, *New England Families, Genealogical and Memorial: A Record of the Achievements of Her People in the Making of Commonwealths and the Founding of a Nation*, (New York, 1913), 1;178; Isaac Appleton Jewett, *Memorial of Samuel Appleton of Ipswich, Massachusetts with Genealogical Notices of Some of His Descendants* (Boston, 1850), 21.

wealth infused into William Osgood's household is reflected in the deeds prepared just prior to his migration to Pomfret.

When William receives his portion of his father's estate in 1724, he is described as a husbandman living in the town of Andover.²²⁶ Just before migration, he deeds his property to his brothers Ebenezer, Josiah, Daniel and John and in the preamble he states: "I, William Osgood of Andover in the County of Essex and his Majesties Province of the Massachusetts Bay in New England, *Gentleman* . . ."²²⁷ In all of the deeds found of record, William also calls out his brothers' professions: Ebenezer is named as a gentleman, and Josiah as a blacksmith. In Daniel's deed, William identifies him as a yeoman and he considers his brother John to be a farmer. In colonial Massachusetts, "gentlemen" were considered above "yeoman." Under English law, which would have controlled in this time period, a yeoman was "a commoner; a freeholder under the rank of gentleman. . . . A man who has free land of forty shillings by the year; who was anciently thereby qualified to serve on juries, vote for knights of the shire, and do any other act, where the law requires one that is *probus et legalis homo*."²²⁸ How William and his brother Ebenezer achieved the rank of "gentleman" over their brothers can not be known, but using the term "gentleman" likely had as much if not more to do with economic status as it had to do with social status in colonial Massachusetts.

Although it is difficult to determine exactly when William migrated with his family, the first evidence of his presence in the town of Pomfret is through a deed dated

²²⁶ ESCRD 45:40.

²²⁷ ESCRD 91:166; 92:117; 92:3;92:141

²²⁸ Judy G. Russell, "The True Gentleman" from the website *The Legal Genealogist*, posted April 22, 2013 <http://www.legalgenealogist.com/blog/2013/04/22/the-true-gentleman/> (Accessed October 12, 2014); see also Russell's n. 6 & 7: Henry Campbell Black, *A Dictionary of Law* (St. Paul, Minn.: West, 1891), 538, "gentleman."; Black, 1251, "yeoman." The term "*probus et legalis homo*" means a good and lawful man, one whose character was unexceptional and who was qualified to serve on a jury or as a witness. Black, 946, "*probus et legalis homo*."

December 11, 1747. Before leaving, William, sold his approximately sixty-five acres in Andover to his brothers for £1,067. In Pomfret, the deed dated December 11, 1747 reveals that “Joseph Bowman . . . husbandman for four thousand one hundred and fifty pounds in current money or good bills of public credit old tenor from William Osgood of Andover, Mass., husbandman, convey[ed] to him a tract of land being upland meadow containing by estimation two hundred and twenty-five acres . . .”²²⁹ Several things are interesting about this deed record. The first is the number of acres William acquires in Pomfret—far more land than he had in Andover—along with the price he paid for those acres. Simple math shows that in Andover, his brothers paid £16 pounds per acre in 1747/8 whereas in Pomfret, William paid £18 pounds per acre. The difference between the two towns may not have been so much the actual price per acre then, but in the availability and quality of land for purchase.²³⁰ The last statement of note contained in this deed is the fact that William’s occupation in Pomfret reverted to what it was 24 years earlier when he received his portion of his father’s estate, that of a “husbandman.” An examination of future deeds recorded at the Pomfret town hall shows that within 10 years, William would have the moniker “Esq.” attached to his name. During the Georgian period in England, “Esq.” was derived from the word “Squire” which would indicate the person was a member of the gentry and owned a significant house and a large number of acres.²³¹ This understanding of the word would have been the same in colonial Connecticut during the 1740s through to the 1790s.

²²⁹ Pomfret Deeds 3:172.

²³⁰ £1,067 pounds / 65 acres and £4150 pounds / 225 acres.

²³¹ Charles R. Dodd, *A manual of dignities, privilege, and precedence: including lists of the great public functionaries, from the revolution to the present time*, (London: Whittaker and Co., 1843), 248.

Like his father and grandfathers in Andover, William would participate in politics, often serving as one of Pomfret's selectman; he would also act as the town's representative to the General Assembly.²³² In 1751, his reputation in town would be well established. That year he would serve on the building committee for the Abington Congregational Church, a hamlet of the town of Pomfret.²³³ Records also show that from 1747 until 1774, William remained active in the buying and selling of land in Pomfret, his focus being on acquisition. One of the most interesting transactions takes place in spring 1757, where William appears to take on a partner in the purchase of 144 acres of land in Pomfret "for Four hundred and thirty-two pounds current money of ye province . . ." from a William Brattle of Cambridge.²³⁴

William's partner in the deed dated April 1757 is one Ebenezer Holbrook, Esq., whose family originated from Roxbury. Ebenezer is likely one of two people in the town of Pomfret—either he is William's son-in-law, the husband of his daughter Mary, or Ebenezer is his son-in-law's father.²³⁵ Given the amount of the transaction, the Ebenezer in this deed is likely William's contemporary in town, the *father* of his son-in-law. Within a month, William Osgood Esq. deeds for "216 pounds lawful money paid by Ebenezer Holbrook, Esq. of Pomfret ye north half of a tract of land in Pomfret which tract is the said land Osgood & Holbrook lately purchased of William Brattle, Esq."²³⁶ We will never know the details of this land deal, but perhaps William and Ebenezer

²³² Larned, *History of Windham County*, 433-434.

²³³ "Abington Congregational Church, United States Department of the Interior, National Register of Historic Places Inventory Nomination Form Dated January 3, 1977: see also Larned, *History of Windham County*, 426-434.

²³⁴ Pomfret Deeds 4: 274.

²³⁵ Connecticut VR; Larned, *History of Windham County*, 37, 39, 171-173.

²³⁶ Pomfret Deeds 4: 275.

identified an opportunity for both their families and needed to pool their funds quickly in order to accomplish the purchase.

By the time of his death, William had acquired a total of six hundred and ninety-four acres, at a total cost of roughly £7.70 pounds per acre, land which he then divided evenly amongst his sons.²³⁷ As noted, when William and Mary migrated, they had three young sons, Zachariah, William and Appleton, along with their oldest daughter, Mary.²³⁸ The boys' inheritance was a likely motivation for the family's 1747 move to Pomfret and may have been fueled by generosity in will of their grandfather Isaac Appleton.

Deed records at the Pomfret town hall reveal that William conveyed one hundred acres of land to each of his sons well before his death. His oldest son, Zachariah, received "part of his portion of [William's] estate and the sum of one pound lawful money received [for a] tract of land in Pomfret containing by estimation one hundred acres of land . . . bought of William Brattle, Esq. . . ." ²³⁹ The deed to Zachariah is dated September 23, 1763. He was thirty-three years of age when he became a land owner in his own right. The one hundred acres may well have been a wedding present from his father as the deed is dated almost a year from the day he married Rachel Kinne in Pomfret.²⁴⁰

William gave land to both his younger sons, William, Jr. and Appleton, on March 29, 1774. Each of them also received one hundred acres "as part of [their] portion of my

²³⁷ Pomfret Deeds 3:71; 4:123; 4: 339; 5: 8; 5: 41; 6: 35; 6: 72; see also Probate of William Osgood, 7: 200-208. As stated, during the years 1747-1774, William would acquire and keep 622 acres of land. The total price he paid total for these acres was £ 5, 344 pounds. Using simple math and a calculation of £5,344 / 622, William's land acquisition costs out at £ 7.70 pounds per acre. This formula does not take into account numerous factors such as inflation and the quality of the parcels he was purchasing and/or how he used those parcels i.e. as pasture, tillable soil, timber or forest land, etc.

²³⁸ In 1747, William and Mary's boys were aged as follows: Zachariah, 15; William 7; Appleton, 4; daughter Mary, 17.

²³⁹ Pomfret Deeds 6: 207

²⁴⁰ Connecticut VR.

estate . . .”²⁴¹ William was thirty-four when he received part of his inheritance and Appleton was thirty-one. William, Jr. would marry Mary Scarborough a few months later on June 11, 1774. Appleton chose to wait ten more years before marrying Abigail Welch on November 11, 1784.²⁴²

William’s wife, Mary Appleton Osgood, passed at the age of seventy-four on November 12, 1775 but William would live to see both William, Jr. and Appleton serve the Revolutionary cause in the Connecticut Militia’s 11th Regiment under Captain Zebediah Ingals.²⁴³ William died in Pomfret at the age of ninety-four on September 20, 1791, his will a testament to the wise financial decisions made throughout his life.

The will of William Osgood, dated February 16, 1791, was allowed by the court on October 6, 1791. The principals of the revolution may have had some effect on him because the document starts out: “Will of William Osgood of Pomfret, *husbandman* . . .” and not *Gentleman* or *Esq.*²⁴⁴ His inventory totaled £2,094 pounds, of which £1,572 pounds was real property and £522 pounds was personal property. What is most striking is the amount of silver William owned at his death, in addition to the usual livestock, farm tools and furnishings. William remembered his daughter Mary with “50 pounds lawful silver money, also two of my large silver spoons and two of my silver tea spoons.” The acreage totals William describes in his will which he bequeaths to each of his sons include the three prior deeds. He leaves to “Son Zechariah Osgood about 214 acres of land . . . plus one large silver spoon and silver tea spoon . . . to son William Osgood, Junr. Five several pieces of land containing in the whole two hundred and fifty-nine acres and

²⁴¹ Pomfret Deeds 6: 75-77.

