Early New Haven

WOODWARD

EARLY NEW HAVEN

By

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"We have heard with our ears, O God, our fathers have told us; what Thou hast done in their time of old."—PSALM XLIV.

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In memory

of

my father

Horace Day

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Early New Haven.

As one stands in the middle of the New Haven Green and looks at the modern and beautiful buildings facing it, and the trolleys and automobiles moving in all directions, it is hard to realize that the Green was once an unfenced pasture, that the streets were rutted country roads, with here and there a house, that the cemetery was an uncared for little burying ground at the rear and sides of the Center Church, that the markets were held at the corner where the town pump now stands, that the stocks and whipping post stood almost opposite the Phelps Gateway, and that our forefathers, in their steeple crowned hats, broad collars, knee breeches and buckled shoes assembled at the beat of the drum, not only for Sunday services, but for town meeting as well, at the Meeting House in the middle of the Green.

Our forefathers were providentially led to settle here, and were kept here when all looked dark. We owe more than we perhaps realize to their fortitude in hardship, to their obedience to the heavenly vision, and to their desire for sound learning. In many ways their plans were frustrated, but their ideals held true, and have helped to mould the life we lead here to-day.

CHAPTER I.

FINDING A NEW HOME.

The men who left their comfortable homes in England, and crowded the little ship Hector and her consort, supposed they were going to settle near their friends who had founded the Massachusetts Bay Colony. They had heard how that undertaking had succeeded, and as the conditions in England which led to the departure of Winthrop and his followers had not improved, but had, on the contrary, grown steadily worse, they began as early as 1636 to make preparations for emigration.

The conditions which created so much dissatisfaction among English Puritans in the seventeenth century were both political and religious. Charles I, who was then King had had continual difficulty with his Parliaments over the questions of raising money. After a particularly stormy time with his third Parliament, he decided to try the plan of governing, or rather of laying taxes, without calling a Parliament together, and for nearly twelve years, taxes were laid and collected at the King's demand. It was not so much the amount of the tax, as it was the defiance of English law, which led to an excited state of feeling. Men resented the principle of "taxation without representation" as they have always done, and the feeling against the King grew stronger and stronger until the day when he was executed for high treason.

The tax, of course, principally affected well-to-do people, but there were other arbitrary laws which bore heavily upon people in all walks of life. The Church of England was by law established, and those persons who did not believe all the doctrines of this Church, or preferred to worship in some other manner, were called Non-Conformists. They had, of course, their own places of worship, and as they were good citizens,

loyal and law abiding, they were allowed for a while to hold religious services (in the manner they preferred) without molestation. But during the reign of Charles, severe laws were passed, intended to stamp out the increase of their numbers. Wealthy men who were found attending these meetings were fined, and in some cases imprisoned, and the clergy were fined, imprisoned and deprived of their livings.

Wealthy Non-Conformists were thus harassed in two ways. They were forced to pay taxes which had been unjustly levied, and they were also liable to fine and imprisonment on account of their religious belief.

Plymouth had been settled in 1620 by the Pilgrims who had already lived in Holland for twelve years. In 1628 the Puritan emigration began, and Salem, Boston and other towns in Massachusetts had been settled, and Hartford, Windsor and Wethersfield in Connecticut, before the New Haven Colony was established. The great and flourishing colony of the Massachusetts Bay Colony had given people confidence in the possibilities of colonization, and there were still remaining in England men who had taken part in the preparations for these settlements, in whose experience and sagacity every one could put his trust.

Two of these men were the Rev. John Davenport and Mr. Theophilus Eaton. Eaton was the older man, but they had known one another from boyhood, and had been interested in the Massachusetts Bay Company from the first. Both Eaton and Davenport had contributed money to procure the charter which King Charles I signed. Eaton had also, as a business venture, fitted out ships for the use of intending colonists, and were familiar with the needs of settlers in a new land.

The men who had settled these colonies had left many friends and relatives in England, and although opportunities for correspondence were not frequent, such ships as sailed for England carried letters from the settlers to their old friends.

Much interest was felt in the mother country concerning the progress of the new colonies, and many men who had not been able to arrange their affairs in time to join one of the earlier parties, felt a great longing to leave England and trust to the possibilities of life in a new land. When it became known that Eaton was interested in another venture of the kind, applications to join it became numerous, and instead of one vessel, which at first had seemed all-sufficient, it became necessary to charter a second one, that all the intending colonists, with their families, provisions and live stock might find accommodation. Several of Eaton's family, as well as a number of Davenport's parishioners were of the party. Most of the intending colonists were from London, but a party from Kent, another from Hertfordshire, and still another from Yorkshire, were added to their numbers.

The two ships, the Hector and its consort, whose name has not come down to us, made a good trip, and sailed into Boston harbor in June, 1637. Their friends in the colony gave them a hearty welcome, and were most hospitable in the offer of land for their settlement. Newbury proposed to give up her entire township to them, Charlestown offered many inducements and the General Court held a meeting at which it was voted that the new body of colonists might settle on any land they liked which was not already claimed.

But there were difficulties in the way. The newcomers had left home on account of religious strife and contention, and hoped to find everybody of one mind regarding sacred things in the new country, but they found the people of the Massachusetts Bay Colony already at variance in matters of religion. Eaton and Davenport knew, if they remained among them, their party would soon begin to take sides, and there would be division in their own ranks. It seemed best to go away as soon as a suitable place could be found.

Moreover, the intention of the leaders of the new expedition

was that its members should earn their living by commerce, rather than by agriculture. There were several men in the party of considerable wealth, and many more who were well-to-do, and the idea of commerce had appealed to some who would not have cared to embark their all in a colony whose sole object was to till the land. The territory bordering on Massachusetts Bay had all been taken up, and while there were hundreds and thousands of acres, inland, that might be theirs for the asking, this would mean a settlement too far from the coast for any hopes of commerce. The matter was much discussed, but no conclusion was reached, and the summer passed away. The newcomers scattered to various parts of the colony, the poorer ones working at their trades, but they still considered themselves an independent body, and were taxed as such by the Massachusetts Bay Colony.

Toward the latter part of August, Governor Winthrop received a letter from Captain Stoughton who was of the party of Englishmen sent in pursuit of the remnant of the Pequot tribe. These Indians had gone westward as far as Fairfield, and two parties, one by land and one by water, had followed them, passing on their way through the territory occupied by the Quinnipiac Indians, a peaceful, feeble folk who were much harassed by fierce tribes. Their land seemed very beautiful to Captain Stoughton, and in his letter he said it was preferable to Pequot as a place for a settlement.

It is thought that Governor Winthrop showed this letter to Mr. Eaton and Mr. Davenport, for on the 31st day of August, 1637, Eaton, with a small party of men, sailed from Boston for Quinnipiac, to look over the ground and to judge if it would be a good place to plant a colony.

To understand how New Haven harbor looked when Eaton and his men sailed into it, early in September, 1637, we must remember that the shore line has been greatly changed. The

growth of the city, and the demands of great railroad lines, have made it necessary to fill in the harbor flats, and to turn what was once water into dry land. The water line was then at Water street, and at the corner of Water and Meadow streets, in front of where the old Totten house now stands, was the landing place. One small stream of water emerged from the ground near the southwest corner of Park and Chapel streets, flowed southeast along the course of what is now called Oak street, and one can still see in the slope of the streets, what a declivity there must originally have been. This stream emptied into the harbor west of the landing place. The colonists named this stream West Creek. Another small stream, east of State street, also flowed south, and emptied into the harbor east of the landing place. This they called East Creek.

The little party of Englishmen, as they gazed upon the landscape from the deck of their little vessel, saw a beautiful flat plain, extending about two miles inland, and guarded on either side by great masses of rocks of a reddish hue. The Dutch had been here before them, and had named the place Rodenburgh, or Red Mount. In one place beech and shrub oaks grew thickly, but most of the land was covered with an open forest, though there were clearings where the Indians had raised crops of corn. On the banks of the two creeks were salt meadows.

Eaton landed with his party, made the acquaintance of the Indians, and carefully examined the ground, to satisfy himself that it would be a suitable spot in which to settle. He concluded that it was as good a place as they would be able to find, and sought and obtained an interview with Momauguin, the sachem of the tribe. He made the Indian understand that the body of men for whom he was spokesman, wished to come and live on the plain; that they would pay a fair price for the land, and would not do him or his tribe any harm. There were

but forty-six fighting men in the tribe, and they had had many conflicts with stronger tribes, in which they had suffered defeat. A plague had carried off a number of their warriors, and they were in the mood to listen to what Eaton had to say. When Momauguin told them of Eaton's offer, they were found willing to accept it. They wished to reserve the privilege of hunting and fishing over a part of the territory, and this privilege was readily granted them. Eaton arranged with the Indians the terms for the purchase of the land, but the payment was not made until later. It was necessary to obtain the services of an interpreter that the Indians might be made to understand what they had bound themselves to perform. There was such an interpreter, Thomas Stanton by name, living in Boston. He was distinguished for his knowledge of Indian dialects and Eaton thought it best to leave the payment unmade until Stanton should arrive at Quinnipiac.

Three months had now passed, and the shortening days and chilly nights gave warning of the approach of winter. It was time for Eaton to return to Boston and report what arrangements he had made. He left eight men at Quinnipiac, Joshua Atwater being in charge, to make what preparations they could for the main body of settlers. Eaton then returned to Boston with the remainder of his party, where they stayed until spring.

CHAPTER II.

THE FIRST YEAR.

Although the Indians seemed peaceful and friendly, and too few in numbers to be dreaded, there was always the possibility that they might join forces with some hostile tribe, and Eaton bore that possibility in mind. He thought at first that it would be best to settle at Oyster Point, now City Point, as the settlers would there be protected on three sides, and it would be necessary to build palisades on the land side only. But when his men first began to dig wells, it was found that to reach water required very deep digging and it was thought best to change the site of the settlement to a place where water lay nearer the surface of the ground. A spring of water which is said to have never frozen in winter, and to have been always cool in summer, gushed from the ground near the corner of George and Church streets, and hard by this spot the little party of eight men built a hut for their winter's occupancy. The winter of 1637-38 was very long and cold and one of the eight men—it is thought John Beecher—died, probably of exposure and hardship, and was buried near the hut. When the cellar was dug, in 1750, for the large stone house still standing at the junction of George and Meadow streets, the bones of this first settler were unearthed.

The seven survivors of this little party found abundance of occupation for the winter. Besides the hunting, fishing and chopping of wood necessary to supply themselves with food and fuel, the building of shelters for the coming settlers, was part of their work. The channel of the West Creek was near what is now Oak Street, and there were high banks of sand on each side. Many people now living in New Haven remember perfectly well the appearance of these sand banks, which have now

been carted away, as the grade of the street has been raised. In these sand banks the men dug caves or cellars. Those on the right hand side, as one came up the Creek, faced the south, and were bright and sunny. These caves were shored up by logs, over which cuts of turf were laid, something after the fashion of the sod houses of the West, and these cellars, or rather dug outs, were the only homes the colonists found waiting for them.

During the winter the little band of seven men had frequent visits from the Indians, who were awaiting with impatience the coming of the main body of colonists. The winter time undoubtedly seemed very long to them, but at last it wore away, and on the 30th of March, 1638, the colonists left Boston, reaching Quinnipiac two weeks later.

There were about fifty men who left London in the Hector and her consort. Counting women, children and servants the entire number of voyagers was about two hundred and fifty. A large number of settlers of the Massachusetts Bay Colony, who for various reasons wished to make a change, joined their numbers, and it is thought that at least four hundred and fifty souls came to Quinnipiac. Some writers have estimated that counting in servants, dependents and people who were not intending to become settlers there were about eight hundred souls.

On the 13th day of April, 1638, the colonists entered the harbor, but as the day was Friday, and as the familiar superstition about beginning important undertakings on the day prevailed, the landing was deferred until Saturday.

It is thought that the vessel was too large to sail up the channel of West Creek, and that it was anchored at or near the landing place and the ship's boats, loaded with the goods of the settlers, were rowed up the creek to the places where the cellars or caves had been dug ready to receive them. There

were not enough of these caves to house all the settlers, and some tents and wigwams were erected. Many of the men returned to the ship to sleep at night until at last the stores were all landed and the vessel returned to Boston.

The Indians, who had never before seen white women or children, gathered to welcome them as soon as the vessel appeared in sight, and were doubtless very much interested in all the movements of the party.

On Sunday the colonists gathered under an oak tree standing near the corner of College and George streets to listen to a sermon preached by the Rev. John Davenport, who was one of the two leaders of the party. His text was "Then was Jesus led up into the wilderness to be tempted of the devil" (St. Matt. VI, 1). He kept a diary at this time, in which he recorded that he "enjoyed a good day." In a medal struck to commemorate the two hundreth anniversary of the settlement of the town, John Davenport is represented as standing under the oak tree, preaching, and in the background are seated several Indians listening to his words. The west window in the Center Church commemorates the same scene.

The exact location of this tree was in the alley-way east of Jacobs' drug store, about twenty feet north of George street. A section of this tree was the anvil which Henry Ward Beecher's grandfather used, his blacksmith shop standing on the site of Knight's Garage.

A day or two after their arrival, the settlers observed a day of prayer. They gathered again, possibly under the same oak tree and agreed to be guided by the Scriptures in all their undertakings. For more than a year they had no formal government.

In the autumn Thomas Stanton arrived from Boston and succeeded in making the Indians understand the terms of the treaty, which was signed in November, 1638. Among other

stipulations, the Indians promised not to set traps where they could injure the live stock of the colonists; not to come into the settlement on Sunday with any goods for sale or barter; not to loiter around people's houses on Sunday; never to enter the house of any settler without knocking, and not to come into town in parties of more than six. The price paid for the land was twelve coats of English trucking cloth, twelve alchemy* spoons, twelve hatchets, twelve hoes, two dozen of knives, twelve porringers and four cases of French knives and scissors. Eleven coats of trucking cloth, and one of English cloth "made after the English manner," were given to the sachem Montowese, the head of a small band of ten fighting men, who, later, sold them additional land.

The caves, or cellars dug in the sand banks were very unhealthy, and as soon as possible the settlers built rude log huts to shelter them until the land was portioned out, and these huts, it is said, were huddled together on George street, where, owing to the lay of the land, the sun lies very warm. In October of the same year, Mr. Edward Wigglesworth, with his wife and son came to the colony, and until a house could be built for them they occupied one of the cave shelters. The son, Michael Wigglesworth, in later years wrote a poem, "The Day of Doom," and also prepared a brief autobiography, of which every line is of value to students of early New Haven history. In this autobiography he speaks of the cave shelters, and says that during a severe storm the rain soaked in upon him as he lay in bed, and that he had a severe illness in consequence. We know that his father, was a very lame man, and his lameness may have been caused by sleeping in the cave during the chill autumn weather. Some people have thought that the gravestone marked E. W., near the west wall of the Center Church, marks the last resting place of Edward Wigglesworth.

* Alchemy—a base metal substitute for silver.

The settlers had brought seeds of various kinds from England, and they began at once to clear the land sufficiently to plant crops. The early spring was very damp and cold, and their seed rotted in the ground, so that they were obliged to plant a second time. This crop prospered exceedingly as the summer was hot and dry. The planters had fine crops and felt greatly encouraged.

CHAPTER III.

LAYING OUT THE TOWN.

Among the settlers were several men who understood the art of surveying, and one of these, John Brockett, is supposed to be the man to whom we owe the plan of the town. Our streets do not run according to the points of the compass. The distance from the East Creek to the West Creek was a little more than half a mile. The surveyor laid out a line half a mile long on the bank of West Creek. With this as a base he laid out a square and subdivided it into nine smaller squares.

The central one of these nine squares was left for a market place, and the others were portioned out into home lots for the proprietors. This land not being enough, two "suburbs" as they were called, were laid out, one bounded by George, Meadow, Water and State streets, and the other west of West Creek. In more recent times the original nine squares have each been divided into four, but Crown street, Court street and Wall street, High street, Temple street and Orange street, were not laid out until nearly a hundred and fifty years had elapsed.

The market place was held in common, and was used for all public purposes. It was unfenced, but the eight squares surrounding it were fenced at the cost of their proprietors. The colony was a joint stock undertaking. Each person who was admitted as a planter in the colony paid in the amount he wished to invest, stated the number in his family and received a proportionate amount of land.

For every hundred pounds of estate which a man invested he was allowed five acres of land, and an equal quantity for every two persons. If, then, a man with a wife and two children gave in a hundred pounds of estate, he was allowed fifteen acres of land, and so in proportion. Enough of this for

a house and garden was located in the town plot, and the rest was assigned in the outlying land.

The eight squares surrounding the market place were called "quarters" and were named after the most prominent resident upon each. Mr. Eaton and Mr. Davenport were the leaders of the colony, and naturally had the first choice of land. Mr. Eaton was the wealthiest of the settlers, his estate being worth three thousand pounds, or about fifteen thousand dollars, a much larger sum for those days than for these. Mr. Davenport was one of nine men whose estates were one thousand pounds each.

"Mr. Eaton's quarter" was that bounded by Elm, State, Grove and Church streets. His home lot was on Elm street, reaching across what is now Orange street. A number of his relatives came to Quinnipiac with him, and were assigned lots near him. His brother, Mr. Samuel Eaton had the next lot on Elm street. It extended to State street. The land of his mother "Old Mrs. Eaton" and his step son David Yale, joined his at the rear, and faced on Grove street.

"Mr. Davenport's quarter" was the one bounded by Elm, State, Chapel and Church streets. His home lot was directly opposite Mr. Eaton's but was not so large. He had, however, in addition, a strip of land eight feet wide extending from the rear of his home lot to Church street. This is called on the first map, "Mr. Davenport's walk," and was used by him in coming and going from Church. It came into Church street about where Court street is laid out.

