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PAPERS

OF THE

NEW HAVEN COLONY

HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

VOL. V.



NEW HAVEN:
PRINTED FOR THE SOCIETY.

1894

TUTTLE, MOREHOUSE & TAYLOR, PRINTERS, NEW HAVEN, CONN

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

PROCEEDINGS AT THE PUBLIC OPENING OF SEPT. 28, 1893, OF THE NEW HAVEN
COLONY HISTORICAL SOCIETY BUILDING ERECTED BY HENRY F. ENGLISH
AS A MEMORIAL OF JAMES E. AND CAROLINE F. ENGLISH.

	Page
Prefatory Note,	vii
Copies of deed of building site and explanatory agree- ment,	ix
Extract from minutes of Society and Directors,	xiii
Address by the President,	xvii
Commemorative address by Horace Day	xxiii
Historical sketch by Thomas R. Trowbridge,	lxi
List of the Executive officers of the Society since its founda- tion,	lxxv
List of its officers in 1893,	lxxvii
List of its members in 1893,	lxxxii
Notes of <i>errata</i> in foregoing list. Corresponding and Honorary Members, 1893,	xcii

PAPERS:

1. Inscriptions on Milford Tombstones,	1
2. Sketch of Philip Marcet; by SIMEON E. BALDWIN, LL.D.,	74
3. Recollections of New Haven between 1825 and 1837; by Col. GARDNER MORSE,	89
4. Sketch of Eli Whitney; by Prof. WM. P. BLAKE, M.A.,	109
5. Mrs. Eaton's Trial (1644) from the records of the First Church; read by Rev. NEWMAN SMYTH, D.D.,	133
6. Extracts from journal of Joel Root, supercargo of the ship Huron; read by THOMAS R. TROWBRIDGE,	149
7. New Haven Bells; by JUSTUS S. HOTCHKISS, LL.B.,	173
8. The Three Constitutions of Connecticut; by SIMEON E. BALDWIN, LL.D.,	179
9. President Clap and his writings; by Prof. FRANKLIN BOWDITCH DEXTER, M.A.,	247
10. Early History of Long Island Sound and its Approaches; by Capt. CHARLES HERVEY TOWNSEND,	275
Index,	307

NOTE.

The New Haven Colony Historical Society has published five volumes of its Papers : Vol. I, in 1865 ; Vol. II, in 1877 ; Vol. III, in 1882 ; Vol. IV, in 1888 ; and Vol. V, in 1894.

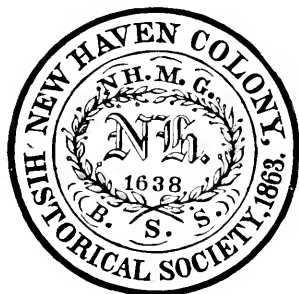
The Society does not consider itself committed to the support of the positions taken in any of the papers thus published. For the statements or conclusions of each, the author is alone responsible.

SIMEON E. BALDWIN,	} <i>Publication Committee.</i>
JAMES M. HOPPIN,	
THOMAS R. TROWBRIDGE,	
LYNDE HARRISON,	
HENRY F. ENGLISH.	





AT THE PUBLIC OPEN-
ING, SEPTEMBER 28TH, 1893 OF THE NEW
HAVEN COLONY HISTORICAL SOCIETY
BUILDING ERECTED BY HENRY F. ENGLISH
AS A MEMORIAL OF JAMES E. AND CARO-
LINE F. ENGLISH



PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY



PRESS OF TUTTLE, MOREHOUSE & TAYLOR, NEW HAVEN, CONN.



TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
1. PREFATORY NOTE,	vii
Copy of deed of building site, dated Nov. 14, 1891,	ix
Copy of explanatory agreement, dated Nov. 23, 1891,	xi
Extract from minutes of directors' meeting, Nov. 14, 1891,	xiii
Minutes of meeting of society, Sept. 28, 1893,	xv
2. PROCEEDINGS AT THE PUBLIC OPENING OF THE NEW BUILDING:	
Address by the President,	xvii
Commemorative address by Horace Day,	xxiii
Sketch of the history of the society by Thomas R. Trowbridge,	lxi
3. LIST OF THE EXECUTIVE OFFICERS OF THE SOCIETY SINCE ITS FOUNDATION,	lxxv
4. LIST OF ITS PRESENT OFFICERS,	lxxvii
5. LIST OF ITS PRESENT MEMBERS,	lxxix