²⁴² Connecticut VR.

²⁴³ New York Historical Society, *Muster and Pay Rolls of the War of the Revolution, 1775-1783* (New York: New York Historical Society, 1916), 108-9.

²⁴⁴ Pomfret Probate District, Probate of William Osgood Vol. 7: 200-8.

half . . . [and] my silver headed sword and also one of my large silver spoons and one of my silver tea spoons . . . to son Appleton Osgood about two hundred and seventeen acres . . . one large silver spoon and one silver tea spoon.”²⁴⁵ The acreage stated in the will amounts to six hundred and ninety acres of land, which William split in an even fashion between his three sons.

William’s sons chose to stay and live the remainder of their lives in Pomfret. Their choice to stay is directly linked to William’s foresight and good business sense. From the available records, it is clear William created a situation where each his sons were settled on far more land than he and his brothers had received from their father in Andover. However, at this juncture it should be noted that William did not choose to migrate with his family to a town on the edge of the Connecticut wilderness, where they carved out an existence together. Instead, he chose a town which had been established for thirty years, the first settlement of the area occurring even earlier during the 1690s. Nevertheless, by taking a chance and migrating away from Andover, William Osgood replicated for himself and his family the economic prosperity enjoyed by his great grandfather and patriarch, John Osgood.

²⁴⁵ Pomfret Probate District, Probate of William Osgood, Vol. 7: 200-8

~ Chapter 3 ~

Conclusion

The Consequence of Migration

When John Osgood's great-grandson, William, looked out over his seven hundred acre farm in Pomfret, Connecticut, he could be satisfied that his sons and their families would be well provided for after he was gone. William's decision to migrate from the established town of Andover, Massachusetts to the more sparsely populated town of Pomfret in the northeast corner of Connecticut allowed him the opportunity to repeat his great-grandfather's migration experience in terms of land acquisition for himself and for his family.

By taking on risk and settling on the Massachusetts frontier in 1646, John Osgood managed to procure six hundred and ten acres of land and improve his family's overall economic position. William, with a character much like his great-grandfather's, also found himself willing to embrace the challenges and changes that come with migration. He exchanged the comforts and certainties of a large and extended family in the town of Andover for seven hundred acres of land in more rural Connecticut; and by 1791 he had acquired one hundred acres more than great-grandfather had by his death in 1651.

Although John and William's migration experiences are separated by decades, their stories are intertwined and must be told together. This is because William, like each of the other migrants discussed in this paper, was a beneficiary of the land claims made by forebears who were amongst Andover's first generation of settlers. And as these detailed sketches of the five migrants who left Andover for Windham County, Connecticut show, the combined effects of chance, circumstance and family connections all played an important role in a migrant's decision to leave and strike out into the opening frontier.

Philemon Chandler was the first migrant to leave Andover for Windham County in 1697. He was only twenty-six years old that year and based on his actions, he certainly was a young man on the make. Prior to his migration to Windham County, his uncle, John Chandler, Sr. and his cousin, John Chandler, Jr. had already moved to the area with other Roxbury men to settle the new town of Woodstock. It is likely Philemon resolved to leave Andover based on information that was sent back by his uncle. With these reports, Philemon could make an informed decision about the costs and consequences of such a move, understanding in advance that large tracts of land could be

had for a very low cost per acre.²⁴⁶ This fact is evidenced by a deed to Philemon which grants him seven hundred and fifty-five acres of land in Connecticut for the price of only £32 pounds.²⁴⁷

In most respects, then, Philemon seems to fit the American myth created by Horace Greeley's when in 1835 he wrote: "Go west, young man, and grow up with the country!"²⁴⁸ This mythology of the young *man* migrating on his own so as to create a better life for himself has permeated not only popular culture but it has also affected the way in which American migratory history has been interpreted. The town studies of the 1960s and 1970s give a nod to the women who were part of the settlement process of early New England towns, but the true focus of these works was on the father-son relationship or the patriarchal hierarchy within the Puritan family.²⁴⁹ As the story of Philemon shows, he certainly was a young man on the make, but within three years of settlement in Connecticut he had found his bride, Hannah Cheney, in Cambridge, Massachusetts. After their marriage in 1700, Hannah then travelled with her new husband down the Connecticut Path into the frontier of New England; and *together* they built up their farm and established a family in the new settlement of Woodstock.

In the past, women such as Hannah have gotten lost in the historical narrative of New England settlement and migration because men dominate the property and probate records, the purview of the social historian. In studies of the Great Migration generation,

²⁴⁶ Again, this emigrating kinship cluster model "headed by a father or an uncle" concurs with the finding of Patricia J. Tracey in her article "Reconsidering Migration Within Colonial New England," 98.

²⁴⁷ Pomfret Deeds, 1: 21-23; according to the British National Archives Online Historical Currency Converter, £35 pounds in 1700 = £2,500. in 2005 money. Converted into today's dollars, £2,500 = \$4000.00 or \$7.22 per acre.

²⁴⁸ "Go West, Young Man, Go West," Dictionary of American History. 2003. Encyclopedia.com. <<http://www.encyclopedia.com>> (Accessed October 30, 2014).

²⁴⁹ See Philip J. Greven, *Four Generations* and Edmund S. Morgan, *The Puritan Family* (New York: Harper & Row Publishers, Inc., 1966).

women are mentioned as a footnote, mostly as a part of emigrating family groups, attached as the wives or daughters of a patriarch.²⁵⁰ While women cannot be divorced from the roles they played historically, an examination of their presence and contribution to the migration process is warranted. With the advent of the internet and the new abundance of genealogical information, historians now can more easily follow the migratory patterns of women. Hopefully this will lead to new studies being undertaken so that we can better understand whole the process of migration.

Philemon's migration story is unique in another way. Unlike many of the sons observed in the town studies of the 1960s and 1970s, Philemon did not have to wait until he received his inheritance in order to leave the established town of Andover for land located Woodstock and Pomfret, Connecticut.²⁵¹ Instead, deed records show that he had the means to purchase land on the frontier prior to his father's death, perhaps with his father's help or the help of other family members, such as his uncle, John Chandler. What does this indicate? It would seem there are two possible interpretations that may be interdependent on one another. Clearly the cost of land in 1697 was so cheap because of the risks inherent in the settlement of the newly opened frontier. Therefore an inheritance from the prior generation may not have been needed for Philemon's migration to take place. It should be noted, not everyone was willing to take such risk to purchase land in an unsettled environment, no matter the potential benefit. This, then, reveals that Philemon Chandler—and his wife Hannah—must have had adventurous and aggressive personalities that could withstand the vagaries of the wilderness.²⁵²

²⁵⁰ Anderson, *New England's Generation*, 22-23; 222-226.

²⁵¹ Greven, *Four Generations*, esp. chs. 4-7; Lockridge, *A New England Town*, esp. ch. 8.

²⁵² The records are silent as to whether the marriage between Philemon and Hannah was a love match or if it was an arranged marriage by their families. Thus Hannah's willingness in terms of her marriage and her

The other migrant in this study who fits the American migration myth is Caleb Abbott. He was only twenty-two when he travelled to his new home in Pomfret, Connecticut. But unlike Philemon Chandler, Caleb needed his father's inheritance, sparse though it was, to make the move to an area where he could affordably acquire far more land than what he inherited in the established town of Andover. Caleb left Andover in 1726 as a bachelor without significant means. And records show he would not consider marriage until five years later when he had established himself and could provide for a wife and a future family. Based on deed and probate documents in Massachusetts, when he decided to migrate, Caleb had about £68 pounds from his inheritance and perhaps whatever else he had saved from his work as a tailor. Upon arrival in Pomfret he bought roughly seventy-two acres for £120 pounds, the £52 additional pounds coming from his earnings or perhaps his Gary uncles, who were amongst the first settlers of Woodstock in 1686.²⁵³

While Caleb's migration experience in some ways resembles that of the classic and individualistic Turnerian pioneer, the evidence shows he moved as part of a close kinship group that included his brothers Phillip, Paul and Zebidiah and his sister, Hannah. These four siblings settled in Windham County between the years 1721 and 1723 and Caleb followed in 1726 after he reached the age of majority and could dispose of the property he owned in Andover. This pattern of kinship migration seen here concurs with the findings of Patricia J. Tracy in her article "Re-Considering Migration within Colonial New England", which follows the "leavers" of Northampton, Massachusetts during the

migration is unknown because social custom of the time would have dictated that she follow her husband to his homestead. But, if it was a willing match, then Hannah certainly would have understood the inherent risks of migration and would have agreed to the move as part of her marriage.

²⁵³ See Abbott Family Connections chart in Appendix 2.

same time period—roughly 1670-1750.²⁵⁴ Thus, Caleb’s decision to migrate was likely influenced not only by his maternal uncles from Roxbury who arrived in the area thirty years earlier, but also by the movement of siblings who he may have wished to keep in close physical proximity.