It has been said that each quarter as a whole was fenced, every proprietor being responsible for his proportion, but at first the individual holdings had no boundaries. Care was taken, in assigning land, to put old friends and neighbors near each other, both for friendship's sake, and to avoid disputes about boundaries.

The land assigned each proprietor was sufficient in most

cases to occupy all his time, but in case any one wished to cultivate more land, he was allowed to plant in the "Neck" between Quinnipiac and Mill rivers.

Besides the planters who were able to invest in the colony there were others whose means did not allow them to purchase a share, but who desired to become residents. Thirty-two small lots on the outside of the town plot were assigned to such persons.

The next step in the distribution of the land was to divide the outlying territory. The "Neck," the salt meadows, and a tract of land which, extending in every direction about a mile from the town was called the two mile square, were portioned out in such a way that each planter received some land in the "Neck," some in the meadows and some in the upland of the two mile square.

There was still land lying outside the two mile square, to be disposed of, and a few months after the first allotment, a second was made.

Of this land every planter, for every hundred pounds of estate given in, was allowed twenty acres of upland, and for every member of his family two acres and a half. The land in the first allotment was taxed fourpence an acre, and in the second twopence an acre.

When the first division of outlands was made nothing was given to those upon whom houselots had been gratuitously bestowed, but at the time of the second allotment they were included in the distribution. Six acres were allowed for a single person, eight for a man and his wife, and an acre was added for each child they had at the time of allotment. If they accepted this land they were to pay taxes at the rate of twopence an acre, the same as the others, and if, after accepting it they became tired of cultivating it, or thought it easier to make their living by their trade, still they were obliged to pay twelve pence a year toward public charges.

This distribution of land was carried on with the greatest fairness, and there were never any complaints of injustice. Not even Mr. Eaton had a rod of land more than his exact proportion. Mr. Davenport was the only exception in the colony. He was allowed a little more land than his share, and was, moreover, allowed to choose the location of his outlying land.

On the first day of September, 1640, by order of the General Court, the name of the colony was changed from Quinnipiac to New Haven. It is not known why it was so called. Davenport had a friend and correspondent in England named Lady Vere, and a letter he wrote her is still extant in which he mentions the arrival of the first ship from England at Quinnipiac in the summer of 1639. In it he says "The sight of the harbor did so please the captain and all the passengers that he called it The Fair Haven." Possibly a ship bringing passengers from Sussex had weighed anchor in the port of New Haven on the coast of Sussex. But the minds of the leaders of the colonists were so saturated with the words of Scripture that "a new heaven and a new earth in which dwelleth righteousness" and "So He bringeth them to their desired haven," might have suggested to them the name which was then adopted.

CHAPTER IV.

THE FUNDAMENTAL AGREEMENT.

As soon as the land was portioned out to the planters there was great activity in building houses. There was no colony in New England which had so large a proportion of well-to-do residents, and the houses which they built were unusually good for those days. "New Haven is noted for her fair and stately houses," says one early writer. Many of them were two full stories in height, and others were two stories in front and one in the rear. Sawyers, carpenters and thatchers were much in demand, and many men followed several different trades, working at each as his services were needed. The planters were obliged to cut down trees, to get out plank and timber, to dig cellars and wells, to thatch roofs, etc., but so busily they worked that by Fall most of them were housed. Probably many of the houses were unfinished when their owners moved in, but at all events they kept out the wind and weather, and were finished afterward at the convenience of the occupants.

The crops were large, and barns to house them were a necessity. One man, Robert Newman by name, must have been either an excellent farmer of his own land, or he must have cultivated land in the outlying district, for he built a barn so large that it is mentioned in the records as "ye mighty barn of Robert Newman."

The fencing of the quarters called for much additional labor, so that it is not surprising that over a year elapsed before the planters were able to meet together to formally organize their government. There had been neighborhood meetings for prayer, every Sunday, and many preaching services, but the time had now come for united action.

Robert Newman's house lot was on Grove street facing

Hillhouse avenue, where the Historical Society Building now stands. He had built "a mighty barn" which was ready for the abundant crops, but in June these were still growing, and the barn was put at the disposal of the planters, who gathered there to lay "the foundations of the Church and State." Mr. Davenport preached from the text "Wisdom hath builded her house: she hath hewn out her seven pillars." Then the planters were warned not to be rash about voting, but to cast their votes in such a way that they would be willing to have them "stand upon record for posterity." After the meeting the planters unanimously voted to submit, not only in Church matters, but in matters of law as well to the rule of the Scriptures.

It was also voted, not unanimously, but with only one dissenting voice, that no man should be admitted as a citizen of the town unless he were a Church member. Mr. Samuel Eaton, the brother of Theophilus Eaton, gave in his vote in the negative. There had been a good deal of discussion between Mr. Davenport and him regarding this matter, and Mr. Davenport had had fears that Eaton might influence a good many others, but when the question was put to vote, he was the only dissenter. Then the planters elected from their number twelve men of high standing in the community, and these twelve men, afterwards meeting in private, chose seven out of their number. Theophilus Eaton, John Davenport, Robert Newman, Matthew Gilbert, Thomas Fugill, John Punderson and Jeremiah Dixon were the "seven pillars," which "wisdom had hewn out." These seven persons covenanted together, and then received others into their fellowship, and thus the First Church of Christ in New Haven was formed on the 22d of August, 1639.

A great deal has been said and written about this gathering in Newman's barn. Many people have thought that the restriction of the privilege of voting to Church members only was a proof of the fanaticism and bigotry of the first settlers of New

Haven. Others have maintained that in a new colony, "whose design was religion" as they expressly declare, the only way to keep its affairs from becoming, sooner or later, the charge of irreligious men was to establish such a rule. It was established and was called "The Fundamental Agreement" meaning that the very foundation on which the colony stood was that only members of the church should have the privilege of voting.

CHAPTER V.

COMMERCE.

It would seem that a colony so pleasantly situated with men of so much ability at the head of affairs and with so many men of property among its settlers would have been successful from the very first, and the colonists were full of hopes for a bright future. They planted much land, intending after the wants of the settlers had been supplied to sell the surplus of their crops to the settlers in other colonies. They were on friendly terms with the Quinnipiac Indians, from whom they bought their land, and bartered with them for skins and furs, which they hoped to sell to advantage.

But the Quinnipiacs were a small and feeble tribe and the country was not rich in game The skins which were brought in were thin and small, and it became necessary to go farther away from home and deal with other tribes.

In the winter of 1638-39, George Lamberton, one of the planters, went trading to Virginia. He found that the Indians along the Delaware and Susquehanna rivers were bringing in a great many very fine furs and skins, and that there was a good opening for barter among them. When he returned to Quinnipiac he laid the matter before the leading men of the colony, and as a result a company was formed called The Delaware Company, for the purpose of trading with the Indians. Captain Nathaniel Turner went to see what could be done about purchasing land from the Indians, and in 1640 he bought the southwestern coast of New Jersey and some land near Philadelphia.

A number of trading houses were erected, some fifty families removed to the place, and for awhile the enterprise prospered, but the Dutch claimed the New Haven people were on

their territory, and they seized their goods, burned their trading houses and imprisoned some of their men. The people who had gone there full of hope straggled back again, poor and disheartened. They did not at once give up all hope of success in this direction, for several times parties of men went back to the region, but no more posts were established, and it became evident that the whole enterprise was a failure. It was a cruel blow to the colony, for it had cost them a thousand pounds, which they could ill afford to loss.

The hopes the planters had entertained of raising large crops were also disappointed. The great crops of the summer of 1638 were never repeated. The land was sandy, and the soil was poor. It was with difficulty that the planters could raise enough for their own use, and there was no surplus for export. At home in England they had been used to the comforts of life, and they expected too much of a new country. They built better houses than they ought to have built, and in many ways spent money they should have saved. More money went out of the Colony than came in, and they were growing poorer all the time. The settlers were full of gloomy forebodings. They seriously thought of abandoning the colony and trying their fortunes elsewhere. They came very near migrating to Delaware in a body, at the time when prospects there seemed so encouraging. The Rev. William Hooke, Mr. Davenport's colleague, was a cousin of Oliver Cromwell, and the Protector took a great interest in the affairs of the New Haven Colony. After the collapse of the Delaware Company, Cromwell wrote to Davenport, urging them to remove to Jamaica, and he made them generous offers of assistance, later, if they would settle in Ireland.

But Mr. Davenport was unwilling to abandon the colony to which he had given so many years of his life and in which he believed that government was established according to the

will of God, and he used all his influence to persuade the settlers to remain where they were.

But something must be done. They could not see their property melt away without taking some steps to improve the condition of affairs. They had previously to this sent their goods for foreign exports by sloops to Boston, there to be transferred to the larger vessels owned by the Massachusetts Bay Company, but they fancied if they owned a ship of their own their ventures might be more successful. They therefore formed a company called The Ship Fellowship, and either bought or built a ship which was made ready for sea in 1646. One writer says the ship was built in Rhode Island. She was chartered for a voyage to London by another association called "The Company of the Merchants of New Haven."

This company of merchants consisted of Mr. Theophilus Eaton, now Governor, Mr. Stephen Goodyear, Deputy Governor, Mr. Richard Malbon and Mr. Thomas Gregson. She was laden with pease and some wheat, all in bulk, with about two hundred West India hides and stores of beaver and plate, worth in all about five thousand pounds. Seventy persons embarked in her, ten of whom were members of the Church. Mr. Thomas Gregson, who was going to England to procure a charter for the colony, Captain Nathaniel Turner, and Mrs. Goodyear, wife of the Deputy Governor, "a right godly woman" were among them. In January, 1646, the harbor being frozen over, a passage was cut through the ice with saws for three miles, out to the open waters of the harbor. Mr. Davenport and a great company of the people went out upon the ice to give the last farewell to their friends. Mr. Davenport made a prayer, in which he said, with marked emphasis "Lord, if it be they pleasure to bury these our friends in the bottom of the sea, they are thine, save them." Then the vessel spread its sails, and began its voyage to England. It was never heard

from. Soon after she started a great tempest arose and it was thought she foundered in the gale.

It was not a well built ship, and fears were often expressed by Captain Lamberton, who was her master, before she left port, as to the safety of the passengers and freight. Moreover, she was badly laden, the lighter goods being at the bottom. Wheat, too, has a tendency to shift in a storm, and part of her lading was wheat. Mr. Davenport had sent his sermons and diary to England by her, probably for publication, and Mr. Hooke, minister of the first church in Hartford, also sent his. Mr. Davenport and Mr. Hooke both rewrote part of their manuscript, but Mr. Davenport's diary could never be re-written.

As spring came on, and ships began to arrive from London the colonists looked for news from their venture, but no news came. Many prayers, both in public and private were offered for her safety, and God was implored to let them at least know the fate of their absent friends. There was a possibility of a worse fate than death, for vessels sometimes fell into the hands of pirates who might keep the passengers as life long prisoners.

In June, 1648, toward evening there was a great thunderstorm. Then the air cleared, and the sky was serene as it often is after atmospheric disturbance, when suddenly a strange sight was seen in the sky. It lasted for over a quarter of an hour, and was beheld by many men, women and children. In the sky, over the harbor, was the representation of a ship, with her sails set, and full as if blown out by the gale. The ship sailed along, over the harbor, against the wind until she was over the landing place (at the corner of George and Meadow streets). On deck could be seen a man standing, brandishing in his hand a sword. As the people stood watching it, awestruck, the little children crying out "What a fine ship," a puff of smoke was seen on the side of the ship away

from the land, and in the smoke she vanished away. Some of the people declared they saw her keel sink into the water. Mr. Davenport declared in public that this sight was wrought by God that people might know the fate of the ship.

In Cotton Mather's Magnalia the story is written in a letter by Rev. Mr. Pierpont, the second minister of the Center Church to Mr. Mather. The event occurred before his time, but he had seen and conversed with many eye witnesses of it, and he believed firmly in the truth of the story.

Times had been hard before this, but the loss of the Great Shippe, with its precious cargo, and the still more irreparable loss of many persons prominent in the community, brought the colony to a condition of almost complete despair. They could not go away, for all their available capital had been put into the ship. They still had their houses, farms and abundance of firewood, and they lived through their "lean years" after a fashion. Mr. Goodyear established iron works in East Haven in 1655, and this helped the colony in some degree.

There was little money in circulation, and wheat, rye, pease and maize, flax seed, beaver skins and wampum were the substitutes. Sugar from the Barbadoes was also a medium of exchange. There are on record several cases where land was bought, payment being made in sugar. Shelter Island was owned by Deputy Governor Goodyear, who sold it for sixteen hundred pounds of muscovado sugar (unrefined or moist sugar).

Lieutenant Budd, who lived on the northeast corner of Church and Crown streets, where the Connecticut Savings Bank building now stands, moved to Southold, Long Island about 1643 and sold his house and lot for a hogshead of sugar. In 1665 a contribution was taken up for "the saints in need" in England. Payment was made to the deacons in grain and other commodities. It was sent to Barbadoes and exchanged for

sugar to the value of about ninety pounds, and was disposed of to several poor ministers and minister's widows.

Besides the settlement at Quinnipiac, there were other plantations nearby, organized under the same Fundamental Agreement, and in 1643 the colony or jurisdiction of New Haven was founded, which included Branford, Milford, Guilford, Stamford and Southold, Long Island. These plantations sent magistrates to sit in the General Court in New Haven, and Eaton was elected governor every year during his life.

CHAPTER VI.

THE MEETING HOUSE.

The first meeting house was begun in 1639, probably as soon as the planters had shelter for themselves. They raised the money for building by laying a tax of twenty-five shillings on every hundred pounds of property, and this brought in five hundred pounds. The house was built of wood, from trees cut in the market place. It was fifty feet square, with a turret and tower, and a railing around the roof. It is not certainly known, but it is thought it faced East, and it stood in the exact center of the Green. It had a middle aisle and two side aisles. Right and left of the pulpit the seats were placed at right angles to the others, as we often see them arranged at the present time.

The minister sat behind the pulpit, and immediately in front of the pulpit sat the ruling elder, and before him the deacons. The Rev. Thomas Hooke was chosen as teaching elder, and sat with Mr. Davenport behind the pulpit. He took turns with Davenport in preaching, and though not so revered in the colony as Davenport, was still highly esteemed. After his return to England, the Rev. Nicholas Street succeeded him.

Robert Newman and Matthew Gilbert were the two deacons, and later Robert Newman was chosen as ruling elder, and William Peck was made deacon. The officers of the Church thus sat facing the congregation.

In front of the deacon's seat was a table on a hinge, which was used on Communion Sundays.

As one entered, the left hand side of the middle aisle was reserved for the men, and the right hand side for the women. The men wore their hats in meeting, but the boys were obliged

to remove their head coverings. The little children sat with their mothers, the young men were seated in one gallery and the young women in the other. The behavior of the boys was sometimes very indecorous, and an officer of the chuch, called the tithing man, was appointed to keep the boys in order. Certain seats were assigned in the body of the house, near the door, to the town militia, and in the turret of the church a sentinel was posted to give warning of any disturbance on the part of the Indians. In addition, a few of the soldiers were appointed to walk around the meeting house during the services. At one time boys under sixteen were obliged to sit with the soldiers, as it was thought that fighting men could obtain better discipline than the tithing man, but sometimes the behavior of the soldiers themselves was open to criticism. One fourth of them were required to be on duty every Sunday and they were all obliged to come to meeting fully armed. All the planters were required to wear swords, except Mr. Eaton, Mr. Davenport, Mr. Samuel Eaton, Mr. James and the two deacons. The planters by this time felt sure of the friendliness of the Quinnipiacs, but there were hostile tribes at no great distance and the settlers felt it was prudent to be cautious. The town owned six pieces of artillery, three of which were placed near the meeting house, and three near the landing, at the corner of Meadow and Water streets.

There was no bell, and the beat of the drum called the people together for all public services. The first drum on Sunday was beaten at eight o'clock. The second one, beaten at nine o'clock was the signal for assembling at the church for public worship. Jarvis Boykin was town drummer. His salary was five pounds a year. His duties were to drum at sunrise and sunset, in the tower of the meeting house before service, and through the streets of the town on Sunday. He also beat the

call to town meetings, which were held for years in the meeting house.

For many years the building was unwarmed in winter. It was thought it would be more comfortable to have the glass windows removed in cold weather and the openings boarded up. Possibly this kept out some wind, but it made the interior very dark and gloomy, as well as damp and chill. On very cold winter days water froze in the baptismal bowl, and bread on the communion plates.

Footstoves were in use among the women. These were small perforated iron boxes, furnished with wooden handles. A few live coals, placed in one of them, gave out heat for some time. These boxes were used as footstools.

After the morning service, there was an interval for rest and refreshment, and during the winter, warmth as well must have been sorely needed. The interval was not long enough for people living at a distance to go home and return before the afternoon service, which began at two o'clock. These people generally came to church on horseback, and some sort of shelter for their horses became necessary.

Consequently a number of rough little houses were built near the Green. These were called "Sabba Day Houses." They were built with but one room, but the room had a chimney, and therefore a fire was a possibility. They contained a table and a bench or two by way of furniture. The people to whom these houses belonged came to them on Sunday some time before morning service began, built their fires and stabled their horses in a corner. By noon the logs had burned down to beds of glowing coals, and the air of the little room was warm and balmy. Here the people ate the food they had brought from home, while the horses ate their fodder. The women could replenish the contents of their footstoves and they could all warm themselves again after the second service, which was

shorter, before returning to their homes. In some cases a family owned its Sabba Day house, but it was cheaper and more sociable for several families to own and use one in common. Two or three of these Sabba Day houses stood on the south side of Elm street between High and York streets, and there was at least one on the north side of the Green, between Temple and Church streets.