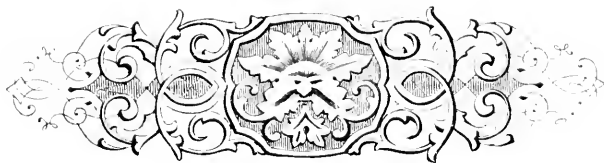




LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

1. The building, exterior view	Frontispiece
2. Entrance hall and staircase	opposite page viii
3. North Room—with collections	“ xvii
4. Middle Room—with collections	“ xxiii
5. Library	“ xxix
6. Audience room—looking south	“ xxxvii
7. Memorial tablet	“ xlv
8. Audience room—entrance and balcony	“ lv
9. Portrait—James Edward English	“ lxx
10. Portrait—Caroline Fowler English	“ lxxiii





PREFATORY

PREVIOUS to the erection of the present permanent home of the society, the rooms it occupied for its historical and antiquarian collections, its meetings for business and its audience chamber were of a temporary character. For several years the southeast room in the third story of the newly completed City Hall with the adjoining fire-proof room, amply sufficed for the accommodation of the society ; but in 1878 the needs of the municipal authorities of city and town compelled their abandonment. A transient refuge was found in the New Haven State House, until this last memorial of the independent colonial existence of New Haven was destroyed. The Insurance building on Chapel Street imperfectly served the purposes of the society until the noble benefaction of Mr. Henry F. English, in uniting a tribute of filial reverence with his interest in a public object led him, unsolicited, to erect an edifice every way honorable to himself and admirably adapted to promote the ends for which the society was organized. In its construction no pains were spared by the donor in making the building attractive in aspect, convenient in arrangement and graceful in detail. By a fortunate coincidence its location is

on the home lot of Robert Newman in whose "mighty barn" the constitution of the New Haven colony was formed in 1639.

The building is modeled after the Italian *renaissance*, sometimes called the colonial style, but with such modifications as are made necessary by a climate more rigid than that of southern Europe. The plans were prepared by Bruce Price, Esq., of New York, under the general supervision of Prof. Arthur M. Wheeler, of Yale University, both of whom personally superintended the entire construction. The first story and trimmings are of Tuckahoe marble and its upper stories of light buff brick combined with terra cotta.

The building committee to whom were submitted the several plans and designs were Simeon E. Baldwin, Thomas R. Trowbridge, James M. Hoppin, Lynde Harrison and Henry F. English.

The lot was purchased in November, 1891; ground was broken in April, 1892, and the building completed and publicly opened, September, 1893.

The entire cost has been borne by Mr. English as follows :

Building lot	\$11,000.00
Structure	72,270.00
Furniture and fixtures	4,930.00
	<hr/>
Total	\$88,200.00

The legal title to the entire property vests in the society. The deed of the land, by direction of Mr. English, was made



directly to the corporation, while the cost of construction was paid by the donor as though acting as an agent for the society. Copies of the deed of the land and an explanatory agreement respecting its use are subjoined :

“ *To all people to whom these presents shall come, GREETING :*

“ Know ye that I, William K. Townsend, of the town and county of New Haven, in the State of Connecticut, for the consideration of eleven thousand dollars (\$11,000), received to my full satisfaction of the New Haven Colony Historical Society, a corporation chartered by the State of Connecticut and located in the town of New Haven, do give, grant, bargain, sell and confirm unto the said New Haven Colony Historical Society, a certain lot of land situated in said New Haven and bordered north on Grove Street fifty (50 feet) ; east in part on land formerly of Henry Trowbridge deceased, and in part on land formerly of Mrs. Emily Billings deceased ; in all one hundred and seventy-two (172 feet) more or less ; south on land of heirs of Charles Denison in part, and in part on land of J. Hiller fifty (50 feet) ; and west on land of the grantor one hundred and seventy-two (172) feet more or less ; provided, however, that no building shall ever be erected on the premises hereby granted within thirty-five (35) feet of the south line of Grove Street, and that said lot shall be used for the erection of a building for said society ; and said grantor also conveys to said grantee, its successors and assigns, the right to put and keep windows in any such building which said grantee may erect on said granted premises, on the west line of said premises, and covenants with said grantee its successors and assigns that he and his heirs and assigns will never

obstruct the light and air otherwise coming to such building and windows by erecting or maintaining on so much of the land adjoining the granted premises on the west, as lies south of a line which is parallel with the south line of Grove Street and seventy-five (75) feet distant therefrom, any structure that shall come nearer than ten (10) feet to the west line of the granted premises.