Caleb’s migration experience also can be likened to that of his grandfather, George Abbot, one of Andover’s first settlers. When George immigrated to Massachusetts, he was twenty-two years old and unmarried, arriving in Roxbury around 1637. When George made the decision to move to Andover in 1646 he had not yet married Hannah Chandler of Roxbury. Records show that because he was unmarried at the time, he required a sponsor to take advantage of the opportunity offered in Andover. His sponsor was John Dane who had recently married Hannah’s mother, Annis Chandler. He was granted a four acre house lot prior to 1662, four acres being the smallest amount granted to any of the first settlers.²⁵⁵ By the time George died in 1681, his estate was valued at £387 pounds, which indicates he had acquired between one hundred and fifty and two hundred acres in Andover during his lifetime. Caleb, in comparison, had upon migration only three acres plus some other land held jointly with his brothers. He turned those three plus acres into seventy-two acres in Windham County, Connecticut which he sold at a profit before moving to Union, Connecticut where he passed away in 1778.

The other three migrants in this study—John Lovejoy, III, George Holt and William Osgood—are not like Philemon Chandler and Caleb Abbott. They do not fit the American migration myth of young, individualistic men seeking their fortune in the wilderness. Instead, their migration experiences mirror that of their Great Migration

²⁵⁴ Tracy, “Reconsidering Migration within Colonial New England,” 97.

²⁵⁵ Otten, “The Two George Abbot Families,” 19-23; Greven, *Four Generations*, 46.

forbears who became the first settlers of Andover. The majority of these first generation emigrants from England were couples in their middle years that made the move with their children.²⁵⁶ Lovejoy, Holt and Osgood were all established, married men who made the move to Windham County with wives and children. What motivated Lovejoy, Holt and Osgood to leave their established lives in Andover for the under-developed towns of Windham County, Connecticut?

Studies have shown that reasons behind the Great Migration to Massachusetts included religious intolerance in England, along with a shortage of land which could be passed on to the next generation.²⁵⁷ Although these concerns certainly could have been important to all generations who decided to leave England throughout the 1630s to 1640s, the twin issues of how a parent could provide for his children in terms of religion and how a parent could provide for his children's future are ones that would have spoken particularly to married couples with children. Past studies have shown that religious fervor often dictated the settlement patterns of the Great Migration. Many English Puritans followed their ministers over the Atlantic Ocean and into the Massachusetts wilderness to create an ideal society based upon their faith.²⁵⁸ When Andover was settled, both the Reverend Nathaniel Ward and the Reverend John Woodbridge were instrumental in the town's founding on the Massachusetts frontier.²⁵⁹

As previously noted, some historians have dismissed the migrants to Connecticut's interior during the late 17th and early 18th century as mere profiteers who were not driven by the same religious concerns of their grandparents or great-

²⁵⁶ For comparison, see Anderson, *New England's Generation*, 22-3.

²⁵⁷ Allen, *In English Ways*, 164.

²⁵⁸ Green, *Pursuits of Happiness*, 20-27, Mofford, *And Firm Thine Ancient Vow*, 2.

²⁵⁹ Bailey, *Historical Sketches of Andover*, 4-10, Mofford, *And Firm Thine Ancient Vow* 3-4.

grandparents.²⁶⁰ The families of the Connecticut migrants considered in this paper were all established members of the churches located in Andover's North or South Parish. Both of these churches were congregational and had their theological roots in the first church established by Reverend Woodbridge and its members, all of whom were amongst the first settlers of Andover. While it is accurate to say that the religious passions of the third and fourth generations had cooled, it is misleading to characterize this group migrating to the interior of Connecticut as being interested only in land acquisition and profit.

It is clear the zealous Puritan religious practices of Massachusetts' first generation were caused by the intolerance they faced in England. A number of historians who have studied the settlement of Connecticut during the 17th and 18th centuries have shown that Connecticut was settled primarily by a homogenous group of English Puritans and their descendants.²⁶¹ Therefore, because Connecticut's settlement experience was one of social and religious agreement conducted by like-minded people, it is understandable that religion was less of a migratory motivator for the third and fourth generations coming from Massachusetts. Nevertheless, it should be recognized that for these migrants religion remained an important aspect of Connecticut settlement and that, in some ways, their settlement patterns mirrored those of the Great Migration generation.

Early records of New Roxbury, Pomfret, Plainfield and Windham all stress the importance of securing a minister for each town as well as establishing the site for public

²⁶⁰ Bailyn, *The Peopling of British North America*, 92-93.

²⁶¹ Anthony N.B. Garvan, *Architecture and Town Planning in Colonial Connecticut* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1951); David H. Fowler, "Connecticut's Freemen: The First Forty Years," *William and Mary Quarterly*, Third Series, 15: 3 (July 1958): 312-333; Daniels, *The Connecticut Town*; Bushman, *From Puritan to Yankee*; Charles S. Grant, *Democracy in the Connecticut Frontier Town of Kent* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1970); Lockridge, *A New England Town*; Powell, *Puritan Village*.

religious worship. This shows a certain continuity of spirit between the generation that founded Andover and the generation who migrated away to settle Windham County, Connecticut. Records also show that both Philemon Chandler and William Osgood were active in the affairs of the Pomfret church. Philemon was included on the committee to build the first meeting house and negotiated terms with the first minister to be ordained in Pomfret. Years later, William would be included on a committee charged to build the second meetinghouse in Pomfret, which was located in the hamlet of Abington.²⁶²

Evidence of the continued importance of religion to the third generation migrants is contained in the records of the first public meeting in New Roxbury. On August 25, 1686, lots of land were drawn for settlement. The minister's lot was the third to be drawn and it contained 20 acres. Although no minister had travelled with the first settlers of New Roxbury, this reservation of land indicates the continued importance of having a minister "preach to the planters in order to settlement."²⁶³ It is worth noting that the size of the minister's lot drawn in New Roxbury was only ten acres smaller than that of John Chandler, Sr., who received thirty acres for his house lot. The sizes of the original house lots in New Roxbury are remarkable for their size. The majority of the lots first distributed were between fifteen and twenty acres, whereas the majority of first lots distributed in Andover forty years earlier were between four and eight acres each.²⁶⁴

The increased lot sizes in New Roxbury indicate a shift in settlement patterns, showing that later generation migrants had developed a certain comfort in terms of understanding how to deal with the New England wilderness. When Andover was

²⁶² "Abington Congregational Church, United States Department of the Interior, National Register of Historic Places Inventory Nomination Form Dated January 3, 1977. See also Larned, *History of Windham County*, 426-434.

²⁶³ Larned, *History of Windham County*, 20.

²⁶⁴ Larned, *History of Windham County*, 17-9, 78, 92; Greven, *Four Generations*, 46.

founded in 1646, lots were smaller and clustered together around the meeting house, in part because this village form was what the first settlers brought with them from England. But it should also be recognized that such an organization of smaller lots in close proximity promoted a level of safety that a division of larger lots would lack in a frontier setting.²⁶⁵ By the time Windham County, Connecticut came to be settled, the colonists had developed new ways of managing the land which responded directly to the environment, only borrowing from English customs as appropriate.²⁶⁶

The other significant change in how land was settled in Connecticut by later generations was, of course, the presence of land speculators and private proprietors who oversaw the formation of new towns instead of the General Court. The land division in New Roxbury, then, was unique and would have been experienced only by the very first settlers. In this study, all of migrants left Andover after great tracts of land in Connecticut had already been acquired by speculators. The first migrant in this study to leave Andover, Philemon Chandler, bought his land from the Ruggles who were investors from Roxbury, Massachusetts. The process of land acquisition for the other Andover migrants was similar, all of them purchasing their land from either private proprietors or settlers who had established farms as soon as the land in Windham County was opened for settlement. None of the migrants in this study can be classed as land speculators; instead the evidence shows their migration was motivated by a wish to improve their future financial position and that of their families.

This brings our attention back to the three older migrants who left Andover for Connecticut. As noted, John Lovejoy, George Holt and William Osgood were all

²⁶⁵ Greene, *Pursuits of Happiness*, 21-2.

²⁶⁶ Garvan, *Architecture and Town Planning in Colonial Connecticut*, 149.

established, married men who made the move to Windham County with their wives and children. At the time of their migration, John was thirty-four years old and both George and William had turned fifty. The composition of each man's family at migration is particularly informative and best illustrated by the below table:

Table 3.1
Family Composition at Migration from Andover

<u>John Lovejoy Family</u>	<u>George Holt Family</u>	<u>William Osgood Family</u>
John Lovejoy, 34 yrs Bathsheba Lovejoy (w) 30 yrs	George Holt, 50 yrs Mary Holt (w) 34 yrs	William Osgood, 50 yrs Mary Osgood, (w) 46 yrs.
Benjamin Lovejoy (s) 8 yrs Richard Lovejoy (s) 5 yrs Anne Lovejoy (d) 3 yrs	Zebediah Holt (s) 26 yrs Elizabeth Holt (d) 20 yrs Dinah Holt (d) 16 yrs George Holt (s) 13 yrs Mary Holt (d) 9 yrs Jonathan Holt (s) 8 yrs Josiah Holt (s) 5 yrs Nehemiah Holt (s) 3 yrs Priscilla Holt (d) 1 yr	Mary Osgood (d) 16 yrs Zachariah Osgood (s) 15 yrs William Osgood (s) 7 yrs Appleton Osgood (s) 3 yrs Susana Osgood (d) 1 yr

*n.b (w) = wife; (d) = daughter; (s) = son.