The services in the Church were not unlike those in the Congregational Churches to-day. There were prayers, the singing of psalms, reading of the Bible, the minister stopping at every few verses to explain the meaning of some passage, and a sermon. The men stood in prayer, and the custom survived among the elder men, at least in the Center Church until a recent period. The minister placed his hour glass on the pulpit when he began his sermon, and usually stopped when the sands had run out, but if his topic seemed to him especially important or interesting, he would turn the hour glass and keep on with his preaching. There was one peculiarity about the service in the New Haven meeting house. When sermon time came, the whole congregation rose to hear the text. One Sunday morning Mr. Davenport preached a sermon on reverencing the Word of God, and said how fitting it would be to evince such reverence by standing when the passage of Scripture which was to be expounded, was read to the congregation. People went home after service and talked this matter over in their families, for the sermon was the great event of the week, and was always discussed with interest. In the afternoon the congregation gathered again. The prayers were made, the psalms were sung and the Bible was read. Then the minister rose to announce his text, and the whole congregation rose to their feet with him. A letter is extant from a stranger who happened to be in Church that morning, telling of the sermon and how the congregation responded to the suggestion in the

afternoon. A contribution was made each Sunday, every person passing to the front to deposit his or her alms.

There were two mid-week meetings. On Tuesdays the Church had a meeting by itself, perhaps not every week, but as often as was necessary to settle Church matters, and on Thursdays was held what we call a prayer or conference meeting, open to all.

It has been said that every person had his place in the meeting house. More than this, his place was assigned him according to his standing in the community. There was a committee appointed to seat people according to their dignity and importance, and assigning each person to his proper seat was called "Dignifying the Meeting House." The first settlers of New Haven, like its citizens of to-day, were of different stations in life. There were about twenty who were not obliged to work for a living. These had the title "Mr." The Church members were called Brother and Sister and the rest of the community, above a certain rank were called Goodman and Goody. No seats were assigned to anyone whose rank was inferior to Goodman or Goody. Everyone must make his appearance in meeting, but these people of lowest rank must sit wherever they could find a place, which, of course, varied from week to week.

It was a very delicate matter for the committee to seat the people to the satisfaction of all concerned. One's seat showed exactly his place in the estimation of the community, and many an ambitious man and woman felt injured at having a seat so much less desirable than it was felt was deserved. Of course, there was no disputing the superior rank of a certain number of the settlers, but as the social scale was descended, it became harder to decide between conflicting interests, and a great deal of heart burning and jealousy was the result.

The pews, which were really benches, were long and could

accommodate seven persons, but to the chief seats only two or three persons were assigned, as the amount of space each person was allowed, was proportioned to the dignity of the individual. Governor Eaton and the Deputy Governor, Mr. Goodyear, occupied the first seat, directly under the pulpit, and Mr. Malbon, the magistrate, sat in the seat behind them. Mrs. Eaton and her mother-in-law sat in the first woman's seat, and Mrs. Davenport and three other ladies sat in the second seat. Farther back, and in the side aisles, the people were crowded together, and there were seats and benches in the aisles, and in front of the front pews, that every one might have a place somewhere.

The logs of which the first meeting house was built, must have been decayed from the first for after a very few years the building began to show so many signs of decay that the builders were brought before the General Court to answer for their poor work. Two pillars were put in to shore up the roof, and the town drummer was ordered not to beat the drum in the tower any longer. Then the tower and turret were removed, because of the weight on the roof, and in 1668 it became necessary to have a new building. This was built to the east of the old one, which was used until the new house was ready for occupancy.

William Preston and his wife were appointed keepers of the meeting house. Mr. Preston's part of the work was to open and close the meeting house doors. Mrs. Preston's duty was to sweep it and keep it in order, and the town paid her a shilling a week. We are not told what Mr. Preston received for his arduous labors. There was no caring for the furnace, for fire there was none, and probably no snow was shoveled away, as there were no walks laid out on the Green for many years. The Prestons lived at the southwest corner of State and Chapel streets. The East Creek flowed a little east of State street,

about on a line with the railway, and after the settlers had deepened and widened the channel, boats could be floated up "as far as William Preston's," so the old records state.

In 1682 a vessel came into port with a bell on board. The town tested it for a year and a half before buying, and it was then hung in the turret of the meeting house as a town bell.

CHAPTER VII.

THE GREEN.

Of the nine squares into which the town plot of New Haven was divided, the central one was reserved for a common, and was used for all public purposes. It was a training ground for the militia; it was the place of public meeting; it was the market place. The first church was erected here, and the first schoolhouse, and part of it was reserved for use as a burying ground. Its surface was very uneven, and the slope from west to east was great. Moreover, the growth of underbrush was so dense that it has been said that if a body of soldiers had been stationed on the east side of the Green, and a similar company at the west side, they would have been invisible to each other. The lower part of the Green, between Temple and Church streets, was very swampy, and for years swamp shrubs, whose straight stalks the Indians used for their arrows, could be gathered where the town pump now stands. Across the swampy part, from the door of the meeting house to the east side of the Green, a raised path, or causeway was made, a little north of the Court street entrance. A small stream of water rose in the moist corner by the town pump, flowed southeasterly through the wood and emptied into the East Creek. Cows, swine and geese all fed in the market place and it was covered with stones, barberry and huckleberry bushes, sorrel and other weeds. The trees upon it were cut down, partly to furnish fuel for the planters, and partly for logs for the first church and other buildings, and the unsightly stumps dotted the ground in every direction. The land was unfenced, and the road to the west ran diagonally across it, from what is now the corner of Church and Chapel streets to the corner of College and Elm streets. The track was not always very carefully followed, and

the ground was muddy and rutted for a good space on each side of the road.

As a watch was kept all night and every night by a certain number of the inhabitants, it was necessary to provide a central place of meeting for the men, and the watch house was built near the corner of College and Elm streets. There were many delinquents, not among the planters themselves, but among the servants and slaves they had brought with them, and a prison house was also a necessity. This was built nearly opposite where the Phelps gateway now stands. The stocks and whipping post followed in due course. It was some little time before a schoolhouse was built, for the first school was held in the house of its teacher, Mr. Ezekiel Cheever. The exact location of the schoolhouse is not known, but it is thought, by competent authority, to have stood a little north of the United Church.

Men who brought wagon loads of produce to market drove into the Green from any point which was convenient for them, so the entire surface of the ground was rutted, rough and barren. As time went on, "English grass" began to grow in some places and it was made a punishable offense to destroy it. The tree stumps in the course of years decayed so that they could be pulled up, and the bushes were cut down, but it was not until 1759 that the planting of trees was begun. When the town was invaded by the British in 1779, it is said that General Garth declared that "the town was too pretty to burn." Probably the beauty of the trees had much to do with creating this impression. In 1701 New Haven was made a co-capital with Hartford, and the General Assembly, which then met twice a year, began holding its October sessions here.

The first Court House was built on the northwest corner of the Green, adjoining the County House, in 1719, and in 1763 the second one was built a little north of where Trinity Church

now stands. In the belfry of this building was hung the bell which had been bought for the meeting house in 1684. A new bell had replaced it in the belfry of the First Church, and the old one had been purchased for the Court House. In this building the political, civil, judicial and social life of New Haven centered for more than sixty years. The town and public meetings connected with the French and Indian war, with the opposition to the Stamp Act, and with the preparation and progress of the Revolution were all held here. On the day the Stamp Act went into operation, Nov. 1, 1765, the chuch bell, the bell of the college and the bell of the State House, tolled dismally at intervals all day. In 1828 the building was torn down, and much of its material was used in the construction of its successor, which was built on the Green, near College street, and nearly opposite Farnam College. In this building General Jackson was addressed by the Governor of the State and the Mayor of the city. In 1838, the two hundreth anniversary of the settlement of the town was celebrated, and the long procession, which passed in its line of march all the historic locations in the city, formed in front of the south portico of this building. In 1865, when the news of the assassination of President Lincoln reached New Haven, the largest concourse of people which New Haven had then ever seen, collected on and around the State House steps, while addresses were made by distinguished citizens. The gathering on the Green on the day of the memorial services for President McKinley was much larger but hardly so representative.

Many other interesting public meetings have been held in the State House, and many notable strangers have there been welcomed. From the south porch, Kossuth, the patriot of Hungary, addressed the people of the town on the occasion of his visit to New Haven.

In 1889 the State House was removed. There was much

opposition to its removal on the part of many of our older citizens, who thought that the building might be repaired and used for many public purposes, but it was found that the estimated cost of making even the most necessary repairs would be greater than the financial condition of the city would justify. "It fell, and great was the fall of it." Over seven thousand cart loads of rubbish were taken away and when the ground was levelled, and the grass had taken root, the Green looked so much better without it that few, if any, of those citizens who had taken an active part in opposing its removal really regretted that their protests had not been heeded.

The present Center Church is the fourth structure built on or near the same site. The first one was begun in 1639, the second in 1668, the third, called the New Brick Meeting House, was finished in 1757, and the present building in 1814. The Fair Haven Church building was near where the United Church now stands, and was built in 1772. The North Church now the United Church, succeeded it in 1814. Trinity Church was also begun in 1814.

Thus the three churches which are now standing on the Green were all in process of erection at the same time. It was a difficult matter to get cargoes of lumber through the Sound at this time, owing to the embargo of the war of 1812. The lumber for the Center Church was readily allowed to pass, as it was for a religious edifice, but the same plea for a cargo for a second church met with suspicion, and it was with great difficulty that the same true reason was accepted for the third time. In 1800 the first fence was built around the Green. It was of wood, painted white, having squared and pointed posts, and an upper and lower rail which were also squared. It enclosed the Green on both sides of Temple street, as is shown by a painting of the period. This fence stood until 1846, when it was succeeded by the present one, the old one being removed

to Milford. The burying ground had been enclosed in a rough board fence, painted red, before 1775, for it is shown on the Stiles map of 1775.

The First Methodist Church was built on the northwest corner of the Green in 1821, very near where the first State and Court House had been built. The second State House having been torn down in 1828 and the third one not being ready for occupancy until 1831, the courts held their sessions for that interval in the basement of the church. In 1848 the present house of worship on the corner of Elm and College streets was built.

The old jail and Court House had been removed from the Green in 1784, and the old market house which had been built on the southeast corner of the Green, was removed abut 1798 or 1799.

The whipping post had been moved to the front of the second State and Court House, and then removed to the southeast corner of the Green. Whipping ceased to be a legal penalty in 1825, and the post was used for legal notices. The present sign post is a lineal descendant of the whipping post.

In the Spring of 1787, Mr. James Hillhouse drew up a paper to which many citizens subscribed, each one stating the amount he would give toward beautifying the Green by planting trees and preventing the washing away of the earth. Mr. Hillhouse had a born genius for leadership, and was an untiring worker. He stimulated the little town of less than a thousand families so that even the children were aroused to help him. President Day, of New Haven, then a young man, drove the guiding stakes for some of the trees, and Judge Baldwin, then a boy of twelve or fourteen years, said, long afterwards, "I held many an elm, while Hillhouse shovelled in the earth." Rev. David Austin planted the inner rows of elms on the east and west sides of the lower Green.

Cows from the town poorhouse were pastured on the Green

as late as 1830, and before that the citizens had right of pasturage there. The upper Green was then very sandy in places, but after repeated attempts had been made to seed it, the grass took root, and large crops of hay were raised. Sixty years ago the grass was allowed to grow as in any field, and after haying time the haycocks dotted the surface of the Green.

The invasion of the elm tree beetle, some fifty years ago, has been very injurious to our elm trees. During the term of office of Mayor Aaron N. Skinner, maple trees were planted on the upper Green, as the beetle does not attack maples.

The flag staff is a successor of the liberty pole which was set up about 1775. The bandstand, was first placed near the flag staff, and is now nearly in line with Temple street.

In all the early records the Green is called the market place, or common. It is not known when first the name of The Green was given it, but in 1779 the name appears in print.

The few enjoyments and diversions which the colonists allowed themselves, centered around the Green, and were looked forward to with much eagerness, especially by the young. There was a General Training Day three times a year, when the people gathered on the Green to witness the manoeuvres of the militia and to watch the games in which they indulged.

Elections were held in May and October, and these days, also, brought the people to the market square. These were times when a great deal of bartering was done, and people who had come in from the country stayed through the day. The townspeople kept open house and were expected to entertain their callers with food and drink. The drink was generally cider, and the food was spiced cake with currants and raisins baked in it. Every good housekeeper had her own rule for election cake, and many of these receipes have been handed down to New Haven housekeepers of to-day. There were also two fairs, for the sale of cattle and other merchandise, which were held in May and September.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE HOMES OF THE FIRST SETTLERS.

Thanks to the old copy of the map of 1641, which so strangely came to light and then so strangely disappeared (see Ch. XX) we know where the home lots of the first settlers of New Haven were situated. These lots were large, and as there are no houses marked on the map, we do not know, except in a very few cases, on what part of his lot a man's house was situated, and in the case of a corner lot we do not know which way the house fronted. We do know the exact location of Mr. Davenport's house, for its cellar was not disturbed until 1878-9, and many living citizens of New Haven have visited it. We know, too, that Governor Eaton's house was directly opposite, and we know that Mr. Isaac Allerton's house, on the corner of Fair and Union streets, had four porches, one presumably on Fair, and one on Union streets.

The streets were not named for many years after, nor were the streets subdividing the original squares cut through, but the present names of the streets will be used, that as clear a description as possible may be given of these interesting spots.

The home lot of Governor Eaton was on the north side of Elm street between Grove and Church streets. Orange street was not then laid out, and his land extended toward Church, including the intersection of Orange with Elm streets. It is thought his house stood about where Dr. Verdi's house now stands.

Mr. Davenport's house stood on the site of the Presbyterian Church, on the south side of Elm street. His land, too, included Orange street on the south side of Elm. A good deal more is known concerning these two houses than any others

built at the time, and they are more fully described in the chapter "Eaton and Davenport."

Captain Nathaniel Turner lived on the east side of Church street not far from Grove, his land including Wall street. Some years ago, when excavations for water pipes were being made on Wall street at its intersection with Church street on the east side, at a considerable distance below the surface was found the remains of an ancient cellar, which has been supposed to be that of Captain Turner's dwelling. Captain Turner was the military commander of the colony, and it is thought he was assigned land in this quarter because the Indians, whose lands adjoined the Quinnipiacs, and of whom the settlers lived in continual fear, were likely, in case of an invasion, to enter the settlement from the northeast. There is frequent mention of him in the colony records, and he was often employed in the service of the colony. He was lost at sea in 1646, being one of the passengers of the "Great Shippe" commanded by Captain Lamberton.

No one can speak with any degree of certainty of the location of any other building. On Ashmun street are still standing two houses, which were built by the second generation of townsfolk, but none of the first dwellings are standing to-day.

The four best houses in New Haven were those of Mr. Eaton, Mr. Davenport, Mr. Allerton and Mr. Gregson. Mr. Allerton was a late comer, and as the land in the nine original squares had all been portioned out before his arrival, he was forced to build outside the town plot, on the northeast corner of Union and Fair streets. It was his granddaughter, Mrs. Eyres, who is said to have sheltered the Regicides (see Ch. XII). Mr. Allerton is said to lie buried on the lower Green, near the flag staff.

Mr. Thomas Gregson's lot was on the southwest corner of Chapel and Church streets, where the Glebe building now

stands. He had been a merchant in London, and was one of the most honored men in the community. He sailed for England in 1646, being intrusted with a commission from the colony of New Haven to obtain, if possible, a charter from Parliament. He, too, was lost at sea, being a passenger in the same ship that carried Captain Turner.

One of Gregson's descendants left his land in New Haven to Trinity Church, for Glebe land, the income to be used by the church, but other heirs disputed the gift. Trinity Church finally bought it to avoid controversy, and Gregson street is named for the donor.

Stephen Goodyear, the Deputy Governor, lived on Chapel street, west of Gregson. Temple street is now cut through what was once his land. He was a man of the highest standing in the community, and his wife was a woman of saintly character. She, too, was a passenger in the "Great Shippe."

Matthew Gilbert, who was one of the first deacons of the Church, lived on the northeast corner of Church and Chapel streets, where Riker's drug store now stands. He lies buried in the rear of Center Church. The little stone marked M. G. has been thought by some people to have been placed at his grave, but the reasons for disbelief in this theory are given in the chapter on James Dixwell.

Ezekiel Cheever, the first schoolmaster in New Haven, lived on the southeast corner of Church and Grove streets, next to Captain Turner. Soon after he came he opened a school in his own house.

The lot on the southeast corner of Church and Elm streets was held by the settlers as a parsonage lot, if at Mr. Davenport's death or removal it should be needed, but afterward the lot apportioned to Mrs. Eldred, a lady who had taken shares in the colony, but remained in England, was reserved as a parsonage lot, and the former one was granted to Nicholas Augur,

who practised medicine in New Haven from 1643 to 1676, when he perished by shipwreck on an uninhabited island off Cape Sable.

The Rev. William Hooke, Mr. Davenport's colleague, lived on the southwest corner of College and Chapel streets. When he returned to England he left the property to the First Church of Christ in New Haven, and the Church leased it for a term of nine hundred and ninety-nine years to Yale College. President Clap's house was built on this lot, facing on College street, and his daughter Mary, who married General Wooster, was the Mary Clap Wooster, after whom the New Haven chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution is named.

John Cooper lived opposite Ezekiel Cheever, on the southwest corner of Church and Grove streets. He was the town chimney sweep. In the winter chimneys were swept once a month, and in summer once in two months. If householders preferred to do their own sweeping they might, but if the sweeping were badly done, Cooper was allowed to collect double rates. He held many minor offices. He kept the pound where were imprisoned stray cattle until the owner appeared and paid the fine; he was town crier, going through the streets ringing a bell, and calling out what was lost, strayed or stolen; he was inspector of fences and later in life was chosen deputy at town meetings.