“ *To have and to hold* the above granted and bargained premises with the appurtenances thereof, unto the said grantee, its successors and assigns forever, to its and their proper use and behoof. And also I, the said grantor, do for myself, my heirs, executors, and administrators, covenant with the said grantee, its successors and assigns that at and until the ensembling of these presents, I am well seized of the premises as a good indefeasible estate in fee simple; and have good right to bargain and sell the same in manner and form as is above written; and that the same is free from all incumbrances whatsoever except as above specified and provided.

“ *And furthermore* I, the said grantor, do, by these presents, bind myself and my heirs forever to warrant and defend the above granted and bargained premises to it, the said grantee, its successors and assigns, against all claims and demands whatsoever, except as above specified and provided.

“ In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal this 14th day of November, A. D. 1891.

W. K. TOWNSEND. [L. S.]

Signed, sealed and delivered in presence of

EDWIN A. SMITH.

SIMEON E. BALDWIN.

“ STATE OF CONNECTICUT,)
 New Haven County,) ss. New Haven, Nov. 14, 1891.

“ Personally appeared William K. Townsend, the signer and sealer of the foregoing instrument, and acknowledged the same to be his free act and deed before me,

EDWIN A. SMITH,

*Commissioner of the Superior Court
 for New Haven County.*”

“ The New Haven Colony Historical Society and William K. Townsend covenant and agree as follows in mutual explanation of the intent and meaning of the conveyance by him to it dated Nov. 14, 1891 :

“ 1. If the society, its successors or assigns ever open any windows on the west line of its lot within 75 feet of the south line of Grove Street, he and his heirs and assigns are at perfect liberty to close them up by building in front of them or any of them at any time or times thereafter.

“ 2. The society, its successors or assigns may place door-steps projecting within 35 feet from the south line of Grove Street, provided the top step or platform does not come higher than five feet, six inches above the grade of the Grove Street sidewalk.

“ The above covenant on the part of each party is made in consideration of the foregoing covenant on the part of the other party.

“ In witness whereof William K. Townsend hath set his hand and seal and the New Haven Colony Historical Society

hath caused its corporate name and seal to be set by Simeon E. Baldwin, its president, duly authorized, to this instrument and to a duplicate hereof, this 23d day of November, 1891, at New Haven, Connecticut.

W. K. TOWNSEND. [L. s.]

Signed, sealed and delivered in presence of

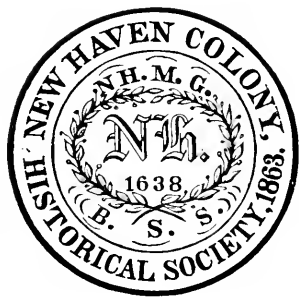
SAMUEL H. FISHER, }
EDWIN A. SMITH, } as to W. K. Townsend.

CHARLES K. BUSH, } as to N. H. C. Hist. Society,
EDWIN A. SMITH, } By S. E. B., *President.*

THE NEW HAVEN COLONY
HISTORICAL SOCIETY,

By SIMEON E. BALDWIN,

President.



STATE OF CONNECTICUT, }
County of New Haven, } ss. New Haven, Nov. 23, 1891.

Personally appeared William K. Townsend, signer and sealer of the foregoing instrument and acknowledged the same to be his free act and deed before me.

EDWIN A. SMITH,

*Commissioner of the Superior Court
for New Haven County.*

STATE OF CONNECTICUT, }
 County of New Haven, } ss. New Haven, Nov. 24, 1891.

Personally appeared Simeon E. Baldwin, President of the New Haven Colony Historical Society, signer and sealer of the foregoing instrument and acknowledged the same to be the free act and deed of the New Haven Colony Historical Society before me.

EDWIN A. SMITH,

*Commissioner of the Superior Court
 for New Haven County.*

The action of the directors of the society at a special meeting called by the president and held on the day of the execution of the deed, Nov. 14, 1891, is shown by the following extract from their minutes :

“The president announced that the special purpose for which the meeting had been called was to make public a gift just received from Henry F. English, Esq., of a building lot on Grove street, and Mr. English’s intention to erect thereon a suitable building for the society.

“The announcement was a complete surprise, and after an informal discussion concerning this generous donation, the following resolutions offered by Prof. Hoppin were heartily and unanimously adopted.