While this table is not a comprehensive quantitative chart from which broad generalizations can be drawn, it nevertheless reveals quite a bit about these three families who left Andover to make new lives for themselves in Windham County, Connecticut. As stated, John, George and William do not fit the Turnerian migration myth of the young, individualistic man striking out into the American wilderness to carve a life for themselves. Instead, deed records indicate that both John and George bought established farms to house their families. The deed to William does not state that buildings or improvements were included on the original two hundred and twenty-five acres he purchased in Pomfret, but it is likely the land did include a house and outbuildings since

he left Andover in 1747, a little over fifty years after the town was first cleared for settlement.

When the Connecticut frontier began to be opened up in the late 1680s, those who chose to migrate were experienced with the natural world of New England, much more so than the first generation that arrived from England and built their communities from scratch. What becomes clear from the records is that John, George and William did not travel to the “wilderness” of Windham County, Connecticut. Certainly the towns they settled in were more sparsely populated than Andover, making land more plentiful and affordable. Yet they were able to begin anew in Connecticut on already established farms because these men and their families migrated after the land in Windham County was opened up by proprietors, speculators and the first initial wave of settlers who arrived shortly thereafter.

The above table also helps answer a question posed in the introduction which was: *who were these migrants?* From this small sample, we see that eleven children under ten years of age made the journey—and the two baby girls, Priscilla Holt and Susanna Osgood, were both just one year old! Four of the children were teenagers at the time of migration. In George Holt’s family, two of his children were adults, son Zebediah being twenty-six years of age and daughter Elizabeth being twenty when they migrated. This list reveals that women as well as men ventured out onto these frontier farms and that these migrants were not averse to bringing along their children, no matter how young they might be. However, information contained in the vital records makes it

clear that a family would not attempt migration until a child was at least a year old and proven healthy, the parents waiting to be sure their youngest could survive the journey.²⁶⁷

It is generally assumed that parents have a duty to provide for their children. The records in both Andover and Connecticut support this assumption. Deed and probate documents reveal how the families of these migrants and the migrants themselves managed their real and personal property. These documents also show us how, over generations, fathers disposed of land during their life and after their death.

As noted earlier, Philip Greven argues in his book *Four Generations* that an expanding population created a land scarcity in Andover.²⁶⁸ The availability of plentiful land is critical to a society dependent on farming for survival. In addition to the issue of an expanding population, Andover's first and second generation fathers also exercised partible inheritance practices which divided their land in such a way that third generation fathers found themselves unable to divide the land yet again amongst their sons. The cases of John Lovejoy, George Holt and William Osgood all show that these men received enough land by deed or inheritance from their father to support their family in Andover, but each of them understood they would not have enough land so that their sons could, in turn, support their families. This study makes clear that land during the early 18th century was much like a college education today. If a child was provided land and was willing to work the land he was given, a certain level of prosperity—or at the very least, sustenance—would likely follow. But as land in the established town of Andover became scarce and therefore more expensive when it came time for the third generation to provide for its children, fathers of long-standing Andover families looked to

²⁶⁷ Andover VR.

²⁶⁸ Greven, *Four Generations*, esp. chs. 4-7.

Connecticut and communities in New Hampshire and Maine to find other arable, affordable and available land on which they could settle their sons.²⁶⁹

Why, then, did John Lovejoy, George Holt and William Osgood choose Windham County as their migratory destination? As with Philemon Chandler and Caleb Abbott, the answer lies in genealogical and associative connections that spanned generations.²⁷⁰ In the case of John Lovejoy, his marriage to Bathsheba Blunt may have been what convinced him to move his family to Plainfield, Connecticut. Both of Bathsheba's uncles, William Ballard and John Spaulding, moved to Plainfield early on. Bathsheba's brothers, Ambrose and Samuel, would also choose to migrate to Windham County around the same time Bathsheba and John Lovejoy would make the move with their children. Certainly the early arrival of the family's older generation to Plainfield acted as an anchor which allowed the younger generation to make the move to less established Connecticut with some confidence.²⁷¹

George Holt's story is similar to John Lovejoy's in that family connections may have been the determining factor in his decision to choose Windham, Connecticut. George's cousins, Abiel and Robert Holt both migrated to Windham, Connecticut soon after proprietors opened the land up for settlement and his brother Paul would follow soon thereafter. William Ballard was also an uncle to George Holt and it is likely messages passed between Windham County and Andover as to the availability of land

²⁶⁹ Abbott *MS*.

²⁷⁰ See Genealogy Connection charts in Appendix 2.

²⁷¹ For agreement with this interpretation, see Tracy, "Reconsidering Migration within Colonial New England," 96-100.

and what prospects towns in the northeast corner of Connecticut held for potential Andover migrants.²⁷²

Where George's story is different from the other four migrants in this study is in his family's composition upon migration. His oldest son, Zebediah, was twenty-seven years old at migration and unmarried. Zebediah's characteristics at migration fit the migration myth of a young man striking out into the wilderness to make his way in life. Yet in this situation, the question really is who was the "driving migrant:" father or son? This very question is asked in the few studies that have been done on migration in New England after the initial town studies of the 1960s and 1970s.²⁷³ In this case scenario, it is clear George still held the reins in the family as records show Zebediah owned no land in Andover and he was therefore unlikely to have been able to contribute financially to the migration process.

As noted earlier, Patricia J. Tracy's 1989 study, "Reconsidering Migration within Colonial New England" is one of two studies which addresses questions similar to the ones addressed here. Tracy's study found that families from Northampton, Massachusetts were migrating in kinship groups where young men did not make the move without either a father or an uncle leading the way. This finding concurs with the case histories of Philemon Chandler, Caleb Abbott and Zebediah Holt. With regard to men who moved without elder leaders, Tracy's study finds they were men in their full prime with wives and children.²⁷⁴ This finding in Northampton records concurs with the

²⁷² It is thought William Ballard died in 1723 and George would not migrate until 1726. Nevertheless, it is likely that William and his children did report back to Andover about land opportunities that could be had in the Windham County area.

²⁷³ Greven, *Four Generations*, esp. chaps 5-8. See also Gross, *The Minutemen and their World*; Lockridge, *A New England Town*.

²⁷⁴ Tracy, "Reconsidering Migration within Colonial New England," 98-100.

case histories of George Holt and William Osgood, although kith and kin connections to their migration destination are strongly evident. Although John Lovejoy was married with young children when he moved, he had yet to reach what might be considered “full maturity.” At the time of his migration he was only thirty-four years of age and he accompanied his wife’s siblings. These factors suggest that his migration should be classified with the younger men of this study.

Once the move to Windham County was complete, this leaves the final question of what happened to this later migratory generation? Do the economic and social patterns of the Connecticut migrants replicate the patterns found in the original settlement of Andover? The answer to these questions lies in two associated analyses: first, when the migrants chose to resettle themselves and second, what was their financial position in Andover before their migration to Windham County, Connecticut. As the case studies in this paper illustrate, most of these migrants left Andover well after the frontier was opened by proprietors and speculators in Connecticut. How does timing affect what the migrant could sell his land for in Andover and, once the land was sold in Andover, what amount of land could the migrant then acquire in Windham County, Connecticut? Using information contained in deed and probate records deposited in Massachusetts and Connecticut, the following Migration Land Values Table and Migration Inheritance Patterns Table illustrate whether the migrants of this study found themselves and their families in a better economic position because they chose to leave Andover for less established towns in Windham County, Connecticut.

An examination of the Migration Land Values Table demonstrates how land values changed and inflated in both Andover and Windham County, Connecticut over a

fifty year period. And, as Philemon Chandler's actions show, if a migrant chose to move in the late 1680s or early 1690s when Windham County was still the frontier, a great deal of land could be acquired for a very small investment of capital. Philemon Chandler paid £35 pounds for seven hundred and fifty-five acres for land in the Pomfret area in 1697. As time went on and Windham County became more developed, migration involved less risk and land became both less plentiful and more expensive. For example, in 1747, William Osgood paid £4,150 pounds for only two hundred and twenty-five acres of land in the same town Philemon Chandler had helped settle fifty years earlier. Although this comparison does not account for inflation and other factors during this time period, the change in land value is apparent at a fundamental level.

John Lovejoy, III and Caleb Abbot were the least well off when they left Andover for Windham County. However, it is clear they managed to improve the economic position for their families while they were still alive. John likely gained about fifty additional acres when he moved to Connecticut and Caleb may have gained around sixty-two additional acres of land.²⁷⁵ George Holt's gains were more modest. He sold sixty-four acres in Andover and acquired one hundred acres in Windham at an additional investment of only £43 pounds. The motivation of all of these migrants in their move to Windham County was certainly bound up in a desire to acquire more land, a goal which all of them accomplished. But were these men on the make, looking to strike it rich on the Connecticut frontier? The evidence tells us the answer to this question is: *probably not* – with the possible exception of Philemon Chandler. Instead, the greatest motivating factor in their decision to migrate to Windham County, Connecticut was family.

²⁷⁵ This is an estimate as the documents left do not reveal the amounts they actually acquired in Windham County.

The psychology of migration is an important aspect of this study. The Family Connections charts reveal a web of people interconnected through birth and marriage, all of whom made the decision to move as a group to towns in Windham County, Connecticut. Beyond economics, the decision to migrate also suggests a desire to not be “left behind” when uncles, brothers, and cousins—along with their wives and daughters—were taking the chance on a better life in a new town. This kith and kin migration pattern of Andover’s third generation, then, is similar to those patterns found by Virginia DeJohn Anderson and other historians of the demography of the Great Migration.²⁷⁶ While the deep interconnected family ties are less prevalent in the Great Migration generation, those who made the voyage to Massachusetts were certainly associated through religious, cultural and regional ties, which, within one or two generations, turned into family ties throughout New England.