CHAPTER IX.

INTERNAL DISSENSIONS.

As times went on, and the children of the first settlers grew to manhood and womanhood, there arose divisions in the colony. The rule of the leaders was a rigid one, and many of the younger men, especially those who were not Church members, rebelled against the Fundamental Agreement. All the settlers were obliged to bear arms, and to take part in all general training. They were taxed for non-appearance at town meetings and other gatherings, yet those who were not Church members had no vote in the management of affairs. After the disasters which the Delaware Company experienced, and the loss of Captain Lamberton's great ship, the murmuring grew louder than ever. One of the must bitter complaints was made in regard to the captain of the town band. Oftentimes the most suitable man for this position was not a Church member, and he was therefore ineligible. So much dissatisfaction was expressed that an order of the General Court was passed providing that in case a man suitable for captain could not be found among the Church members, the voters might elect a man outside the Church. This was regarded as a great concession.

Mr. Eaton's position in the colony of New Haven was unlike that of any other layman in any of the colonies. At the very outset he was elected chief magistrate and was afterward elected governor, holding office until he died. There was no such thing as trial by jury. Mr. Eaton, while acting as agent in the countries bordering on the Baltic Sea, had seen the workings of a system without trial by jury, and approved of the method and results. He was judge, jury and prosecuting attorney combined. He ascertained the facts in all cases brought

before him, decided upon the guilt or innocence of the parties accused, and in cases of guilt, decreed the punishment. He liked the dignity and authority of his position, and did not desire to share its honors with anyone. In October, 1642, when four deputy magistrates were chosen they were expressly told they might assist the court by way of advice, but should have no power of sentencing.

The General Court held its sessions in the meeting house until 1719. These sessions were very frequent, as there were many disorderly persons in the community. There were both slaves and indentured servants, and while the former were governed by their masters and mistresses, the latter were constantly giving trouble and were in need of much discipline.

Eaton adopted a paternal tone toward the people who were brought before him. He lectured them on their offenses, and strove to make them see the error of their ways, and if they were properly penitent, and expressed their intention of amendment, they were sometimes allowed to depart with merely a rebuke. Notice was taken not only of misdemeanors and offenses against morality, but of every neighborhood scandal or gossip, or disrespectful criticism of Mr. Eaton or Mr. Davenport. It was thought in other settlements that discipline was too severe in New Haven. Mr. Davenport's discipline of Church members was rigorous in the extreme, and Mather, in the Magnalia, says, "Mr. Davenport used the golden snuffers of the sanctuary over much."

Infractions of the Fourth Commandment were very severely punished. Bearing in mind the verse in Genesis, that "the evening and the morning were the first day," the leaders of the community held that the Sabbath began on Saturday night at sunset. All unnecessary work on Sunday was prohibited, as well as all friendly gatherings. Every person who was not provided with a good excuse was expected to be in his seat in the meeting

house on Sunday, and in case of absence, the cause was ascertained on the following day. A man named William Blaisdell stayed away from church on Sunday, and on Monday gave as his reason that he was hunting on Saturday in the rain and that as he had no fire to dry his clothing he was forced to stay at home on Sunday. This excuse was not considered sufficient, and he was sentenced to be severely whipped.

Two men, riding from Milford to New Haven on Sunday were brought before the court for censure, and, as penance for their Sabbath breaking, were ordered to make public apology before the meeting in Milford as well as in New Haven, as they had broken the peace of the Lord's Day equally in both places.

The captains of two vessels lying in New Haven harbor, were brought before the Court accused of having worked on the Sabbath. They pleaded in extenuation that it was necessary for them to work to save their vessels, as they were in sudden peril by an unexpected high tide. The magistrates told them they should have taken pains to place the vessels where they could not be imperilled by any rise in the tide. However, as they were strangers, the Court agreed to pass the transgression by, but noted in their records, that if any of the mariners belonging to the colony presumed to take a similar liberty "the sentence would be heavier upon them."

The Sabbath in New Haven began at sunset on Saturday evening, but it did not, as some have thought, end at sunset on Sunday evening. The sacred time lasted until Monday, and any fault committed on Sunday evening was considered a greater offense than if the deed were done on a week-day. A man named William Perte, who stole watermelons on Sunday evening was publicly whipped, not so much for the magnitude of the offense, as for the fact that the theft was committed so soon after the Sabbath. In 1659 an ordinance was passed

forbidding children and young persons to play or even walk in the street Sunday evening, as it was thought the good effect of the sermon would be lost upon them if they were allowed to amuse themselves so soon afterward.

There were many suits for slander in the community. If a person gossiped about his neighbors, or spread reports concerning them, he was quickly brought before the Court, and made to prove his words. If a woman were the scandal monger, her husband was called upon to pay her fine. Governor Newman, who succeeded Governor Eaton, was obliged to pay five pounds because Mrs. Newman had spread untrue reports concerning one of her neighbors.

Nor was it safe to make any criticisms of the higher powers. If one criticised the decisions of the magistrates or the sermons of Mr. Davenport, no matter how privately, if it came to the ears of the authorities, he was punished for "speaking evil of dignitaries."

One very interesting trial is on record of three women, of good standing in the community. Their names were Mrs. Brewster, Mrs. Moore and Mrs. Leach. Mrs. Brewster and Mrs. Moore were calling on Mrs. Leach, and the door of the room in which they were sitting was closed. They did not know that Mrs. Leach's servant was listening at the door. The servant heard so much that, not having a good memory, she was fearful that she could not remember it all, and she called to a man who was also employed on the place to come and listen also.

Mrs. Leach opened the door very quickly, perhaps suspecting eavesdropping, and finding her two servants there, she rebuked them with more vigor than elegance of speech. They, fearing her punishment, informed the magistrates of the disrespectful remarks they had overheard, and the three women were brought before the Court. They admitted that they had

criticised Mr. Davenport's sermons, had sympathized with people who had been under Church discipline, and had said that the punishment which the magistrates had inflicted in a certain case, was cruel. Mrs. Leach also confessed that she had spoken very sharply to the servants when she opened the door and found them listening. All three of the defendants were found guilty, and were bound over to a higher court. What the penalty was we do not know, for the volume of records in which the entry was made, has long been lost, but in all probability they were fined.

Mr. Davenport had taken shares in the Delaware Company, but the fact of his interest in it had been kept secret. The venture was very disastrous, and when it became known that Mr. Davenport had been privately concerned in it, there was much comment. A man named Luke Atkinson said, "Mr. Davenport's name had been very precious in the community, but now it was darkened." For this he was fined forty pounds, to be paid Mr. Davenport, as some compensation for his injured feelings.

Fines were inflicted for minor offenses, such as staying away from court, not being present at the Watch or at training, and there were also laws against lying. In cases of malicious michief, if the culprits were unable to pay for the damage they had wrought, they might be sold into slavery, the price of the offender being given to the one who had sustained the damage. This was actually done several times. A boy of twelve years and a girl of ten, who had maliciously set fire to a barn, were thus sold.

New Haven was not disgraced with as many persecutions of the Quakers, or trials for witchcraft, as some of the colonies. Humphrey Norton, a Quaker, preached the doctrines of his sect at Southold, L. I., and was brought to New Haven for punishment, as Southold was one of the plantations included in

the New Haven colony. On Sunday morning, Norton being brought to meeting, Mr. Davenport preached a sermon against the Quakers which made the prisoner very angry, and he showed his wrath by "vehement and boisterous behavior." In the afternoon Norton was again brought to meeting, probably to hear another sermon of the same kind, but he rose in his place and began to tell Mr. Davenport what he, Norton, thought of the minister and *his* doctrines.

This naturally created some excitement, and Norton was stopped and taken out of church; at his trial it was decreed that he be whipped, branded on the hand with the letter H. for heretic and banished from the community.

There were three other persecutions of Quakers. One was whipped, one was fined, and the third, a sailor on board a vessel in the harbor, who was charged with being a Quaker, was not allowed to come on shore with his companions.

There was but one trial for witchcraft, and although the woman had powerful enemies, Mr. Hooke, the colleague of Mr. Davenport appearing against her, she was not convicted, but lived out her days in peace. There were other wrongdoers in the community, who seem to have escaped the punishment which they certainly merited. These were the soldiers. Certain seats in the meeting house were assigned to them, and at one time the boys under sixteen years of age were obliged to occupy the same seats. People whose places were near those of the soldiers made many complaints because of their bad behavior. They shuffled their feet, pinched and kicked each other, teased the boys, threw pieces of lime at one another, and on one occasion got into an uproar about a hat, which, taken from under its owner's seat, was passed along from one man to the next, until the owner lost all knowledge of its whereabouts, which he naturally resented. One of the boys, the son of Mrs. Goodyear, was seriously injured in the head by the

rough behavior of the soldiers, and complaint was made against them. But is was difficult to fasten any specific charge on any one of them, and the soldiers were too necessary to the well-being of the colony to make it wise to allow any disaffection, so they got off with rebuke and little or no punishment. While the rest of the meeting house was crowded with extra seats, the space from the soldiers seats to the doors was kept clear, so that they could easily get out in case of emergency.

At the same time exalted station in the community did not exempt one from punishment if, in the judgment of the Church or Court, the penalty was deserved. The case of Mr. Cheever is elsewhere noticed. Mrs. Eaton, the wife of the Governor, was convicted of views concerning infant baptism such as Mr. Davenport and the Church considered heretical, and she was brought before the Church for trial. She was not submissive and would not own her fault, nor ask for pardon as humbly as Mr. Davenport thought proper, and she was excommunicated from the Church, her husband's standing in the community being all that saved her from banishment. After her husband's death she returned to England, where she died.

The foregoing examples of the treatment of offenders of all classes in the colony of New Haven, goes to show that it was the intention of the authorities to have everyone in the colony lead upright and religious lives. And there was a cause for all this rigor of discipline which should be fully understood.

Mr. Davenport, Mr. Eaton and the leading men of the colony were in their religious belief Millenarians. They interpreted the Bible literally, and they thought the text "Behold the Lord cometh, with ten thousand of his saints, to execute Justice," meant that Christ would come from heaven to reign on the earth. Other texts of Scripture they interpreted to mean that his reign would last for one thousand years. Moreover,

they believed that New Haven was the place He would choose for His habitation. The design of the colony was religion, and they thought Christ would say "This is My abode, for I have a delight therein." At the expiration of the thousand years they thought that the great company of the faithful on earth would assemble here, and from here ascend to Heaven. This was the reason the market place was made so large. It accounts also for the excellent dwellings the colonists made haste to rear, and more than all it furnishes the reason for the excessive zeal of Mr. Davenport and Mr. Eaton in trying to keep all the colonists, from the least to the greatest, in the ways of true doctrine and in righteousness of life. It has been well said that Mr. Davenport's great mistake was that "he confounded the devout man with the good citizen."

CHAPTER X.

DAVENPORT AND EATON.

John Davenport and Theophilus Eaton, "the Moses and Aaron of the New Haven colony," lived in their boyhood in the town of Coventry, England. Eaton was six years the elder, but they were schoolfellows and playmates and Eaton's father was minister of the Church which Davenport's parents attended. Eaton had been intended for the Church, but he preferred a business life, and while Davenport was still studying, he came to London to begin his career. His character was so good and his ability so great that he was soon made agent for a company of merchants engaged in business in the countries bordering on the Baltic Sea. After Davenport had left Oxford he was ordained and shortly afterward became Vicar of St. Stephen's Church, Coleman street, London. When Eaton returned to England he became a parishioner of his friend, and the boyhood intimacy was renewed, never again to flag during his lifetime.

Although Davenport was a minister of the Established Church in England, he disapproved of many of its doctrines and practices. There were many clergy and laymen of the Church of England at this time, who did not believe in all its doctrine, or worship according to its order of service, and these men were called Non-Conformists and were persecuted in various ways. Non-Conformist ministers were not allowed to preach in the Churches, and were deprived of their incomes as clergymen. Non-Conformist laymen were both fined and imprisoned. The Bishop of London, Laud, who was afterward Archbishop of Canterbury, was especially severe with the London clergy and congregations, and among those who aroused his anger for not conforming in every detail of public service

to the ritual as set forth in the prayer book was "the Rev. John Davenport of St. Stephen's Church in Coleman street."

Laud's animosity was increased by his knowledge of Davenport's interest in an association which had been formed to promote a more earnest and faithful ministry. A number of clergymen belonged to this society, and Davenport was one of the trustees. These trustees were brought before the Court, their proceedings condemned as illegal, and their funds, amounting to six thousand pounds were confiscated. They were threatened with trial, imprisonment and fine, but the proceedings were at last dropped, and they were left in peace for a while.

But again Mr. Davenport was brought to Court, and this time arraigned as a "notorious delinquent," because he had subscribed to a fund designed to help some German ministers who had been driven from their homes and churches by the Emperor of Austria. Laud objected to this because the exiles were Calvinists or Presbyterians. Again Davenport escaped punishment, but it was too evident that Laud was his enemy. Davenport's friend, John Cotton had become a Non-Conformist minister and Davenport had visited him to try to convince him that he ought to return to the Church, but instead of this, Cotton persuaded Davenport that it was he who ought to leave the Church. He accordingly resigned his charge in 1633, and, still fearing Laud, went to Holland, where he was for a while colleague to the pastor of an English Presbyterian Church in Amsterdam. John Cotton, in the meantime, had come to this country, and was the minister of the First Church in Boston.

Eaton, too, had become a Non-Conformist. His brother Samuel was a Non-Conforming minister, and had been arrested and imprisoned for holding conventicles, and only released on bonds furnished by his brother. Samuel Eaton was one of Eaton's family party on board the Hector. Besides his wife

and children, his three step-children, his mother and brother accompanied him. Davenport was accompanied only by his wife, his only son remaining in London for some time after.

Some account has already been given of the departure of the colonists, their arrival and short stay in Boston, and their final settlement at Quinnipiac. Here, after the land was assigned, they built houses opposite each other. Eaton's house was near the northeast corner of Orange and Elm streets. As Orange street was not then laid out his land included at least part of the Whitney lot. His house must have been very near where Dr. Verdi's now stands. On the earliest map of New Haven the land assigned each planter is distinctly marked, but the location of the house is not given. We know, however, that it was opposite Mr. Davenport's, and we know exactly where Mr. Davenport's house was—on the site of the Presbyterian Church. Under that building may still exist the remains of the old cellar of the Davenport house.

Mr. Eaton's house was by far the finest in the colony. It is said to have been shaped like the letter E. From an ancient print it seems to have consisted of two houses of moderate size, standing with their gables to the road, joined by another building whose gables were at the side, the front walls thus forming three sides of a square. We know the house was large, for it contained nineteen fireplaces.

Eaton's hospitality was princely. Guests often remained for months at a time, and the inmates of his house were sometimes thirty in number. He was a stately, dignified man, much given to study and prayer. He was appointed magistrate when the colony was first organized, and afterward, when the office of Governor was created, he held that office for eighteen years and until his death, which was very sudden, as he had had no previous illness. He lies buried near the southwest wall of the Center Church. The Colony of New Haven erected a monu-

ment over his grave, as handsome as their means and the times could afford. When the monuments were taken away from the old burial ground, the Eaton monument was placed in the Jones' lot in the Grove street cemetery. This lot is near the head of Linden avenue, only a few yards to the right of the entrance. Governor Eaton's daughter married William Jones, and many of their descendants lie buried in this lot.

Eaton's stone was originally a "table tomb," but the supports were not preserved, and the stone now lies nearly flat on the ground. The epitaph is as follows:

> "Eaton, so brave, so pure, so wise, so just,
> The Phœnix of the world here hides his dust;
> Forget his fame New England never must."

The same stone commemorates his daughter Mary and her husband. They lie buried near him in the rear of the Center Church.

The inventory of Governor Eaton's property has been preserved, and gives us an interesting glimpse into what was undoubtedly one of the most luxurious homes of any of the New England colonies. The men who appraised his property had no small task, for every item, to the very least, of his belongings, is mentioned and its value given in pounds or shillings. All the farming implements are set down, even to "two old hoes," all the kitchenware, with the frequently recurring "imprimis, one frying pan," and all the odds and ends of rubbish that inevitably accumulate in every house. The value of the provisions on hand are given, including three hundred weight of sugar, valued at eight pounds, and twenty bushels of salt, worth four pounds. The value of his wearing apparel was fifty pounds. The materials for garments which were to be made was also estimated. There were two yards of broadcloth on hand, two yards and a half of cambric, "a remnant of

taffeta sarsenet," "a little remnant of stuff," besides buttons, trimmings, thread and hooks and eyes.

After these, and many similar entries of trifling importance had been made, the appraisers of the estate itemize the contents of each room separately. The hall is mentioned first. In old English houses the hall was not merely the entrance way, but the family living room, and was generally the largest room in the house. Frequently it was used for the family dining room as well, and it must have been a large room to accommodate the thirty souls who were at times of Eaton's family. It was furnished with a drawing table, which was possibly a dining table with leaves, which could be drawn out to accommodate a large family, a "round table" for work, or for an overflow of diners, "a great chair with needlework" probably the Governor's own seat, "high chairs," presumably for his wife and mother and for honored guests "high stools" for the rest of the family at table, low chairs with needlework, four needlework cushions and six green cushions. Evidently the ladies in the family had skillful fingers, for needlework cushions seemed to have been as plentiful as they are in our houses to-day. There was a cupboard, "two long forms" which were probably something like settees, and another item of six high stools, probably in use when the family was large. On the floor were two Turkey carpets," which we should call rugs. Except where these were spread down the floor was probably bare. There were evidently two fireplaces, for mention is made of two pairs of andirons, besides tongs, firepan and bellows. Even in these days of comfort and luxury, the hall of Governor Eaton's house would be considered a handsome room.