The final question to be addressed in this study is the relative economic success or failure of the migrants in comparison to their forebears who settled Andover. As many of the town studies from the 1960s and 1970s found and as confirmed by examination of the records, a land shortage developed in the established town of Andover in such a way that men with and without families sought land elsewhere.²⁷⁷ Fathers in Andover who sought land in less established towns did so for the benefit of the next generation. But when examining the *Migration Inheritance Patterns* table, it is evident that migration to a newly established community did not necessarily translate into economic success.

²⁷⁶ Anderson, *New England’s Generation*, esp. ch. 1-3; David Hackett Fischer, *Albion’s Seed: Four British Folkways in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989), esp. ch. 1; T.H. Breen and Stephen Foster, “Moving to the New World: The Character of Early Massachusetts Immigration.”

²⁷⁷ Greven, *Four Generations*; esp. chaps 5-8; Gross, *The Minutemen and their World*; Kenneth A. Lockridge, *A New England Town*..

According to the table, the most successful migrants were Philemon Chandler and William Osgood because they managed to acquire the most acreage which they then left to male heirs. As noted, Philemon's economic success appears to be directly linked to the fact that he arrived in Windham County shortly after it was opened for settlement. At his death, Philemon's sons had passed and he had only one grandson who inherited the entire six hundred and forty-three acres. In terms of persistence—remaining within Windham County until death—all of Philemon's daughters stayed in the area and so did his grandson, Josiah Chandler. With six hundred and forty-three acres, there was no reason for Josiah to seek additional land elsewhere.

William Osgood was the last migrant to leave Andover in 1747. Despite his late start and the fact that he paid more per acre than the other migrants in this study, he still managed his affairs in such a way that he left his three sons a little less than seven hundred acres, which they inherited in equal shares. Like Josiah Chandler, the Osgood sons were sufficiently provided for and had no reason to leave the land given to them by their father. Interestingly, the child who leaves and migrates away from Pomfret is William's daughter, Mary Osgood Holbrook. She left Pomfret for Waterford, Vermont with her son William Osgood and her husband Ebenezer Holbrook. At the time of her migration Mary was likely in her 60s or 70s and the move to Vermont would be the second migration of her life—the first being with her father, William, when she was sixteen years old.²⁷⁸

Provisions made by George Holt for his sons are markedly different from the provisions made by Philemon Chandler and William Osgood for their male heirs. By

²⁷⁸ Connecticut VR and State of Vermont. Vermont Vital Records through 1870. New England Historic Genealogical Society, Boston, Massachusetts..

moving to Windham County, George Holt did not make any significant economic gains, but he did manage to give his sons a start in life which was similar to that given to him by his father. In this way he maintained the family's economic status quo.²⁷⁹ In comparison to other families in this study, George had the largest family to provide for; at death he had eight children total and four sons who needed a start in life.

Curiously, George's sons all stayed in Windham County and did not feel the need to migrate away in search of more land on which to settle the next generation. The reasons for this could be many—they could have made advantageous marriages which allowed them to stay in the area; as a large family, their kinship networks in Windham County could have persuaded them to remain; and, finally, perhaps a growing economy allowed them to pursue other trades whereby farming was no longer the sole means of sustenance for their families. Further research would be needed to make a determination as to why George Holt's sons made the decision to stay when the sons of John Lovejoy, III and Caleb Abbott resolved to move on to towns outside Connecticut.

Of all the migrants examined in this study, John Lovejoy, III and Caleb Abbott were the least well off when they moved to Connecticut. Both improved their economic position for themselves and their families by making the move to Windham County. Yet all of the sons and daughters of John and Caleb migrated away from Connecticut to locations in Vermont, New York and Western Massachusetts. In the case of John's sons who went to Vermont, records indicate that this fourth generation was much like the first generation in Andover, counting themselves among the founding families of the town of

²⁷⁹ Bissell, "From One Generation to Another," 95, Tracy, "Reconsidering Migration within Colonial New England," 102.

Sharon. By choosing to migrate, John's sons gained significant acreage and improved the economic position of their families.²⁸⁰

Overall, these case studies prove that these migrants made an astute decision when they chose to leave Andover for land opportunities in Windham County, Connecticut. If they were not wholly successful in gaining vast tracts of land for their children, moving did allow these migrants to at least maintain an economic status quo for their family—something that would have been impossible if they had remained in Andover. However, the question of whether these migrants fared as well or better than their forebears who settled Andover is not an equitable comparison. While land in Andover and Windham County were both subject to speculation, gone were the days in eastern New England where an indentured servant such as John Lovejoy, Sr. could acquire a seven acre house lot which would turn into two hundred acres when town common lands were divided. When Windham County was opened up in the late 17th century, swaths of land were subject to speculators, proprietors and profiteers who were in the business of selling land to new settlers. Land grants such as those in Andover would not be seen again until after the Revolutionary War when the new Federal Government gave land to veterans in newly gained territories to the west. Motivations for the migration away from Andover which have not been explored here but nevertheless deserve acknowledgment include the witchcraft scare of 1692 and the subsequent division of the town into the North and South Parish. Witchcraft accusations in Andover during the summer of 1692 were rampant and many of the leading families in

²⁸⁰ State of Vermont. Vermont Vital Records through 1870. New England Historic Genealogical Society, Boston, Massachusetts; Town of Sharon, Vermont, Proprietors Record 1761- 1881; Town of Sharon Land Records, 1: 61-62.

the town were involved.²⁸¹ Demographic records along with the witchcraft trial records would need to be examined differently than they were for this study in order to determine the effect accusations of witchcraft had on migration away from Andover. In terms of the migrants which were the subject of this study, the following criteria might give an initial indication as to whether the trials entered into their decision to leave Andover.

Table 3.2
Migration Patterns in Relation to the Witchcraft Outbreak of 1692

Migrant	Birth Year	Age in 1692	Migration Year
Philemon Chandler	1671	21	1699
George Holt	1677	15	1726
John Lovejoy	1680	12	1712
William Osgood	1697	5	1747
Caleb Abbott	1704	0	1722

Based on this list, the only migrant who was of age during Andover’s witchcraft episode is Philemon Chandler. He is also the only migrant who left within a short period after the trials. Holt, Lovejoy, Osgood and Abbot all left Andover well after the trials took place and therefore it is much less likely they left the town in reaction to what happened during 1692. Future examination of the migration patterns of the prior generation or those born earlier than the migrants included in this study might provide more useful information for historians.

Even with the witchcraft trials over, conflict remained in Andover between the North and South ends of town as to the location of the meeting house. In 1705, the

²⁸¹ Emerson W. Baker, *A Storm of Witchcraft* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 158-160.

meetinghouse was still located in the north end of town, the site of the original 1646 settlement. Over time, the town's population came to be concentrated in the southern end of town where the best farmland sat and the "Shawshin River" flowed. Because the competing factions in town could not agree on where to locate a second meetinghouse, the town petitioned the General Court in Boston. In 1708 the General Court ordered that Andover had become "large enough to be forthwith divided into two distinct precincts . . . and that the inhabitants and proprietors of the south division build a convenient meetinghouse for their own use . . ." ²⁸² Interestingly, the Abbots, Chandlers, Holts, and Lovejoy family homes and farms were concentrated in the south end of town, while the Osgood family was most prevalent in the north end of town. ²⁸³ While the parish split may have caused some families to leave Andover, the migrants of this study chose to leave well after the controversy began and was resolved by the General Court. Thus, much like with the witchcraft trials, migration due to the parish split would need to be considered in a different way and through an examination of the prior generation's migration patterns.

Several facts stand out in this cultural study of five migrants who were, by all accounts, common folk making their way in the world and providing for their families in a manner similar to many 21st century Americans. The first is the vast social network

²⁸² "The Founding of the South Parish of Andover," The South Church in Andover" <http://www.southchurch.com/images/EarlySCHistory.pdf> (Accessed November 26, 2014).

²⁸³ Map of Andover in 1692; research on North Andover Center performed by Forbes Rockwell and Carl R. Smith; research on other areas by Gratia Mahony; map drawn by James S. Batchelder. The Salem Witch Trials Documentary Archive and Transcription Project. <http://salem.lib.virginia.edu/maps/andomap.html> (Accessed November 26, 2014).

that had spread across Massachusetts and Connecticut which, in turn, influenced important life-altering decisions. The Roxbury-Andover connection is a fresh perspective on why migrants from Andover chose Windham County as their destination. Historians in the past have accepted a statement found in Roxbury town records that population pressures were what forced the town to purchase two townships in northeast Connecticut. Unfortunately, the actual demographic work to prove the statements found in the Roxbury town record has yet to be done (see Appendix 2 for genealogical family connections charts).²⁸⁴ Nevertheless, the Town of Roxbury's actions in its purchase of whole townships from Major James Fitch is what brought the Andover migrants to Connecticut.

Another compelling discovery contained in the vital records of Massachusetts and Connecticut is the presence of women and children in the migration patterns as well as the influence of the families of wives, mothers, grandmothers and sisters had on the decision to migrate. The movement of nuclear families in kinship networks from Andover to Windham County dominates the migration patterns found in this cultural study. The migration patterns of those who settled Windham County are similar to those of Great Migration generation who settled the first English communities in Massachusetts. The movement of nuclear families added to the stability of the newly formed towns in both Massachusetts and Connecticut. And even in instances where young single men such as Caleb Abbott or young married men without children such as Philemon Chandler, migrate their own, records reveal that men established nuclear families in short order once they settled in their adopted town.

²⁸⁴ Bushman, *From Puritan to Yankee*, 83.

As these case studies show, by choosing to migrate to Windham County, third generation families did not necessarily do as well as Andover's first generation settlers, although they all improved their economic position for a short time. This finding is surprising because it contradicts the "American Migration Myth" developed in the late 19th century by Frederick Jackson Turner. Instead the evidence demonstrates that migration to new locations does not automatically lead to a migrant's financial gain but might lead to a migrant's financial status quo.

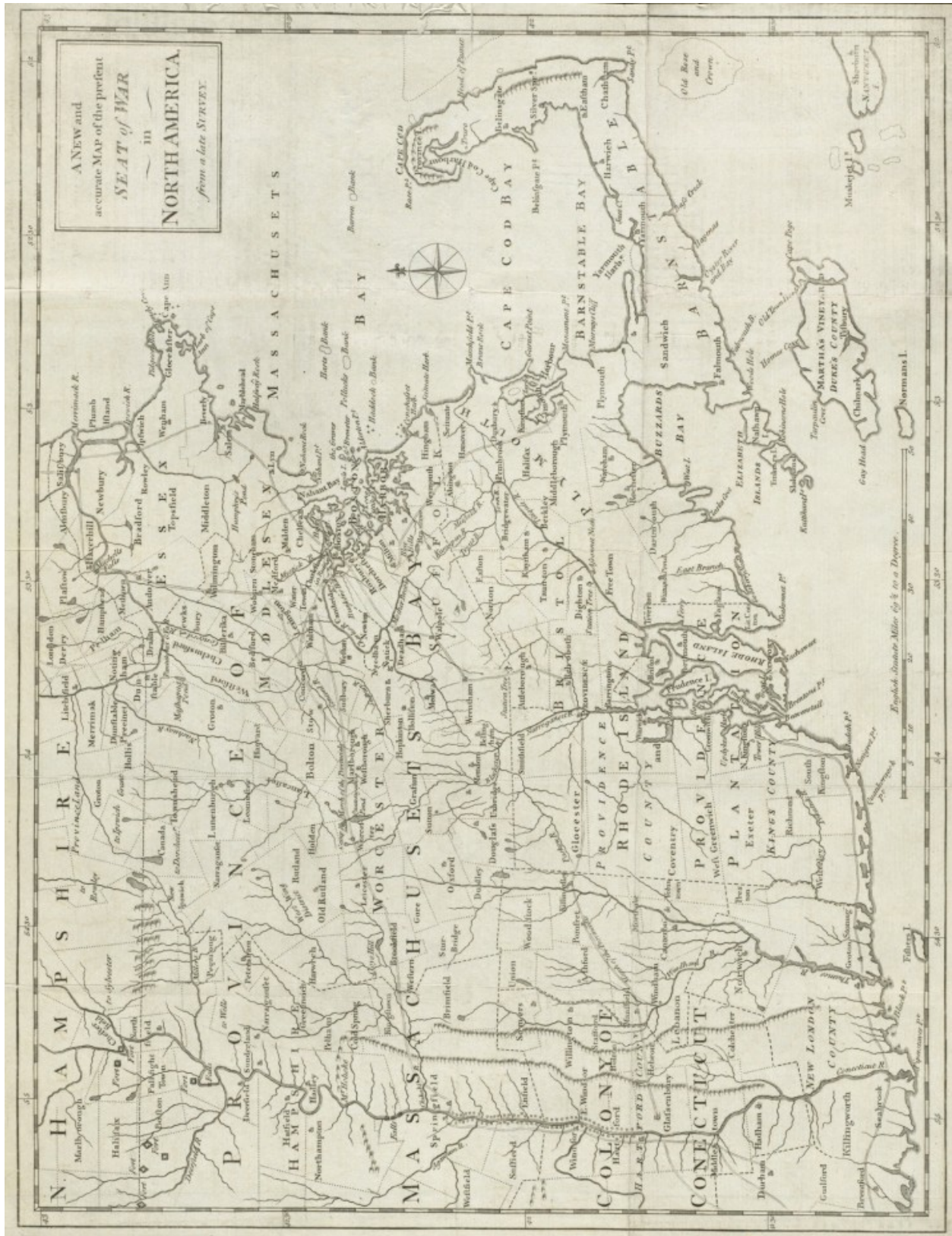
In the end, is there a role these five migrants and their families play in the larger history of the United States? Modern studies have shown that when people immigrate to America, it takes roughly three to four generations to assimilate and become fully "American."²⁸⁵ It is clear that Andover's third generation was a transition generation; they are not the founding generation who got there first and they are not the Revolutionary generation who wrested control of their destiny from Great Britain. Thus, past historians have deemed the generation which is the subject of this study to be mediocre for historical inquiry.

What these historians have missed is the idea that this "transition generation" is the first "American" generation whose experiences and memories are what influenced and brought up the Revolutionary generation. All of the families examined as a part of this study had sons and grandsons who served the cause of the American Revolution. From these ordinary people came extraordinary events that changed the course of world history. And this is another reason why these five migrants—who risked everything for their families—are worth our attention.

²⁸⁵ Susan K. Brown and Frank D. Bean, "Assimilation Models, Old and New: Explaining a Long Term Process," *Migration Policy Institute* (October 1, 2006) <http://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/assimilation-models-old-and-new-explaining-long-term-process> (Accessed November 15, 2014).

Appendix 1

Two maps were chosen to illustrate Massachusetts and Connecticut during the time period in which most of the migrants in this thesis lived. The first map dated 1775 and entitled *A New and accurate Map of the present Seat of War in North America from a late Survey* shows the location of Andover in Essex County Massachusetts in relation to Windham County, Connecticut. The second map, drawn by Moses Parks in 1766, gives the location and boundaries of the towns located in Windham County, Connecticut.



“A new and accurate map of the present seat of war in North America : from a late survey” (1775). From the Leventhal Map Center at Boston Public Library <http://maps.bpl.org/id/n48202>



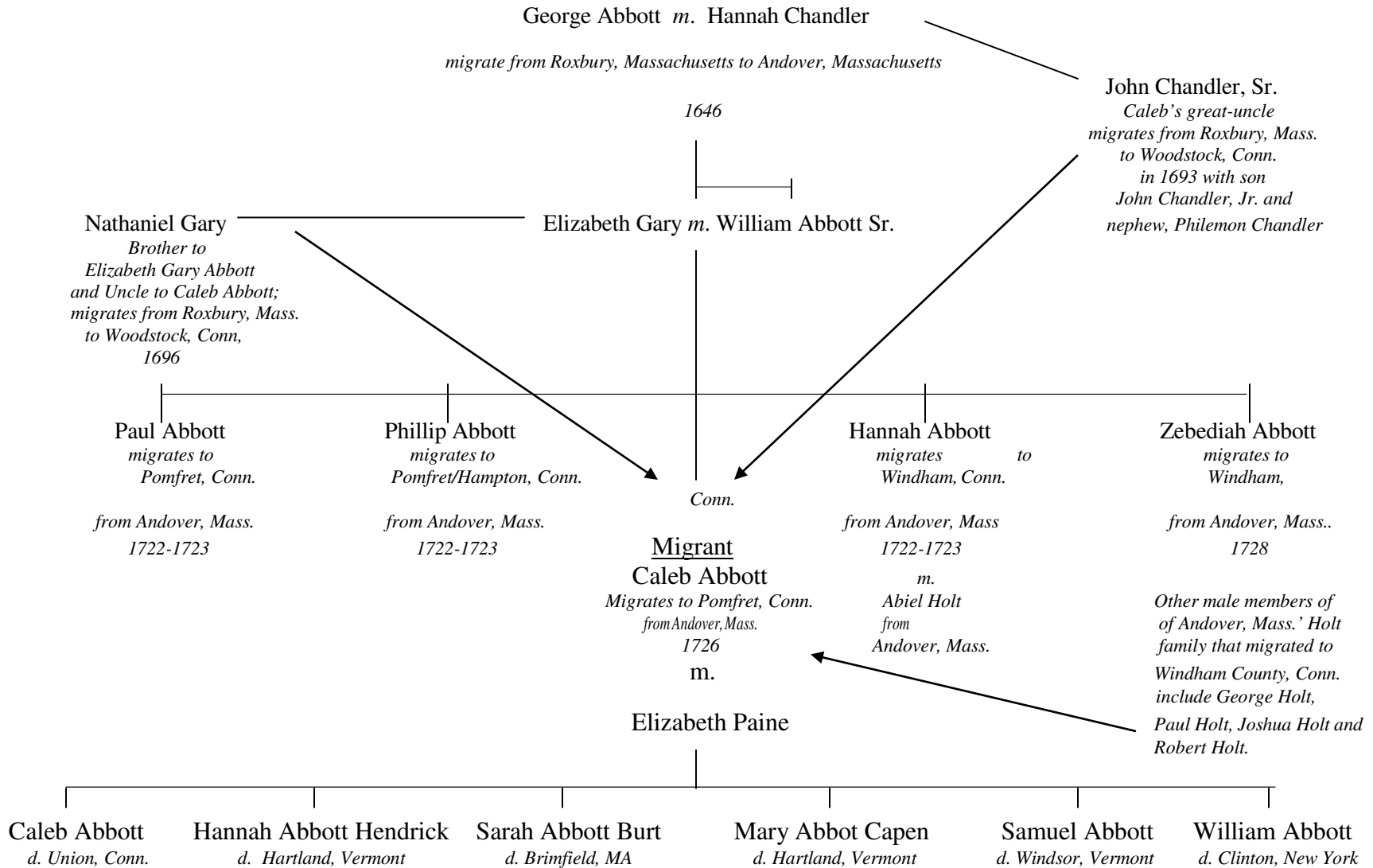
Map of Connecticut drawn in 1766, from MAGIC Map Collection, University of Connecticut, http://magic.lib.uconn.edu/historical_maps_connecticut.html

Appendix 2

Family Connection Charts

The following genealogy charts were prepared to visually show the connections between the migrants, their immediate and extended families and their in-laws. These familial links may have led to the decisions these migrants made to leave Andover for Windham County, Connecticut. The other purpose of the charts is to show Andover's deep connection to the Town of Roxbury, where the impetus to settle Windham County, Connecticut began in 1683 when the men of Roxbury petitioned the General Court for land on which they could settle their sons.