Besides the hall there was a parlor, which, according to the fashion of the times, contained a bed for the use of honored guests. There was a cupboard in this room, a great table, a high chair, six high stools, a low chair and two low stools, a

pair of great brass andirons, a firepan and tongs of brass, and curtain hangings for the windows.

The Governor's study, or "counting room" as it is called in the inventory contained a cupboard with a chest of drawers, a great table, and two iron-bound chests. Probably his books, which were valued at forty-eight pounds, were kept here. He had also a globe and a map. In this room he transacted business, received and questioned offenders, and here he came for study and prayer.

In those days every family brewed its own beer, and the brew house is mentioned as being an appurtenance of the house, but we do not know whether it was a separate building, or joined to the house. No other rooms for family purposes are mentioned in the inventory, but we gather from the records that there was a spinning room as well under the roof of Governor Eaton. Spinning and weaving were constantly going on in every household, and a place was usually set apart for these operations. Sometimes a small separate room was built to hold the loom and the spinning wheels, but there are indications that the spinning and weaving of the Eaton household were done under the Governor's own roof, and in a room set apart for the purpose.

Besides the bedrooms occupied by the family there were two handsome guest chambers called the Green Room and the Blue Room. The Green Room was the handsomer of the two. It contained a bedstead with canopy and hangings, and a down bed, "a couch with its appurtenances," a cupboard with drawers, a great table, a cypress chest, a tapestry carpet, a tapestry covering for the bed, a long window cushion, six needlework cushions, "hangings about the chamber," a pair of brass andirons, firepan and tongs of brass, a carpet, a chair, a little chair, six low stools, a looking glass, three white blankets, four pillows and a feather bolster.

The blue chamber was not so luxurious. It contained a bedstead with a feather bed, a cupboard and chest of drawers, a great table, two trunks and an iron bound safe, a blue rug, a carpet, and hangings about the chamber.

Mrs. Eaton seems to have kept her store of linen in this room, for after appraising the furniture the inventory makes mention of table cloths and napkins, towels and "cupboard cloths," and divides them according to quality. Thus there is an entry, "a long table cloth, a great table cloth, a cupboard cloth, a towel, eighteen napkins, all of damask," and then another entry of similar articles of less expensive linen. Governor Eaton had at least two fowling pieces, three carbines with firelocks, four swords and a belt, three old halberds, a powder horn, powder and shot, etc., etc. The value of his live stock is given, the five acres of wheat and one acre of rye sown, and the value of the furniture at his outlying farms is also mentioned.

If any of these articles had been preserved in New Haven, the iron bound safe, for example, or the globe and map, or even a needlework cushion, it would be highly cherished by the owner, but so far as we are aware, not one of these inventoried articles is known to have been preserved. When Eaton resigned his agency for the "Fellowship of Eastland Merchants" engaged in commerce on the shores of the Baltic Sea, they presented his wife with a silver gilt basin and ewer, as a testimonial of the regard in which they held Eaton. These articles, as a note at the end of the inventory says, were appraised at forty pounds, but as they were Mrs. Eaton's private property, they were not entered in the list.

A picture now hangs in the New Haven Colony Historical Society which is said to have hung in the Eaton mansion. It is not mentioned in the inventory, but this may be because it was, like the basin and ewer, Mrs. Eaton's private property.

Mrs. Eaton was a widow with three children, David, Thomas and Hannah Yale, when she married Governor Eaton. The picture, which represents a young woman in a close cap, has a coat of arms in the upper right hand corner which experts have thought to be the Yale coat of arms. If this be true, the picture may be the portrait of Hannah Yale, who afterward married Governor Hopkins.

Governor Eaton's silver plate, exclusive of the basin and ewer, was valued at one hundred and seven pounds, seven shillings sterling. His whole estate amounted to fifteen hundred and fifteen pounds, a shrinkage of almost exactly one half since he came to this country.

Mr. Davenport's house, in the course of years, gave place to a more modern structure, which was built over the old cellar, and this house, in later years known as the Reynolds house, was not demolished until 1878-9. The first Presbyterian Society bought the land, and erected its place of worship upon it, but there may still be some remains of the old cellar beneath its foundations.

Mr. Davenport's house must have been a fine and stately mansion, for it contained thirteen fireplaces. The inventory of his estate has been preserved, and we see by this that besides the necessities of life he had many of its luxuries. He had not so many carpets or cushions as Mr. Eaton, but his library was more valuable. Instead of having two hundred pounds worth of plate, he had what was valued at fifty pounds. He owned, also, "a clock and its appurtenances," appraised at five pounds. His china and earthenware were also worth five pounds.

After Eaton's death, New Haven never seemed the same to Davenport. They had been friends from boyhood, had stood shoulder to shoulder through troublous days, and had been neighbors for twenty years. Their friendship had never been clouded with the faintest shadow of a quarrel, though

they had lived through some troubled episodes. They relied on and had helped each other in various matters of Church and State, and the death of Eaton, and the dissensions in the community made Davenport anxious to leave. In 1668, Davenport received a call to Boston and removed there with his family, and there he died and was buried a year or two later.

It is not known that anything belonging to him is owned in New Haven. A silver tankard which he owned is in the possession of one of his descendants, Mr. John Davenport, of Stamford. His library was valued at over one thousand pounds, and was divided among his heirs. Part of it was given or sold to the Rev. Increase Mather, and is now the property of the American Antiquarian Society at Worcester.

One of the communion cups belonging to the Center Church is said to have belonged to John Davenport, and to have been brought over in the Hector, but this is not certain. We know, however, that his granddaughter bequeathed her silver cup to the Center Church for a communion cup, and this cup may very likely have been part of the Davenport family plate.

CHAPTER XI.

THE REGICIDES: WILLIAM GOFFE AND EDWARD WHALLEY.

When Charles I, King of England, was tried for high treason, seventy-four judges sat on the bench. Of these, sixty-seven were present at the last session of the court, and were unanimous in passing sentence upon the king, and fifty-nine signed the warrant for his execution. After the Restoration, when Charles II, the son of Charles I, became King, one of his first acts was to bring to trial the judges who had condemned his father to death. Of the fifty-nine who had signed the death warrant, twenty-six had died, and of the remaining thirty-three, sixteen fled, one to Holland, one to Switzerland, and many of the others to different parts of the continent, where they lived out their days in obscurity and retirement. The others were arrested and tried. Nine of these were executed, and five were degraded. It was then announced that of the judges who had fled, all were to be pardoned but seven, and among the seven were the names of Edward Whalley and William Goffe.

These two judges had left London before the King was proclaimed, and reached Boston July 27, 1660, where they did not try to conceal their identity, but presented themselves to Governor Endicott, and many of the leading citizens of the town called upon them. They took up their residence in Cambridge, and lived as any two gentlemen of their rank might live, in a quiet, dignified manner. They took the precaution of using assumed names, but they went to church and other religious meetings freely, until they were recognized on the street by the captain of an English ship, William Breedon by name.

Breedon was on the point of sailing for England, and on his arrival he gave information against Whalley and Goffe.

When it became known in Boston that Whalley and Goffe were not included in the general amnesty which had been declared by Parliament, a public meeting was held, at which there was much difference of opinion. Public opinion was generally with the exiles, and many of the citizens of Boston wished to manifest their sympathy openly, but others were afraid of the king's displeasure, and thought it best they should leave the colony, and as Whalley and Goffe did not wish to bring trouble to their kind friends in Boston, they left that neighborhood and came to New Haven, stopping by the way at Hartford, where they were kindly received by Governor Winthrop, and at Guilford by Governor Leete. The wife of the Rev. Mr. Hooke, Mr. Davenport's colleague, was Whalley's sister, and they knew they should be among friends in the New Haven colony.

The result of Breedon's communication to the English authorities was a warrant for the arrest of Whalley and Goffe, but by the time this had reached Boston, the Judges had left. The news, however, was not long in reaching them, and as soon as they knew of the warrant they left New Haven, went to Milford, where they showed themselves openly and gave it to be understood that they were on their way to New York, but at night they returned to New Haven, and were concealed in the cellar of Mr. Davenport's house for more than a month.

The information which Captain Breedon carried to England led to a direct order from the King to the Governor of Boston, to have Whalley and Goffe arrested wherever they might be. The Governor did not dare to show any unwillingness in the matter, and he commissioned two young English merchants, Thomas Kelloud and Thomas Kirk, to go through the colonies in search of them. But word was privately sent to New

Haven, and the fugitives left Mr. Davenport's house, and were taken across the street to the Eaton mansion. Governor Eaton was no longer living, but his daughter and her husband, Mr. Jones occupied the house. Here they found sanctuary until the 11th of May.

On this day, which was Saturday, Kellond and Kirk arrived at Guilford and applied to Govenor Leete for horses and a search warrant. Mr. Leete detained them on various pretexts until the sun was down, and then told them that the laws of the colony forbade travelling on the Sabbath, and that the Sabbath began at sundown. He refused to furnish horses until Monday morning, and would not issue any warrant, but sent an Indian to New Haven to acquaint Mr. Davenport, privately, with the facts of the case.

The friends of the two Judges considered it inexpedient to try to shelter them in New Haven any longer, and they were taken by Mr. Jones, Mr. Sperry and Mr. Burill to a mill near West Rock, where they remained for two nights. The night of the 13th of May they stayed at Mr. Sperry's. They were above all things anxious that neither Mr. Davenport nor Mr. Jones should suffer for having befriended them, and they determined to show themselves in public that they might clear their friends from suspicion, so on Monday, they walked out by Neck Bridge, on the road by which Kellond and Kirk would come into town, and there they were seen, as they wished to be, and the alarm was given. The sheriff hurried out to arrest them but they defended themselves with their sticks, and he hastened back to town for further aid. On returning with his men he found no trace of the fugitives. It is said they crawled under the bridge as the tide was out, and lay there while the hoofs of the horses which Kellond and Kirk rode, thundered over their heads on the flooring of the bridge.

Although Kellond and Kirk had been refused a search war-

rant by Governor Leete they examined some houses, especially those of Mr. Davenport, Mr. Jones and Mr. Allerton. It is said they treated Mr. Davenport with "asperity and reprehension." While they were being detained at Guilford a man told them that Whalley and Goffe were being sheltered by Davenport and Jones. They used bribes freely, and were told in New Haven that the Judges were sheltered in the house of Mr. Isaac Allerton.

This house was, as has been said in a previous chapter, one of the four finest in the colony, its joiner work being especially elaborate. In one room was a high wainscoting or panelling of oak running around all four sides, and in the recesses made by the projecting chimney were built closets. The doors of the closets were panelled like the rest of the wainscot, and against them, on the outside of the closet doors, small kitchen utensils, like skimmers, strainers, porringers and spoons were hung, thus effectually concealing the latches and hinges of the doors, if there were any. It is said that in one of these closets Whalley and Goffe were hidden. When Kellond and Kirk came to search the house, Mr. Allerton's daughter told the Judges to leave the house by the rear, while the pursuers were admitted at the front door. They asked her if Whalley and Goffe had been there, and she said they had been, but had gone away again. The Judges were then readmitted by some member of the family and concealed in the closet, while the pursuers searched the house and the very room without noticing the door in the wainscoting.

Kellond and Kirk were much irritated by the refusal of the Governor to give them a warrant. The Court met, and refused to aid the pursuers until they had called a meeting of all the voters. The pursuers asked Governor Leete if he would honor and obey the King in this affair, and Leete replied "We honor his Majesty, but we have tender consciences."

Then Kellond and Kirk told him that they knew who the men were who had concealed and comforted traitors, and that they had done themselves injury, and would possibly ruin themselves and the whole colony of New Haven. Finding Leete still determined not to betray the fugitives they went to New York, and from there returned to Boston by sea.

Mr. Sperry's house was near the base of West Rock, and he knew of the existence of a cave upon it, near its summit. He hid the Judges at a place in the woods called Hatchets Harbor for two nights, until the cave had been made ready for their occupancy, and at the cave they remained from the 15th of May until the 11th of June, except in very tempestuous weather when they went to Sperry's house. They were provided with food by Sperry, who used to carry a day's supply to a certain stump in the woods, near the cave, from which it was taken by the Judges.

There is a tradition that Kellond and Kirk did not give up the search without a final effort—that they returned to New Haven and went out to Sperry's house, where the fugitives actually were at the time, but they were seen while they were yet a great way off, and Whalley and Goffe got safely away.

The contour of the cave to-day is not what it was in 1661. It was struck by lightning more than fifty years ago, and the position of the rocks was altered. Then there was quite a good sized chamber between and under the rocks, and here Whalley and Goffe had their beds. The fugitives left the cave because a panther or catamount put his head through the opening of the cave one night, and his glaring eyeballs "greatly affrighted" them. It is said they went to Hatchet Harbor again, which, becoming their settled residence, was called the Lodge.

They heard that Mr. Davenport was in danger of being called to account for concealing and comforting traitors, and

they made up their minds to surrender themselves rather than have the country or any person suffer through them. It is believed that they went to Guilford to consult with Governor Leete, and that they remained at Guilford for several days, part of the time being hidden in the cellar of a store house belonging to Governor Leete, and being fed from his table, and part of the time staying at the house of Mr. Brayton Rossiter. It is an old Guilford tradition that Whalley and Goffe were there while Governor Leete conferred with those most interested. It seems to have been felt that it was not necessary for the Judges to give themselves up at this time, and they returned to New Haven, being seen in public from June 20 to June 24. Then they returned to their cave on West Rock, where they remained until the 19th of August, when, the search for them being practically given over, they went to Milford, where they were hidden in the house of a Mr. Tompkins. Here they remained for two years, without even venturing as far as the orchard.

The house in which they lay concealed was of two stories. The lower one was built of stone, and was used as a store room. The room over it was of wood, and was used by the young women of the family as a spinning room. A story was told that while the Judges were in hiding in this house, there came over from England a cavalier ballad, satirizing Charles' Judges, Goffe and Whalley among the rest. One of the spinning women used to sing it from time to time, and it caused so much amusement to the listeners that they frequently used to ask Mr. Tompkins to request the spinner to sing it.

After two years of such close confinement, Whalley and Goffe began to feel more assured that the search for them had been given up, and they began to appear occasionally at religious gatherings, but they were men of so great distinction in speech and carriage that they attracted much attention and provoked much comment. It was but too easy to surmise who

they were, and their friends, who heard from time to time the speculations concerning the identity of these two gentlemen with the exiles Whalley and Goffe, began to feel that even quiet Milford was no longer a safe shelter for them. In 1664 royal commissioners arrived at Boston, instructed by the King to renew the search for the Judges, and it became necessary for the exiles to leave Milford.

They returned to the cave on West Rock, but had been there only a few days before some Indians, in their hunting discovered their bed of leaves, and again they were driven out. It was necessary to seek some entirely new asylum, and it was desirable to have it in some remote settlement. Their friends arranged that they should go to the newly settled town of Hadley, in Massachusetts, and on the 13th of October they started, "after a residence and pilgrimage of three years and seven months at New Haven and Milford." They travelled only by night, and reached Hadley in safety, where they were welcomed by the Rev. Mr. Russell, the minister of the Church there, and with him they lived for fourteen or sixteen years. Here, too, their place of retreat was in the cellar, to which a trap door in the kitchen led, though they doubtless spent much of their time in the upper rooms of the house. A number of wealthy gentlemen in different parts of New England contributed to their maintenance, and the rest of their lives was passed without further alarms. Search was instituted for them from time to time, but it seems never to have been suspected that they were in Hadley.

They still considered, and it undoubtedly was true, that the price of their safety was absolute seclusion, and they did not leave their retreat even for public worship. They enjoyed the use of Mr. Russell's library and Goffe kept a voluminous diary, from which most of this account has been taken.

With the 13th of October, 1664, their story, so far as New

Haven is concerned, is at an end, but there are a few traditions in Hadley concerning them which are of interest. One of these has been used most beautifully by Hawthorne in his story of "The Gray Champion." At the time of King Philip's War there was an almost universal uprising of Indian tribes in New England, and some of these tribes attacked Hadley. It was on a fast day, and the inhabitants were at Church, the men being armed, as was their custom at that time. The people were taken completely by surprise and were in great confusion, when suddenly among them was seen a stranger, dressed differently from the inhabitants. He at once took the command and arranged and ordered them in the best military manner, and under his direction the inhabitants repelled and routed the Indians and the town was saved. Then the stranger disappeared, and was seen no more. The townspeople were fully convinced that it was an angel sent from God to deliver them, and so they believed for fifteen or twenty years, until it was made known that at the time of the invasion the two Judges had been in hiding in the town, and that the angel had been, in all probability, Goffe, who had been one of Cromwell's Major Generals, and understood the art of military tactics, which he used to so great advantage.

In 1676 or 1678, Whalley died, and soon after Goffe disappeared. His diary and letters were left with Mr. Russell, and after Mr. Russell's death they were scattered and lost, but not until careful notes had been made of his diary by several persons interested. It was never known where Goffe went, or when he died. He was said to have "gone toward the West—toward Virginia," but he was seen in Hartford in 1679, and this is his last recorded appearance.

Whalley was undoubtedly buried at Hadley, but there are varying traditions as to the locality of his grave. One is, that he was buried in the cellar of the Russell house, and another

that his grave was just at the dividing line between the premises of Mr. Tilton and Mr. Marsh, that each might be able to say with truth, that Whalley was not buried on his land. It would hardly be necessary to mention his place of burial if the old stones still remaining in the rear of the Center Church had not at one time been supposed to mark his grave. But this matter will be considered in another chapter.