Abbott Family Connections



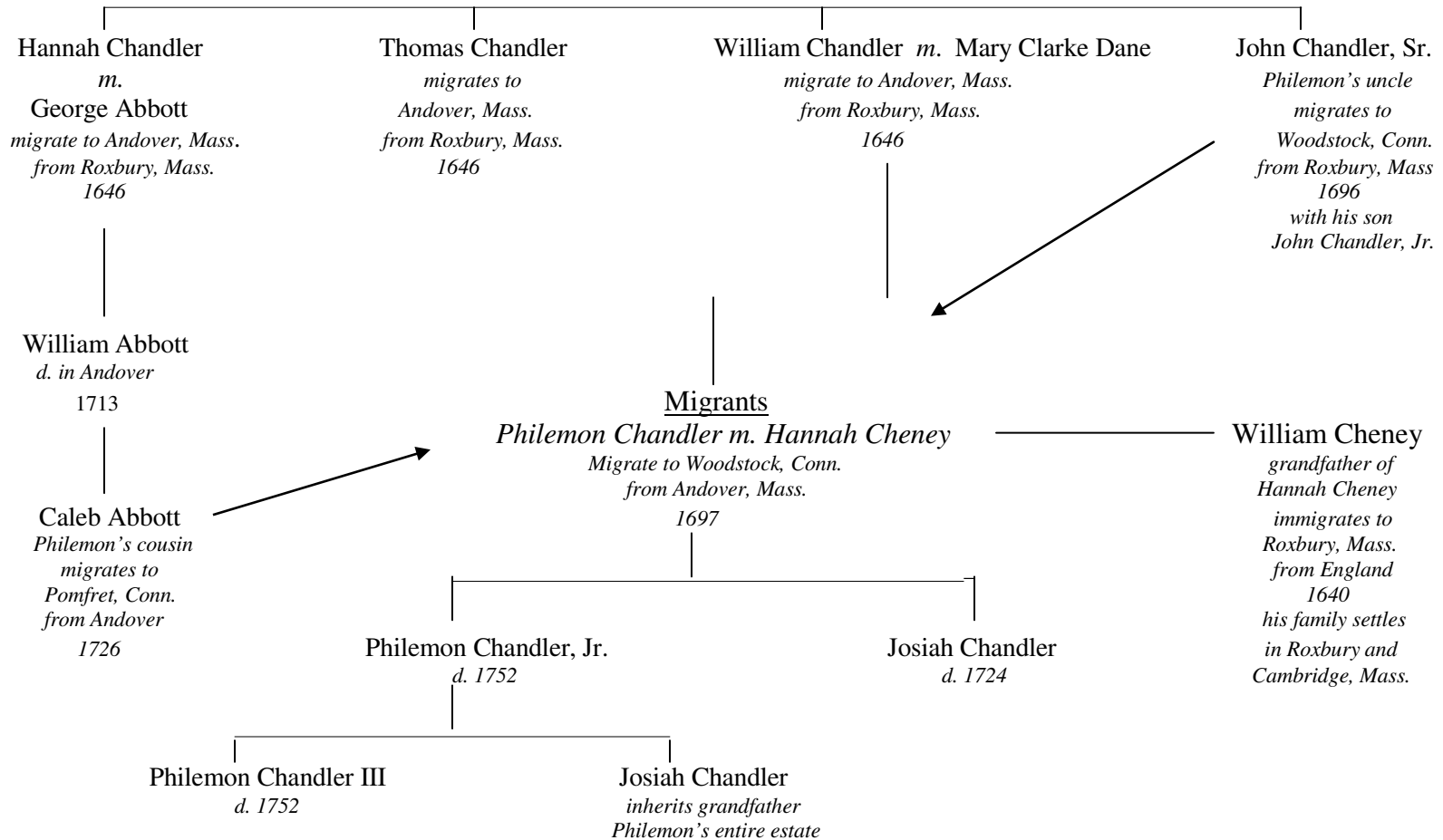
* d. = dies

Chandler Family Connections

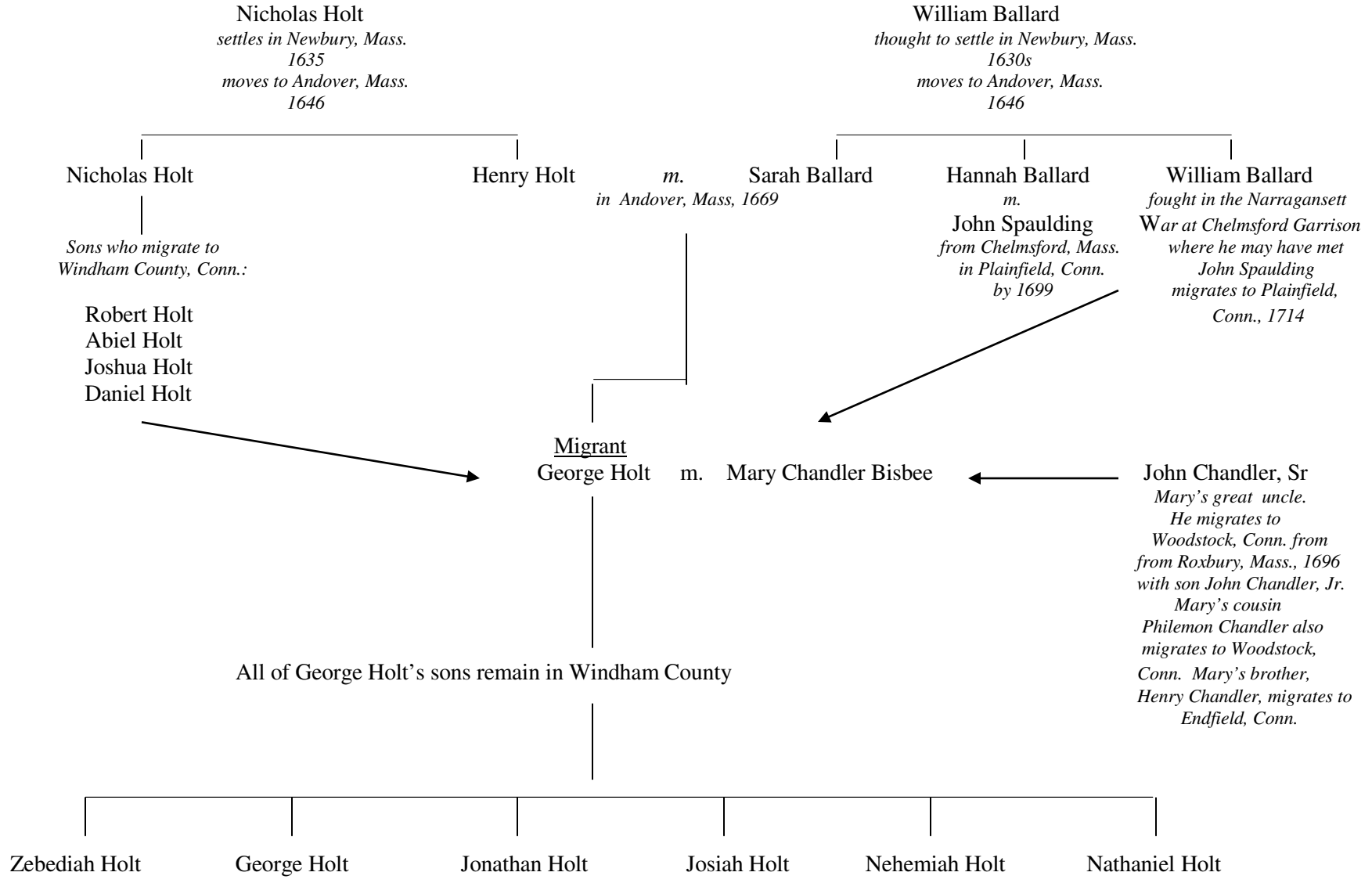
William Chandler *m.* Annis Agnes Bayford

immigrate to Roxbury, Massachusetts from England with their four children

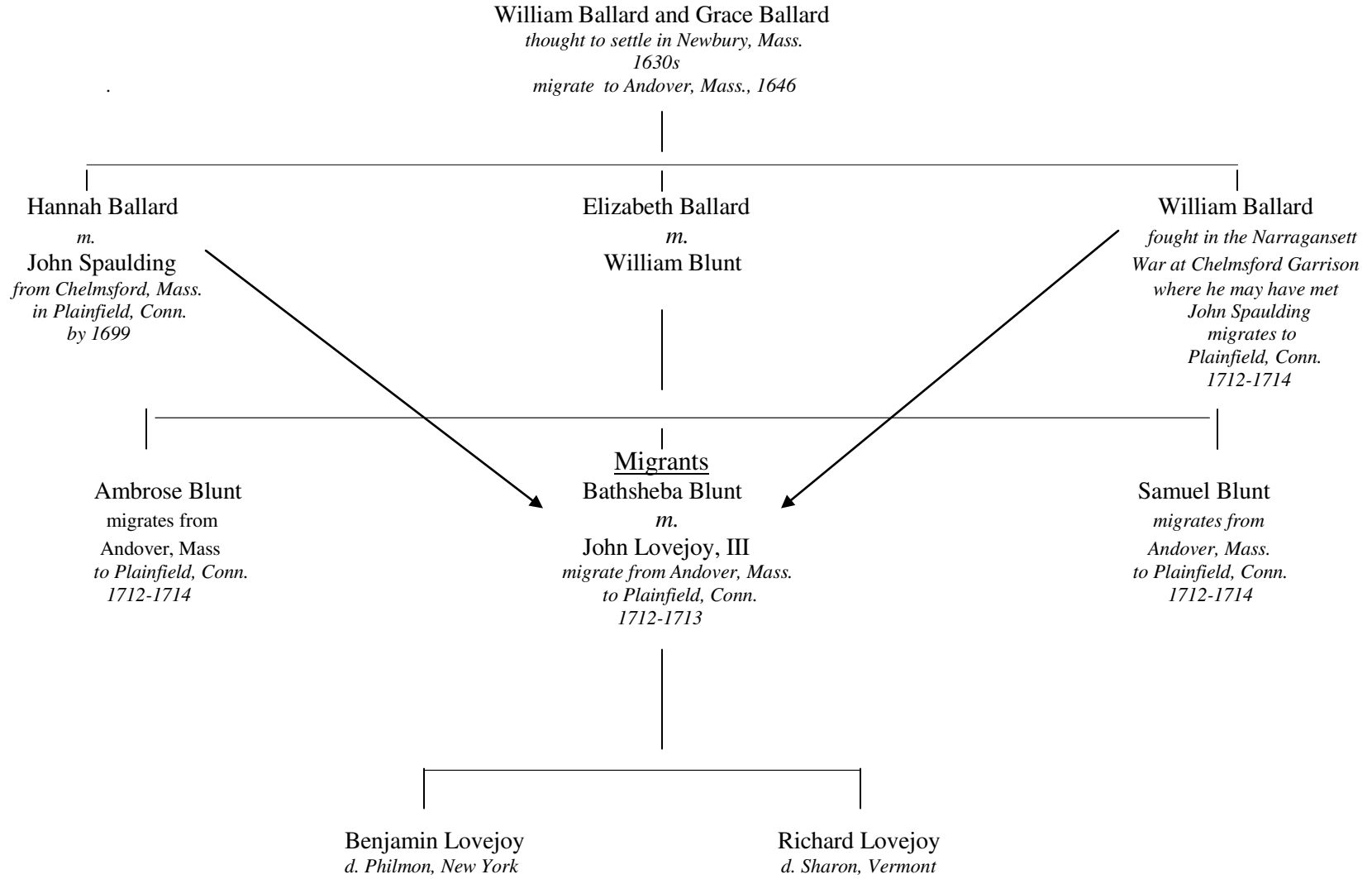
1637



Holt Family Connections

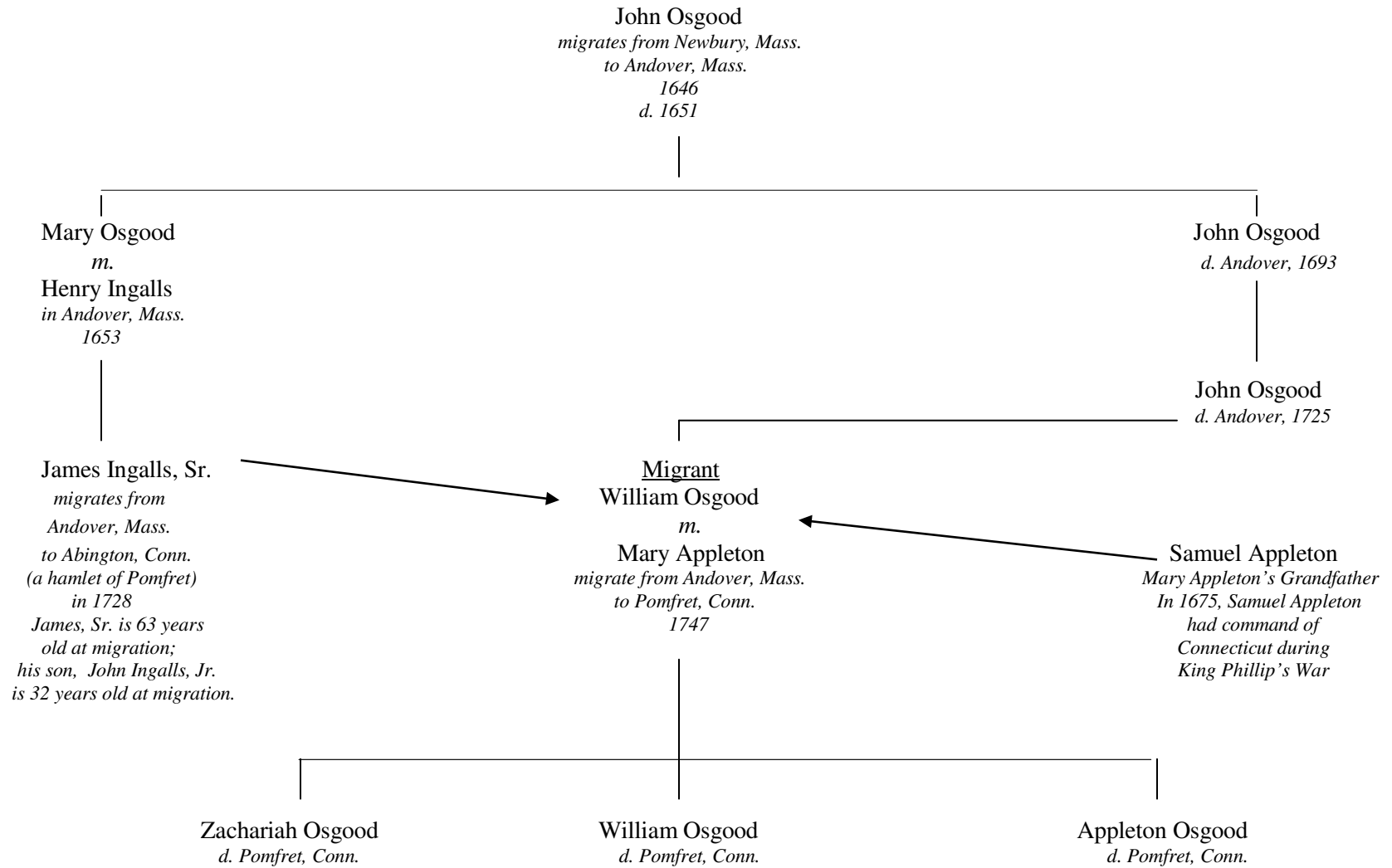


Lovejoy Family Connections



* d. = died

Osgood Family Connections



* d. = died

Appendix 3

Migration Land Values Chart
&
Migration Inheritance Patterns Chart

Table 3-1

Migration Land Values¹

<i>Migrant</i>	<i>Migration Year</i>	<i>Value of Land Sold in Andover</i>	<i>Acres</i>	<i>Price per Acre Sold in Andover</i>	<i>Price Paid for Land in Windham County</i>	<i>Acres Acquired in Windham County at migration / by death</i>	<i>Price per Acre paid at Acquisition</i>
Philemon Chandler	1697	£40	>100	£ .40	£32	755 / 643	£.04
John Lovejoy, III	1712-13	£155	50	£3.1	£160	100 +/- / 100 +/-	£.16
Caleb Abbott	1726	£48	3 + <i>a number of meadow parcels</i>	£16 +/-	£120	72 / 72 +/-	£1.66
George Holt	1726	£367	64	£5.7	£410	100 / 100	£4.10
William Osgood	1747	£1,067	65	£16.41	£4,150	225 / 694	£18.44

¹ The values and price per acre presented here are simplistic in that the mathematical formula of “price / unit” was used to get the price per acre in both Andover, Massachusetts and Windham County, Connecticut. These calculations do not take into account variables such as inflation, land quality and what improvements such as houses, barns, outbuildings, fences, orchards and the like may have been included in the price.

Table 3-2

Migration Inheritance Patterns

<i>Migrant</i>	<i>Year of Death</i>	<i>Acres owned in Windham County at death</i>	<i>Number of children at death</i>	<i>Number of sons at death</i>	<i>Persistence of sons / daughters in Windham County after migrant's death</i>
Philemon Chandler	1752	643	3	0 / 1 grandson	daughters remained in Windham County; grandson who inherited 643 acres remained
John Lovejoy, III	1727	100 +/-	4	2	sons and daughters migrated away from Windham County
Caleb Abbott	1778	72	3	2	both sons and daughter migrate away from Windham County
George Holt	1748	100	8	4	sons and daughters remain in Windham County
William Osgood	1791	694	4	3	all 3 sons remain; daughter migrates away from Windham County

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