NOTE—It has been said that the Reynolds house was built over the cellar of Mr. Davenport's house, and before it was taken down, about 1878, a great many New Haven people, now living, went into the cellar to see the small room in which the Regicides were concealed.

CHAPTER XII.

THE REGICIDES: JOHN DIXWELL.

But we hear of the three Judges, and Whalley and Goffe are but two. These men kept together in all their wanderings, and the story of one is the story of both. But Dixwell's experience was a different and much happier one. He, too, was one of the condemned Judges, and he left England in 1660, but we do not know when he came to this country. It is thought that he was in correspondence with Whalley and Goffe, or with some of their friends, for he went to see them in Hadley four months after their arrival there. One writer says he lived there for several years, but his granddaughter says he was in Hadley but six weeks. He changed his name, retaining only the initials, and was known henceforth as James Davids.

He came to New Haven some time before 1672, and boarded with Mr. and Mrs. Benjamin Ling, who lived on the southeast corner of College and Grove streets, where Byers Hall now stands. After Mr. Ling's death he married the widow, who left him her property, and after her death he married again, and had several children. He never was in business, but he lived in comfort and enjoyed the respect of his friends. The Reverend Mr. Pierpont was at this time the minister of the Church, and lived on Elm street about where Temple street is now laid out, and early in his ministry, Mr. Davids was received into the Church. It gives one some idea of the size of the home lots of the early settlers when we read that Mr. Ling's, afterward Mr. Davids' lot, on the southeast corner of College and Grove streets, "cornered" on the land of Mr. Pierpont, on Elm street. Mr. Davids and Mr. Pierpont were instantly attracted to each other, and used to stand at the junction of their fences and talk together so often that a path

had been worn by their feet to the meeting place at the fence. It is thought that Mr. Davids told Mr. Pierpont who he was, for when Mrs. Pierpont expressed her surprise that her husband should have so much conversation with this quiet gentleman, he told her that if she knew the worth and value of that man, she would not wonder that he enjoyed talking with him. Mr. Davids used often to spend his evenings at Mr. Pierpont's, and in his will, as a token of his friendship, he left him his copy of Sir Walter Raleigh's "History of the World."

Dixwell's residence in this country seems never to have been suspected, though it is believed that at least one or two others besides Mr. Pierpont, knew who Davids was. It is thought that Governor William Jones, whose father, one of the Judges of the King, suffered death, was in the secret. He had been one of those who gave shelter to Whalley and Goffe, and probably when Dixwell was in Hadley, they told him what a loyal friend Mr. Jones had been.

There is a tradition that when Sir Edmund Andros was in New England he spent one Sunday in New Haven, and went to church in the morning. There he saw a gentleman, so much more dignified in his bearing than the other residents, that he noticed him especially, and inquired who he was. He was told it was Mr. Davids, a merchant of London. Andros replied that he knew he was not a merchant, and asked some searching questions, which were parried as well as possible. Mr. Davids was not at church in the afternoon, and it is thought he had been notified of Andros' curiosity and had considered it prudent to remain at home.

Davids died in 1689, and his will, headed "The last will and testament of James Davids, alias John Dixwell," set at rest all suspicion. There were other papers in the Probate Office, signed, some years before his death "John Dixwell, alias James Davids."

Dixwell left directions that no monument be erected at his grave, giving any account of his person, name or character, lest his enemies should dishonor his ashes. He requested that a plain stone should be set up at his grave, inscribed with his initials and the age and time of his death. This was done, and the inscription, now almost obliterated reads:

J. D. Esq.
Deceased March the 18th
In the 82d year of his Age
1688-9

In 1847 a descendant of John Dixwell erected a marble monument to the memory of his ancestor, close by the stone which originally marked the grave. The grade was raised, and both monument and the old stone are enclosed by a stone coping and an iron fence in the rear of the Center Church. The same descendant, Mr. Epes Sargent Dixwell of Boston, presented the silver snuff box which had belonged to his ancestor, to the New Haven Colony Historical Society, where it may still be seen.

In 1794 the Rev. Ezra Stiles, President of Yale College, wrote a book called, "A History of Three of the Judges of Charles I, Major-General Whalley, Major-General Goffe and Colonel Dixwell." In this book he gathered up both history and tradition. He had actually seen, and held in his hands, one of the volumes of Goffe's diary, and had made extracts from it. This diary has been used at length in Governor Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts, and although President Stiles' accuracy is so often decried, it is impossible to deny that he had access to the same original documents which Hutchinson used. His narrative of the wanderings of Whalley, Goffe and Dixwell is written with great care, and with evident anxiety to be exact, and we must admit that he was in a position to

know more concerning the matter than any later writers. There was but one source of trustworthy information, the diary of Goffe, which was burned in the fire which consumed Governor Hutchinson's house in Boston.

President Stiles is, however, responsible for the uncertainty which will always be felt concerning the meaning of the inscriptions on the old stones within the railing at the rear of the Center Church. One is marked E. W. 1678, and the other, a much smaller one is marked M. G. 80. Concerning these, controversy has raged for years, and the question will probably never be decided. The fairest minded of our New Haven antiquarians have always been obliged to say: "Not proven" to either argument.

These stones were but two of the many which were crowded together in the old burying ground. It was supposed, by the few who were interested in such matters, that one marked the grave of Edward Wigglesworth, whose son's fragment of autobiography has given us some glimpses of the lives of the first settlers, and that the other marked the grave of Matthew Gilbert, one of the first Deacons of the Church. But President Stiles in his book, propounded the theory that as Whalley died and was buried in Hadley, in 1678, Goffe might have returned there and there died and been buried in 1680, as we have no trace of him after 1679, that Whalley might have been buried in the cellar of Mr. Russell's house, or Mr. Tilton's, as some will have it, and that Goffe might have been buried on the dividing line between Mr. Tilton's and Mr. Marsh's land,—that Dixwell might have wished them to lie near him in the New Haven burying ground so that at the general resurrection they might all rise together, and that he might have had their bodies disinterred, brought to New Haven and buried here, and their graves marked by inconspicuous stones, and further disguised by such devices as using an M. for a W. on one stone, and

marking the date on the other so that it can be read 1658 or 1678. This is a very ingenious theory, and seems to have been believed implicitly for a time. When the other stones were removed in 1821, these and John Dixwell's were left, as being of equal interest and authenticity.

Of late years a great deal of scepticism is freely expressed on this subject. President Stiles' theory is considered altogether too ingenious. On the other hand there are reasons for doubting whether the stones marked the graves of Wigglesworth and Gilbert. Wigglesworth did not die in 1678, but in 1654. Matthew Gilbert did die in 1680, but he was a man of so much standing in the community that it hardly seems as if so small and insignificant a stone would have marked his grave. Moreover, the Gilberts were buried near the southwest corner of the meeting house, and it is said the stone of Matthew Gilbert was removed at the time of the erection of the third meeting house.

The lists of the town dead have been carefully examined, and only add to the perplexities. Neither in 1658 or in 1678 did anyone die whose initials were E. W. On the other hand the name of Matthew Gilbert, who is known to have died in 1680, is not recorded, which goes to prove that there might have been other omissions. Thus the whole matter is wrapped in mystery, which probably will never be explained.

The stone marked M. G. was at the intersection of two of the paths west of the Dixwell monument, but in 1898 it was removed to within the railing enclosing the E. W. stones, as it was in danger of being chipped away by curiosity seekers. After every Commencement a bit of it was missing, and while its removal was deplored, it was deemed an act of necessary precaution.

Still another of the Regicides is in a way connected with the history of New Haven. One of those who took stock in

the company was Owen Rowe, a citizen of London. He was prevented from coming, but sent his son, a youth, with the company. This son was left in Massachusetts to study with a tutor, and there is extant a letter from him to Governor Winthrop, in which he complains bitterly of homesickness, and asks if there is any way he can get back to his father. Owen Rowe became one of the colonels in the Parliamentary army, and was one of King Charles' Judges. His name is on the list of those condemned and in the tower, and there he died on Christmas Eve, 1662.

The home lot of Owen Rowe was on Church street, including the frontage of what is now Court street. It cornered on Mr. Davenport's lot on Elm street, and just north of it was the eight foot strip called "Mr. Davenport's walk."

It is not known what became of Nathaniel Rowe, the homesick son of Owen Rowe, but it is believed that he married and lived here for a time, and that the Rowes of New Haven are his descendants.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE UNION WITH CONNECTICUT.

Soon after the settlement at Jamestown, King James I, of England, granted to the Plymouth Company the right to dispose of all the land north of Virginia. The Plymouth Company, in turn granted a large tract, including what is now Connecticut, to the Earl of Warwick, and he ceded this territory to Lord Say and Seal, and a party of Puritan gentlemen who wished to establish a Puritan colony. One of these gentlemen was George Fenwick, who came to this country to represent the others. He had full power given him to sell any part of the land, and to do whatever he thought was for the best interests of the company.

In those days unclaimed land was so plentiful, and could be bought so cheaply, that its boundaries were never well defined. After Hartford was settled, its proprietors bought land from Fenwick, which included all the land from the Narragansett River in Rhode Island to the Fort at Saybrook. No mention was made of the land occupied by the Quinnipiac Indians. The New Haven colonists, having bought of the Indians, deemed their title secure, but nevertheless they wished to have a charter to make assurance doubly sure, and William Gregson sailed for England in 1646, to secure one from Parliament. Mention has already been made of the "Great Shippe" into which New Haven put so much of her substance, and in which so many New Haven people sailed, who were never again heard of. Gregson never reached England, and the charter was never procured.

The colonists of New Haven had by this time grown very poor, and in addition to the uncertainty affecting their future, they were troubled with internal dissensions, much of which

came from the Fundamental Agreement which the planters signed at the meeting in Robert Newman's barn.

By the terms of this Fundamental Agreement, only those taking stock in the company were to be called planters, and only such planters as were Church members were to be allowed the privilege of voting. These were the freemen of the community, or the "free planters" as they were called. As years went on there was a great deal of grumbling regarding this restriction of the right of suffrage, and the ill feeling of the complainers became manifest, but the colonists lived in peace with their neighbors, and had no thought of trouble.

They were on especially good terms with their Indian friends. In 1653 complaint was made that the swine belonging to the town did the Indians much damage by eating up their corn. They desired to take up more ground, and asked the English to help them fence it. The sagamore also asked for a coat, saying he was old and poor and could not work. The town voted that fit men should be employed to fence the new ground, and that the sagamore should have a coat, both to be paid for from the town treasury.

In 1658 Governor Eaton died, a few months after the trouble with Norton, the Quaker. He had been annually elected Governor for eighteen years. His death was a great blow to Mr. Davenport, for the two men had been friends from boyhood, and had lived opposite each other from the first settlement of the town. There had never been any cessation of their friendly intercourse, as far as we know, though one would think the excommunication of Mrs. Eaton from the Church might naturally have caused a slight coolness between them. They had always conferred together in all matters of Church and State, and Mr. Davenport must have felt bereaved, not only of a friend, but of a counselor and confidant.

It was supposed that Mr. Goodyear, the Deputy Governor,

would be chosen to fill Mr. Eaton's office, but Mr. Goodyear was in London at this time, and the planters thought it would be wise to choose a man at hand, and accordingly elected Mr. Francis Newman. Mr. Newman had bought Mr. Samuel Eaton's house, after Mr. Eaton left the colony. Mr. William Leete was elected Deputy Governor.

In 1660, New Haven, wishing "to set out the bounds with lasting marks" between them and the Connecticut Colony, appointed Mr. Yale, Mr. Andrews, John Cooper and others, to do it with the help of Montowese, the Indian Sachem. The Connecticut colony took offense at this and claimed that all the land belonged to her. She was on the point of obtaining a royal charter, and while she did not wish to deprive New Haven colony of her territory, she wished New Haven to come under her jurisdiction.

There were two parties in Hartford in regard to this matter. One held that New Haven should be compelled to come under the charter. The other thought that she ought to be left to do as she chose. But they all felt that it was their land, which they had paid for, on which New Haven was settled.

There were two parties in New Haven, also, concerning the union of the colonies. John Davenport was seriously opposed to it. The leaders of the colony had been in many ways helped and befriended by Oliver Cromwell, and Mr. Hooke, Mr. Davenport's colleague, was a cousin of the Lord Protector. For this reason, when in 1660 word was brought to this country that Charles II was restored to the throne of England, the New Haven people were very reluctant in acknowledging him as their king. Then they had given help and shelter to Goffe and Whalley, and no one had done more than Mr. Davenport. It was perfectly well known in England that Mr. Davenport had aided the Regicides, although nothing could be proved against him, and now Mr. Davenport was afraid the

time of punishment had come. He was fearful lest what he had done would injure the colony in the eyes of the King. He wrote an apology to Sir Thomas Temple, beseeching him to avert from the colony the royal displeasure. He said he was willing to humiliate himself in any way if he could only maintain the independence of the colony.

In Hartford there was no fundamental agreement, and no such restriction of the right of suffrage. Davenport knew that if New Haven united with the Connecticut colony the privilege of voting would be made more general, and this, he felt sure, would injure a colony "whose design was religion." He did not care so much whether they had trial by jury or not. Eaton wished to be both judge and jury, but Eaton was dead, and he was ready to have new arrangements made about trying offenders against the law.

Mr. Davenport knew that Governor Winthrop of the Connecticut colony, was soon to set sail for England to obtain a charter, and he wrote to Winthrop, insisting that nothing should be done to interfere with the independence of the New Haven colony. He thought Winthrop promised to obey his wishes.

Governor Leete, too, was corresponding with Winthrop. He had succeeded Governor Newman in his office, and he represented the younger men of the community, who thought it would be an excellent plan to unite with the Connecticut colony, not only to reap the advantage of the union which is strength, but also do away with the objectionable Fundamental Agreement. The sons of the original planters had by this time grown to man's estate, and they found the restriction of the right of suffrage very galling. Governor Leete therefore wrote to Winthrop, expressing himself in favor of uniting the two colonies under one charter.

When Davenport heard of this he was very indignant. He

wrote to Winthrop "as for what Mr. Leete wrote to yourself it was his private doing, without the consent or knowledge of any of us in this colony. It was not done by him according to his public trust as Governor, but contrary to it."

But the tide of public opinion was too strong for Davenport, not only in New Haven, but in several outlying plantations, as they were called, which were part of the colony of New Haven. These were Branford, Guilford, Milford, Southold on Long Island, Stamford and Greenwich. While the matter was under discussion some disaffected persons in Southold, then in Guilford, Stamford and Greenwich, asked permission of Connecticut to come under its jurisdiction, and Connecticut allowed them to do so. They kept their residences in the plantation, but it made a divided authority and led to a great deal of bad feeling.

Connecticut received her charter, which included the land of the New Haven colony, April 23, 1662.

There was nothing now for New Haven to do but to surrender, with the best grace she might. The controversy came to an end by the arrival of two English ships of war, bearing royal commissioners, instructed to require the colonists to assist in reducing, under English authority all the land occupied by the Dutch, the King claiming it as of right belonging to England, and he having bestowed it on his brother, the Duke of York. This land was to be bounded on the East by the Connecticut river. The Winthrop charter gave Connecticut one hundred and twenty miles westward from the Narragansett river. By one grant therefore, New Haven was in the domain of the Duke of York, by the charter it was in Connecticut. There was no place for it as an independent colony. They had no title from the English crown, and their territory was claimed by two different parties. Of two evils she chose the least and surrendered her independence, December 13, 1664.

This was the last and worst blow to Davenport. He felt, and wrote to a friend that "Christ's interest in New Haven was miserably lost." The first Church in Boston called him to be their minister, and although the people of New Haven were grieved to have him depart, he left the colony in May, 1668. He lived but two years after this and is buried in Boston.*

*"Call back for a moment from the shadowy past that disheartened old man. Most of his early associates are gone. Eaton is in his grave. His fellow laborer, Hooke, at rest in a London graveyard; Goodyear's body buried in England, no one knows where; the bones of some of the best and bravest of the first colonists lying in the ocean's depths among the wreckage of that phantom ship whose fate time has failed to reveal; and what is left to crown the end of that heroic life but the sorrowful lament that all is lost save truth. His work in New Haven was done, and he had done with New Haven. As he prepares to turn his back upon the colony for which he had adventured so much, what a record his life must have seemed to him. His boyish remembrances of the powder plot, his school days at Coventry, his university life with its more than earnest contentions, his early clerical days, his persecution for non conformity, his fugitive life in Holland, the elation of the days of the Commonwealth buried in the grave of Cromwell, his ideal American life at an end with a profligate King on the throne—what a record at the end of seventy years to look back upon!"—Commemorative address at the opening of the Building of the New Haven Historical Society—the English Memorial—by Horace Day, Esq.

CHAPTER XIV.

AFTER THE UNION.

It really made little difference to the people in the New Haven Colony that they were no longer independent. Most of them thought that uniting with Connecticut was a prudent proceeding. Mr. Davenport's departure, too, allayed a good deal of ill feeling. The disaffection in the colony was largely on account of the Fundamental Agreement, and when that was given up, and a vote was cast to recognize all baptized persons of good moral character as nominally Church members, though not admitted to full communion, the new law gave general satisfaction. This was called The Half Way Covenant. The militia was no longer held responsible to the town meeting, and a general feeling of some degree of liberty was in the air.

Mr. Davenport, although in Boston, still felt a deep interest in and responsibility for the Church in New Haven, and he combatted the Half Way Covenant with much vigor, but without avail. The Rev. Nicholas Street, his colleague remained as pastor until his death in 1674. He was buried in that part of the burying ground which is still preserved under the Church, and his tombstone may there be seen. For ten years there was no pastor, and then the Rev. James Pierpont was called. Mr. Davenport had built his own house on his own land, and it was necessary to build a parsonage for Mr. Pierpont. A Mrs. Eldred was one of the original proprietors, and had had her home lot assigned her on Elm street taking in what is now Temple street. She did not come to this country and her lot had never been built upon. The Church took it, instead of the lot which had at first been set off to them, and every one was called upon for some free will offering toward the building of the house. One young man, having nothing else to offer, brought in from

the country two young elm saplings and planted them in front of the house. They are both gone now, but on one of the early maps their position is shown. One stood almost in the middle of the street, in front of the Public Library, the other was a few rods distant.

This lot of land given by the congregation to Mr. Pierpont has had a curious history or lack of history. It descended to Mr. Pierpont's son, to his grandson and great grandson, to his great grandson's daughter, Mrs. Foster, and to her daughters, the last surviving one having recently passed away. Temple street was opened through the land and part of it has been sold for house lots, but a portion of the original frontage still remained in the family until the death of Miss Foster, when it was sold. The deed for this remnant of the original home lot was then placed on record for the first time. No other property in New Haven has for so long a time remained in the possession of any one family.

When Mr. Pierpont came to New Haven a tax was laid for his support, consisting of two pence halfpenny in the pound, about five cents on every five dollars of property owned. Besides his house and lot, a five hundred pound right in commonage was given him. In other words, he was allowed as much land as if he had invested five hundred pounds in the colony. Before Mr. Pierpont came here the town, instead of the Church members, became responsible for the support of the ministry, and the Half Way Covenant was at length formally adopted by the Church. Deputies were chosen to the general assembly, and two of these, John Cooper and another, were not Church members. Under the Fundamental Agreement it would have been impossible to elect a non Church member to any office, and this recognition of their interest in and responsibility for good govenment, was very acceptable to those settlers who had not united with the church.

The colonists of New Haven, disappointed in their hopes of commercial success, after the loss of the "Great Shippe" had turned their attention to agriculture. They had been able to maintain themselves, and had a small surplus of crops, which they sent together with beaver skins to Salem and Boston.

When the town plot of the colony had been laid out, there were gates at the ends of the streets intersecting the town, and at the four corners, but as years went on the gates decayed and were not renewed. In 1675 the town was thrown into great excitement and alarm by the outbreak of King Philip's War. King Philip, the son of Massasoit, the friend of the first settlers at Plymouth, had seen with dismay the growth of the English settlements, and invited the Indians of Rhode Island and Massachusetts in a last desperate effort to exterminate them. The Quinnipiac Indians, poor and peaceable as they were, were placed under supervision, the gates at the corners of the town and at the ends of the streets were fortified, and it was ordered that the whole town should be surrounded with a palisade. Many dwellers in outlying regions built palisades around their own homes. It was necessary first of all to dig a deep trench, and in this trench logs twelve feet in height were placed perpendicularly so close together that no one could squeeze through. These logs were all pointed at the top, so that no one could climb over. A gateway was left, which could be easily guarded. The meeting house was so fortified, and several other houses in the settlement, but the work was very laborious, and proceeded but slowly. Not long after it was finished, the war, which had been barbarous in the extreme, was closed by the death of Philip. New England united in sending out an army of one thousand men for service in the field. The number the Connecticut colonies were to furnish was three hundred and fifteen, and all persons were ordered to bring their arms with them to the Sunday services. Connecticut sent three

hundred white men and one hundred and fifty Mohegan and Pequot Indians. In the depth of winter the fort of the Narragansetts was attacked and a terrible fight took place, in which a large number of the Indians were killed, but the remnant of the foe, scattered in different directions, surprised different villages, where they burned the buildings and massacred the inhabitants. These towns were all in Massachusetts, the colonies of Conecticut being mercifully spared. In 1678, it was voted that the logs of the palisades be sold "for the good of the town."

In 1680 there was a third division of land. Like the two preceding divisions, the apportionment to each settler was determined by the amount on which he paid taxes, and the number of persons in his family. "Those who had been soldiers in the late war received two hundred acres to be divided between them."

The Charter which Governor Winthrop had obtained from Charles II had been a very liberal one, and had never been revoked by him. But when his brother, James II succeeded him, he attempted to unite all New England under a royal governor, and Sir Edmund Andros came over in that capacity. It was during his visit to New Haven that his eye fell upon Dixwell, and he made the remark "He knew he was not a merchant." On that Sunday, when he attended divine worship, a psalm was given out, which began

> "Why dost thou, tyrant, boast abroad
> Thy wicked works to praise,
> Dost thou not know there is a God
> Whose mercies last always?"

Andros was very angry at this, which he thought was an intentional insult, but he was told that the psalms were sung in regular order, and that nothing personal was intended.

A great many laws were made by Andros which were very oppressive to the colonies. One was that all business relating to the settlement of estates must be transacted at Boston, however distant from there the residence of the heirs might be, and that the fee for the probate of a will should be fifty shillings, however small the estate. The Connecticut colonies were in "great fear and despondency." When the news came of the English Revolution, and the reign of William and Mary, Andros was seized and imprisoned, and the colonists joyfully resumed government under their old charters.

There was an interval of just one hundred years from the outbreak of King Philip's War to the beginning of the Revolution. In this time there were thirty years of Indian warfare. The French and Indian War, Queen Anne's War, King William's War, King George's War and the attack on Louisburg, all made many demands in money and men upon the colonies. It is said that in King Philip's War alone, one eleventh of the militia of the united colonies perished, and one eleventh of the homesteads were destroyed. But England united with the colonists against the ravages of the French and Indians, and cheerfully contributed to the expenses of the campaign. The eleven years previous to the Battle of Lexington was a time of great prosperity in the colony, and New Haven was as prosperous as any other settlement. Her commercial activity dates from that time. After Canada was ceded to Great Britain in 1763, her maritime interests became well established. For years she had owned only two coasters and one West Indian vessel, but in 1770 there were thirty vessels leaving her port for foreign voyages, and in the next five years there was a large increase of wealth.

The map of New Haven in 1775 drawn by President Stiles, shows a beautifully compact town. The nine squares are well built up, and there are many dwellings in the outlying regions.

On the green is the First Church, with the burying ground in its rear, the Church of the White Haven Society, and the State House, the two latter occupying nearly the respective positions of the United Church and Trinity Church. Trees are planted all around the Green, which is intersected by two diagonal paths. Two buildings of Yale College stand on the site of Osborn Hall and next north of it. The names of the residents are not given, and the map was drawn on too small a scale, but it is most interesting as giving an idea of the growth of the town, and its appearance at the outbreak of the Revolutionary War.

CHAPTER XV.

THE BREAKING OUT OF THE REVOLUTION.

Before the Stamp Act became a law, the leading men in the colonies did their best to prevent its passing, but they intended to accept it peacefully if their efforts were not successful. Mr. Jared Ingersoll of New Haven, was appointed stamp master for the Connecticut colony. He was in England at the time, where he had gone as one of a committee to help resist the passage of the Act. He was able to have some of the worst provisions of the act repealed, but his efforts and those of the committee were unavailing to prevent its passage. He arrived at his home in August, and much to his dismay was greeted with many demonstrations of hostility. He was hanged in effigy in New London and Norwich, and there was much excitement in many other places in the colony. Mr. Ingersoll, a most worthy and highly esteemed gentleman, took his unpopularity among his old friends and associates very much to heart. He wrote a communication which appeared in the *Connecticut Gazette* for August 30, 1765, addressed "To the good people of Connecticut." It began "When I undertook the office of Distributor of Stamps for this colony, I meant a service to you," and, after stating his position, ends "I wish that you had learned more of the nature of my office before you had undertaken to be very angry at it." A few days later he went to Hartford on horseback. On the way thither he was met by a large number of gentlemen, who demanded his resignation as Stamp Officer. There was a good deal of parley, and some threat of personal violence. Mr. Ingersoll resigned in September. The law went into effect November 1, and that day the three bells of New Haven, as has been mentioned, tolled mournfully at intervals from daylight to dusk.

In May, 1776, the Stamp Act was repealed, and the same bells rang joyfully. The joy was of short duration, for it was soon known that taxes were to be laid on tea, paints, paper, glass and lead. The colonists combatted this tax by refusal to use the imported articles, and everything was done to encourage home manufactures of all kinds that trade with England might be as far as possible withdrawn. Then the tax was removed from all the articles except tea. The Boston Tea Party and the passage of the Boston Port Bill only concerned New Haven indirectly. She sent help and provisions to those in Boston who had been thrown out of work by the passage of the Port Bill. Very significant entries in the records of this time are the following:

"Voted:—That the selectmen procure a stock of powder, as soon as may be, for the town's use.

Voted:—That the selectmen build a suitable house to put the town's stock of powder in."

The Battle of Lexington was fought on the 19th of April, 1775, and the news reached New Haven on the 21st. A public meeting was immediately held in the Brick Church, and a very stormy meeting it proved to be. The colonists had been opposed to taxation without representation, but to resist that was a very different matter from taking up arms against the King. There were two parties each very much in earnest, and each name of the committee of safety was challenged by the other party. The vote was especially close for Moderator, Roger Sherman was chosen by only one vote over the candidate of the opposing party. The committee met next day to discuss the situation. They were interrupted by the appearance before the tavern in which they were sitting of about fifty of the Second Company of Foot Guards, and their commander, Benedict Arnold, asked for the keys of the powder house. The committee

refused the request, whereupon Arnold said he would then take the powder by force. Colonel David Wooster, who a few days afterward, was appointed Major-General of the militia, went out from the meeting and did his best to calm Arnold's excitement. He told Arnold that the committee would undoubtedly obtain more news in a day or two, and then would know better what to do, but Arnold answered him "Nobody but Almighty God shall prevent my marching." He was allowed to have the powder, and he and his men set forth the next day, reaching Cambridge the 29th of April.

New military companies were soon organized; an artillery company was formed; householders gathered themselves into two companies and the students of Yale College formed a third. A few days after Arnold's departure Captain Hezekiah Dickerman with part of his company left for Cambridge. In June Major-General Wooster paraded his men on the Green before leaving for New York. In July, General Washington in company with General Lee, come to New Haven and stayed at Beers' Tavern, on the site of the New Haven House. As he and his escort rode down College street the students lined up on both sides of the road, and with hats in their hands, bowed and cheered. Washington, it is said, rode a superb white horse, whose tail nearly touched the ground, and he bowed low from his saddle to the right and left as he passed through the ranks of the Yale students.

The next morning the General reviewed the company of students on the Green, and "expressed his surprise at the expertness with which they performed their exercises." Then the company and two companies of uniformed militia together with a great number of the inhabitants of the town, escorted the General as far as Neck Bridge, on their way to the Provincial Camp near Boston. Noah Webster, a small, slender youth, led the company playing on a fife. Mrs. Washington,

with the wife of General Gates was here in December of the same year, on her way to Cambridge from Virginia, and in April, 1776, General and Mrs. Washington were again in New Haven on their way to the seat of war in New York.

The guns belonging to New Haven colony, which had been placed at the landing place and on the Green, were taken up, and placed at a breastwork and battery built at Black Rock, on the eastern shore of New Haven harbor.

In November, 1775, it was voted that any persons who felt in conscience bound to take up arms on the King's side, or who felt it their duty to communicate any intelligence they might have to the King's officers, should be requested to depart from town, "as soon as may be, in a peaceable way."

When the news of the Declaration of Independence reached New Haven, the document was read from the pulpits of the Churches, but there was no demonstration of any kind. It was mentioned in the newspapers as part of the news of the day, without any comment. It was not the time for celebrations, for the colonies knew it was really only the beginning of hostilities, and that the Scripture advises that "he who putteth on his armor should not boast as he who putteth it off."

CHAPTER XVI.

THE BRITISH INVASION OF NEW HAVEN.

At the breaking out of the Revolutionary War, Connecticut raised six regiments of soldiers, and later sent two additional regiments to the field. Three companies were sent by New Haven. General Wooster and Mr. David Atwater were killed in battle, and two other men were wounded, but not mortally.

The Colony of Connecticut had been very active in furnishing supplies for the army and navy, and had fitted out several expeditions by land and water against the enemy. Many New Haven men were fearful that the exposed situation of New Haven might cause an attack by water, and at various town meetings they petitioned to have cannon placed at points which would command the harbor. They felt it would be prudent to garrison some of the country roads leading into New Haven, but money was scarce and nothing further was done, besides fortifying Black Rock, now Fort Hale Park, than to erect a beacon pole, on Indian Hill, now called Beacon Hill, in East Haven. The beacon fire was to be lighted in case of attack, and three cannon were to be fired as a signal.

The Fourth of July, 1779, fell on Sunday, and was kept quietly as the Lord's Day. In the evening a public meeting was held, and plans were made for celebrating the Independence of the country on the following day.

The people had hardly returned to their homes after that meeting before the signal gun was heard, and it become known that a large fleet of the enemy's ships had come to anchor in the harbor. Nothing could be done before morning, but there was little sleep in New Haven that night. As soon as day dawned every one was on the alert. In West Haven guns were fired and the town drummers beat to arms. Rev. Ezra Stiles,

who was then President of Yale College, took his spyglass into the tower of the College Chapel, and saw that boats filled with armed men, were putting off from the ships to the shore.

As the news spread, the panic grew. The soldiers armed themselves and reported for duty. Their families gathered up such valuables as they could carry, and left their homes, going to Hamden, Mt. Carmel and other places where they felt they might be more secure. Infirm and aged people were forced to remain behind, and with them those who had care of them.

The British fleet consisted of two men of war and about forty-six small vessels. The ships were manned by about two thousand marines, and three thousand soldiers. These ships came within half a mile of the shore, and brought her guns to bear upon the coast, that her men might be protected as they landed. About half the number landed on the West Haven shore, the other half at East Haven. Those who landed in West Haven were under the command of Brigadier-General Garth, and met with no opposition. They marched as far as the West Haven Green, where they stopped for breakfast. The officers breakfasted in the tavern on the site of the Post Office Block, and the men broke ranks and gathered on the Green.

After breakfast they were reviewed on the Green, and then took up their march for New Haven, going by the Allingtown road.

It was a very hot day, and the march was a disorderly one. The soldiers broke into houses, and pillaged and plundered as they went along. Some of the people who were left in the houses did not bear their insults with meekness. One woman who lived in a house facing the green complained to Adjutant Campbell that a soldier had violently wrenched a gold ring from her finger. Campbell told her that if she would point the soldier out to him, he would see that he was punished. A few minutes later Campbell was shot. The place of his burial, near West

Bridge, is marked by a stone. His servant stole his dressing case and offered it for sale in New Haven, and it is now in the possession of the New Haven Colony Historical Society. Campbell also protected from the violence of the soldiers, a man, who in getting over a fence had broken his leg.

There had been for a year or two previous, a regiment of soldiers stationed in New Haven, but at this time it had been withdrawn, and the only soldiers available were the town militia, less than two hundred in number. These men went out on the road to West Bridge, and reaching the spot before the British, took up the flooring of the Bridge, and planting the small cannon they had brought with them prepared to defend the pass.

When the enemy arrived there was an encounter between the two forces, and Adjutant Campbell was mortally wounded. He was taken into a house near by and everything possible was done to save his life. It is said he was a young man of very kind nature, and of so winning manners that he was beloved not only by his friends, but by people whom he had never met before. The mourning for his death was by no means confined to the British, and to this day there is a peculiar reverence felt for the spot called "Campbell's grave."

Some of the students under command of Professor Naphthali Daggett had joined the militia. Daggett had been separated from the main body of militia, and was nearer the enemy than he had supposed. They surrounded him, took him prisoner and treated him with many indignities, knocking him down, beating him about the head and stealing his valuables. Finally they forced him to march at the head of their column, leading the way into the town. Their step was more rapid than he was accustomed to take, but whenever he halted or grew slow in his movements, they charged at him with their bayonets, compelling him to quicken his pace. He never recovered from the shock, and died the following year.

As the West Bridge had been destroyed, the enemy were forced to go two miles further north to the Derby Bridge, over which they marched and came into town by the way of Broadway.

A sad story is told of Mr. Elisha Tuttle, whose family owned the land where Christ Church now stands, on the corner of Elm street and Broadway. Mr. Tuttle's home in northern New York had been burned, and his wife and children murdered, by the British and Indians the year before. One daughter alone had been spared, and she was taken captive by the Indians. Mr. Tuttle had searched for her in vain, and his mind had become disordered by his sufferings. He was seated by the window when the soldiers passed, and, crazed by the thought of his wife and family he seized an old rusty musket and rushed from the house, pointing it at the soldiers. The neighbors tried to interfere and told the soldiers that the poor man was deranged, but they treated him with great cruelty.

The passage of the troops along the Derby turnpike was vigorously opposed by the militia who were commanded by Aaron Burr, afterwards Vice President of the United States, who was visiting friends in New Haven. The militia kept up a steady fire, and at the northwest entrance to the town, Ditch Corner, now Broadway, a number were killed on both sides.

Mr. Nathan Beers lived on the northwest corner of Chapel and York streets, where the University Club now stands. He came to the door to see the soldiers march by, and was bayoneted as he stood. It was at first thought that the wound was not mortal, but he lost so much blood that he died.

Mr. English, the great grandfather of the late James E. English, lived on the corner of Brown and Water streets. A squad of the enemy entered the house and demanded refreshment. They were very abusive and profane in their language, and he mildly rebuked them for their behavior, whereupon they killed him with bayonets.

There were many other instances of totally unprovoked murder, and the town was entirely in the hands of the enemy. The British forces entered town a little after noon, and immediately distributed copies of a proclamation from General Tryon, that all persons who remained quietly in their houses should be safe in their persons and property, except those who held office, and that they, on giving proof of their penitence, should also be secure from violence.

But in spite of the proclamation, the British soldiery entered houses, breaking furniture and stealing whatever valuables they could find. One cannot go into even a small part of the details. Hardly an aged citizen to-day, who is town born but has stored in his memory incidents which have never been published of the British invasion of New Haven which were related to him by eye witnesses of the scenes. A few houses were protected, among others, the old house which stood on the site of the Zunder School, facing College street on George street. A British officer had been hospitably entertained there at the time of the French and Indian war, and he asked for its protection on that account.

The widow of General Wooster, the daughter of the late President Clap of Yale College, was living in the fine old Wooster mansion, on what is now Wooster street. She had remained in her house, perhaps hoping that her age and position would protect her, but the soldiers destroyed her rich furniture and carried off her valuable possessions "leaving not even a bed nor the smallest article in her kitchen." Among other things they took were a box and two large trunks containing the manuscript writings of Mrs. Wooster's father, President Clap. President Stiles wrote to General Tryon later describing the character and stating the value of these manuscripts. He said they could be of no use to the British, and he would be very grateful if they might be returned. General Tryon returned an

equally courteous reply, stating that he thought there had been some mistake about thinking his soldiers had taken them, for he had not heard of any such manuscripts. It was learned later, however, that some boxes of letters and papers had been emptied into the harbor from the deck of one of the vessels. A portion of these were collected by men who rowed from the shore in boats and these were sent to President Stiles, who found that they were the Clap manuscripts, but by far the larger part of them was never recovered.

Meanwhile the body of soldiery who approached the East Haven shore were greeted with a volley from the rifles of a small company of men, and the commanding officer was killed. When they finally landed, they fought every inch of the way, and set fire to many houses. They captured Beacon Hill and Black Rock Fort, and made prisoners of the garrison of seventeen men.

It is believed that it was at first the intention of General Garth to burn the town, but so many militia were coming from the surrounding country by way of Neck Bridge that he thought it would be advisable to wait until he had secured that entrance, and prevented the inrush of further defenders of the soil.

Early Monday afternoon Tryon crossed from East Haven on the ferry, and held a council of war with Sir George Collier, General Garth and other officers. It is thought that this consultation was held in the State House, near where Trinity Church now stands, and several loyal gentlemen of New Haven were present. Their solicitations perhaps helped to cause the decision to spare the town.

At this time the trade of New Haven with the Barbadoes and other islands of the West Indies had grown to be of considerable importance, and great stocks of sugar, molasses and rum were in the cellars and storehouses of the merchants. The

soldiers speedily discovered the liquor, and after pillaging the houses to their hearts content, they become very drunk, and many of them were seen lying in the streets and on the Green, completely overcome by liquor. This drunkenness among the troops troubled General Garth, and was undoubtedly one of the reasons which made them decide to evacuate the town next day. After the council was over, the principal officers made a tour of inspection, and from the top of Admiral Foote's house on the corner of Chapel and Temple streets, they obtained a birdseye view of the town. It was here that General Garth made his oft-quoted remark "It is too pretty a town to burn." In the evening a banquet was given to the British officers by the loyal gentlemen of the town in the old Chandler house, which stood where the Tontine building is now. This house was afterward moved further up Church street and is still standing, being the residence of Henry B. Sargent. The Admiral Foote house has been enlarged and altered for shops, but the wooden rear part can still be seen on Temple street.

General Tryon returned to his camp in East Haven, and Garth remained here with his troops. Sentinels were posted the entire length of York, George, State and Grove streets. Part of the soldiers remained on guard and the rest slept on their arms on the Green. At sunrise the orders were given to march. So many of the soldiers had not slept off the effect of their carousal that carts, wagons and wheelbarrows were used to get them to the wharf. Some were taken in boats to the fleet, others by the ferry to East Haven from which point Tryon's division was embarked, and by afternoon the last ship had sailed out of the harbor. As the last boat load left Long Wharf the enemy fired the store houses built upon it.

On the hilly East Haven shore a man observed them as they set sail and made a derisive gesture. He was instantly killed by a shot from one of the vessels. A broadside was fired

at Black Rock fort, and the balls rebounded, one of them killing a man named Isaac Pardee, who was going to a spring for a pail of water.

Twenty-seven persons were killed and nineteen wounded on the American side. General Tryon reported three killed, thirty-two wounded and seventeen missing, but other estimates make the enemy's loss two hundred in killed, wounded and missing. As for the missing, it is known that many Hessians deserted and remained in New Haven, choosing good trades and occupations and becoming useful citizens. Eleven houses, nine barns and several other buildings were burned. The amount of property destroyed was estimated at nearly twenty-five thousand pounds. On the 7th of July, Fairfield was burned, and Norwalk was burned on the 10th.

CHAPTER XVII.

EARLY SCHOOLS AND SCHOOLMASTERS.

A prominent figure in the community was Ezekiel Cheever, the first schoolmaster of New Haven. He was a passenger on board the Hector, and was one of the free planters in the colony. Soon after he came he opened a school in his own house. He lived on the southwest corner of Grove and Church streets, next to Captain Turner, but his plot was a small one, as he invested only twelve pounds in the colony. He was one of the twelve men appointed for the foundation work of Church and State, and although he was never ordained he occasionally preached. He was either a very dull preacher or had some peculiarities of manner, for it is on record that Richard Smoolt, a servant of Mrs. Turner, "for scoffing at the word of God as preached by Mr. Cheever," was sentenced to be severely whipped.

Mr. Cheever was an excellent teacher, and the boys who were his pupils made great progress. Michael Wigglesworth in his autobiography mentions that he was one of Mr. Cheever's pupils and that under him he "began to make Latin and get on apace." While he was in New Haven Mr. Cheever prepared a Latin grammar for the use of his pupils which passed through many editions and was used for years in the schools of New England. He afterward wrote a book on the Millenium, called "Scripture Prophecies Explained."

Although Mr. Cheever was an excellent teacher, he was very unpopular on account of his severity toward his pupils. He was apparently not on good terms with Mr. Davenport, and when Mrs. Eaton was excommunicated he spoke with great freedom of the injustice of her sentence, and censured Mr. Davenport severely. These sayings were brought to Mr. Davenport,

and the parents of the boys whom Mr. Cheever had treated harshly helped to increase the ill feeling by bringing additional complaints against him. He was in his turn brought to trial. The main charge against him was that he had said Mr. Davenport had been unjust and too severe in his treatment of Mrs. Eaton. Some of the charges are almost too trivial to mention. One was that he sat in his place at meeting with his head resting on his hand. The inference was that Mr. Davenport's sermon wearied him too much for him to maintain an erect position. He was called to answer for his "contradictory and proud frame of spirit" and was cast out of the Church "till the proud flesh be destroyed and he be brought to a more reasonable frame of mind."

This humiliation made New Haven no longer desirable as a dwelling place, and he removed to Ipswich, and from there in 1651, went to Boston, He taught in the Boston Latin School some years, and died there in 1708 at the age of ninety-four, "having been a faithful, painful teacher for seventy years."

After Ezekiel Cheever left New Haven for Boston, Mr. Jeanes, who lived on the southeast corner of Chapel and Church streets, where the Cutler building now stands, taught pupils in his own house, and a Mr. Pearce taught primary children. There were several schools and many different teachers as time went on, and people living in the outlying plantations, Milford, Guilford and others, were allowed to send their children, but there was trouble about properly proportioning the expenses and and the colonists did not have a satisfactory school for the teaching of the higher branches until, by the will of Edward Hopkins, whose wife was Hannah Yale, the daughter of Mrs. Eaton, property in Connecticut was bequeathed for educational purposes to three trustees, of whom Mr. Davenport was one.

It was the intention of the trustees that the proceeds of

the sale of this property should be divided between Hadley, Massachusetts, New Haven and Harvard College. The land, being in Connecticut was under the jurisdiction of the Connecticut Colony, and Hartford promptly interposed legal obstacles to the settlement of the estate, so that for five years the bequest was inoperative, and the revenues from it had diminished one quarter. At the expiration of that time an adjustment was effected, so that out of the whole estate of fourteen hundred pounds, New Haven received four hundred pounds, Hartford the same amount, Hadley, three hundred and Harvard College one hundred pounds. Mr. Davenport offered to apply the share allotted to New Haven in aid of a grammar school, provided the town and colony would also make provision. The school saw many dark and discouraging days and languished for a while, but was restored in 1667, and has fitted many generations of New Haven boys for college.

CHAPTER XVIII.

YALE COLLEGE.

It was designed from the beginning that a small college should be established in New Haven, and in laying out the town the planters reserved the tract called Oyster Shell Field, east of State street and north of Meadow street, for "the use and benefit of a College." A lot on the north side of Elm street between College and Church streets, which in the first division of land had been bestowed upon Mrs. Eldred, a proprietor but a non-resident, was also held by the free planters for the benefit of the College. This was the lot afterward taken in exchange by the Center Church, when a parsonage was built for the Rev. Mr. Pierpont.

But times were hard and the people were poor, and much as they loved learning and desired to have it for their children, no steps were taken toward actually founding a college until toward the end of the century, when a proposition was made that a college should be established by a synod of the Churches, to be called The School of the Churches. Several ministers accordingly met in Branford in 1700, and each in turn laid on the table the few books he had brought with him saying "I give these books for the founding of a college." A charter was applied for to the State Legislature and was granted on October 9, 1701.

For fifteen years the college was located in Saybrook, but the tutors, who had parishes in different towns near by, could not conveniently leave their homes, and the students were obliged to go to them to recite. At one time the whole senior class lived in Milford, because their tutor resided there. No wonder the College did not flourish and that in four consecutive years only ten students received degrees. The students

complained that they were not comforatably housed at Saybrook and were not properly taught. Dissatisfaction became so great that the trustees at last allowed the students to go to other places to receive instruction and a large part of them went to Wethersfield.

Then Hartford petitioned to have the College established there, on the ground that "it was more in the center of the Colony" and New Haven also put in a plea. As a majority of the trustees were from New Haven, it was decided by them to move the college here, and instruction began in the autumn of 1716.

But this was only the beginning of trouble, for the Wethersfield students refused to come to New Haven. The House of Representatives voted that it was best that the college should be located in Middletown. But owing to the influence of Governor Saltonstall it was finally decided that the Collegiate School, as it was then called, should be established in New Haven.

The students in Wethersfield established their own College, and even held one commencement, at which degrees were given by one of the Hartford trustees.

Saybrook refused to give up the Library, and it became necessary to call upon the sheriff of the county to take possession of it. He was resisted in the execution of his duty, and after the books had been piled into ox carts to be transported to New Haven, a mob of men took off the wheels of the carts and broke down the bridges. Many valuable books and papers were lost or stolen in the struggle.

New Haven voted to give the college two valuable lots on the corner of College and Chapel streets, and on these two lots a handsome edifice was erected where Osborn Hall now stands, and was first called College Hall. It was built of wood, and was one hundred and seventy feet long, twenty-two feet wide

and three stories high, with dormer windows. It contained a library, dining hall and kitchen, as well as rooms for the students.

It has already been said that Mrs. Eaton when she came to this country, was accompanied by the three children of her first husband, David, Thomas and Hannah. David Yale had a son Elihu, born in New Haven, April 5, 1648, who was nine years old at the time of Governor Eaton's death, and he returned to England with Mrs. Eaton the following year. He entered the service of the East India Company of London, and lived in Madras for many years. He accumulated a large fortune, and was elected Governor of the Company. He always cherished an affection for the place of his birth and when the project of the college was under way he sent a large sum of money as a gift. On this account the nearly finished College Hall was named Yale College, and it was completed in readiness for the Commencement of 1718, which was a notable event. Governor Yale also remembered the college in his will, but he died before the will was properly witnessed, and it was not admitted to probate.

In 1745 a new charter was granted to the college and the name of Yale, which had heretofore been given only to the college building, was now bestowed upon the institution. The Legislature also gave over $5,000 for a new building, which was called Connecticut Hall. This was long known as South Middle, but since its restoration, its old name has been given back to it.

One by one, as the needs of the college demanded, the other buildings in the old Brick Row were put up, and the Library and Laboratory were built. Now most of these buildings have been removed, and modern stone structures enclose the campus. But there was a sentiment about the old Brick Row, and its days of plain living and high thinking which no longer exist.

Athletics were not, extravagant expenditure was not, in those early days. The students, as a rule, came to College to study and they improved every one of the opportunities offered them. While there were occasional disputes with the town officials, the general tone was very manly, dignified and a little austere. So many students studied for the ministry that Yale College could well continue to be called The School of the Churches, until a comparatively late day.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE CEMETERIES.

The central square of the original nine squares of the town plot was reserved for all public purposes, and whenever a death occurred among the early settlers the body was laid to rest in a place reserved for burials, in the rear of the meeting house. This place was once or twice enlarged, and in 1775 it was enclosed by a fence.

In 1797 Mr. James Hillhouse and a company of thirty gentlemen, bought the land on the northwest corner of College and Grove streets, and laid out the Grove Street Cemetery in family lots. It is said that this was the first cemetery laid out in this manner. Many persons bought lots, and removed the tomb stones and the remains of their ancestors from the old burying ground, and these old stones, standing in family lots with the more modern monuments of their descendants form one of the most interesting features of the Grove Street Cemetery.

The second meeting house, built in 1668, was succeeded by a brick building, and that in turn by the present edifice. This Church extends farther westward than any of the three previous ones, and when the workmen began the necessary excavations some human remains were unearthed. These were reburied in the Grove Street Cemetery, and it was considered best to dig no cellar for the Church, but to raise it above the level of the Green, and to enclose beneath it the graves without disturbing these monuments. This was done and of late years the crypt has been concreted. It is an interesting spot to visit, for it preserves a bit of old New Haven, and shows the level of of the Green as it was in 1812.

After the Grove Street Cemetery was opened, burials be-

came less frequent in the old burying ground. The last person to be interred there was Mrs. Martha Whitelsey, in 1812. She was the widow of one of the early pastors of the Center Church.

There are about one hundred and forty tombstones in the crypt of the Center Church, and the names of the persons they commemorate are inscribed on tablets in the vestibule of the church. There were about eight hundred tombstones in the unenclosed portion of the burying ground. In 1821 these were taken up and removed to the Grove Street Cemetery, where part of them are arranged in alphabetical order against its west and north walls. Many of the others are in private lots. The graves on the Green have not been distrbed, but the ground has been levelled and graded, and all trace of its former use as a burial ground has been obliterated, except three stones—those of James Dixwell, the regicide, the stone marked E. W., and that marked W. G.

There is a tablet on the west wall of the Center Church which reads as follows:

From the settlement of New Haven
1639 to 1798
the adjoining ground was occupied
as a common place of burial.
Then a new burial ground was opened
and divided into family lots
and city squares.
In 1813 this church was placed
over the monuments of several
whose names are inscribed on tablets
in the vestibule.
In 1821 the remaining monuments
were by consent of survivors
and under direction of the city
removed to the new ground.

"In a moment, in the twinkling of an eye,
At the last trump, the dead shall be raised."

At the southwest corner of the church is another tablet bearing the words:

In memoriam
THEOPHILUS EATON
First Governor
of the
New Haven Colony.
Died January 7,
1657.
And lies buried near this spot.

And at the northwest corner is still another:

In Memory of
STEPHEN GOODYEAR
First Deputy Governor
of the
Colony of New Haven
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Died in London, England, 1658.
Erected by his descendent ——— Goodyear.

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"T' attend you, sir, beneath these framed stones
Are come your honored son and daughter Jones
On each side to repose their wearied bones."

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no more. On Maple avenue is a tablet commemorating Roger Sherman, the first mayor of New Haven, and one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence.

On the right hand side of Cedar avenue is the grave of Theodore Winthrop, the first citizen of New Haven to be killed in the War of the Rebellion. He was the author of "Cecil Dreeme" and other novels which had much vogue fifty years ago.

Eli Whitney, the inventor of the cotton gin, and Noah Webster, of dictionary fame, are both buried on this avenue.

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On Central avenue is a stone erected to the memory of Benjamin English. He was stabbed by a British soldier while sitting in his own house, the day of the invasion of New Haven by the British.

On Maple avenue, in the Beers lot, is a sandstone slab brought from the old burying ground, inscribed with the name of Nathan Beers. He, too, was wounded by a party of British troops on the 5th of July, 1779, and died five days afterward. There is another very old sandstone monument in the Bishop lot nearby, commemorating several generations of the Bishop family. The Hillhouse lot is also on Maple avenue, and contains the monument to James A. Hillhouse, to whom New Haven is in many ways deeply indebted. In Cedar avenue is also a monument in memory of David Humphreys, aid-de-camp to Washington.

There are many other most interesting memorials of the dead in this quiet resting place, and in their names is bound up most of New Haven's early history.

It is estimated that ten thousand persons are buried in the Grove Street Cemetery, and that over two thousand lie under the grass in the rear of the Center Church.

In less than fifty years from the time the former was opened it was becoming difficult to obtain family lots, and a new cemetery, first called the Washington, and afterward the Evergreen Cemetery, was laid out near the West River and first used in 1848. Since then the Hebrew and Roman Catholic Cemeteries have been laid out,

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EARLY MAPS OF THE COLONY OF NEW HAVEN.

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These four maps are all of which we have any knowledge prior to 1800. The Doolittle Map was made in 1817, and there have been many maps made in later years. All of them have their use and interest, but it is to the first two maps—those of New Haven in 1641 and in 1724, that we owe much of our knowledge of the dwelling places of the early settlers.

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The records of early New Haven must be considered to include a period of about 150 years, which brings us almost to the nineteenth century. New Haven is no longer a pretty little town, but a great and growing city. The austere standards of the past no longer obtain, and there is a wider and more optimistic outlook.

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