“WHEREAS, Henry F. English, Esq., has presented to this society a valuable building site on Grove street fronting Hill-

house Ave., and has signified his willingness to erect thereon a suitable building for the use of the society, as a memorial of his father and mother, each of whom was descended from a family long identified with the town of New Haven,

“Voted, That this society accepts these generous and unsolicited gifts with its warmest acknowledgment of the public spirit and spontaneous liberality which prompted them, and is especially glad of the assurance thus afforded that the memory of Governor English whose name is so honorably connected with the history of Connecticut and whose interest in the society, of which he was at the time of his decease the vice-president, was always constant and deep, will be kept fresh in the hearts of his fellow townsmen for all succeeding generations, not only by what he did for East Rock Park, but for what his son has now done in his name to place upon a permanent foundation the promotion of historical research and local patriotism in the ancient limits of New Haven Colony.

“Voted, That an engrossed copy of the foregoing resolutions, attested by the president and secretary, be communicated to Mr. English.

“Voted, That a committee of five consisting of the president, secretary and three other directors, be appointed as representatives of the society in respect to the new building and to report to the board their conclusions and recommendations for its approval, from time to time as may be necessary.”

The first meeting of the society in the new building was held at 8.00 P. M. on Sept. 28th, 1893. The following are the secretary's minutes of the proceedings on this occasion.

Meeting of the Society on September 28th, 1893.

The building now occupied by the New Haven Colony Historical Society was dedicated and formally opened on the evening of Thursday, September 29th. A large audience was present, numbering about 460 persons: among the number were delegates from many kindred societies in different sections of the country.

The rooms were brilliantly lighted and handsomely decorated with flowers, vines, etc. The New Haven orchestra furnished music for the occasion.

The hall was crowded during the literary exercises. These consisted of prayer by the Rev. Newman Smyth, D.D., an address by the president, Judge Simeon E. Baldwin, an oration upon the life of Hon. James E. English, by Horace Day, Esq., and a paper by the secretary, Thomas R. Trowbridge, entitled the History of the New Haven Colony Historical Society.

At the close of the regular exercises, President Baldwin called for remarks from General Francis A. Walker, LL.D., president of the American Statistical Association, and also from Prof. H. B. Adams, secretary of the American Historical Association, and representing the historical section of Johns Hopkins University, Judge Harden, delegate from the Georgia Historical Society, and Hon. Charles A. Reed, the delegate of the Old Colony Historical Society of Massachusetts.

The dedicatory meeting was then closed and all were invited to the directors' room where a collation was provided. Afterwards the rooms of the society on the lower floor were opened

to the guests of the evening and members of the society, who inspected the various collections, library and portrait gallery.

All expressed great satisfaction that the society had such a noble building, and were pronounced in their appreciation of the liberality and public spirit of the donor.

Attest :

THOMAS R. TROWBRIDGE,

Secretary.







ADDRESS
OF
SIMEON E. BALDWIN

President of the Society

AT THE OPENING OF THE NEW BUILDING

September 28th, 1893

I CONGRATULATE the society on its entrance, to-night, into a home of its own; built on the spot which of all others is fullest of historic interest to us; for here was the site of Robert Newman's barn, where were laid the memorable foundations of the little plantation, out of which grew the ancient colony of New Haven, whose name we perpetuate.

Nor are we less fortunate in the year and month in which we celebrate this auspicious occasion. It was just two hundred and fifty years ago, in September, 1643, that the articles of confederation were

finally consummated under which the Colony of New Haven joined on equal terms with those of Massachusetts Bay, Plymouth and Connecticut, in constituting, to endure, they hoped, forever, the first American union,—the “United Colonies of New England.”

The modesty of the generous giver, to whom we owe this noble edifice and fitly chosen site, has made him unwilling to take any public part in the exercises of this evening. In the same frank spirit of love for New Haven; of reverence for the institutions which have made her what she is; of respect for the past; of hope that its merits may be seen, its errors avoided by posterity, the better for the work we are doing; of attachment to ties of ancestry; of recognition of what one generation owes to another, as they pass on in their endless train; which has led him to this act of unasked munificence, I accept, in your behalf, this splendid gift. We receive it with especial satisfaction from the hands of a fellow citizen, and fellow member; of one who bears a name long known and honored here, and who makes this building a memorial of his nearest kindred, in the generation just passed away.

The kindly face and voice of Governor English were familiar at the meetings of this society, of

which, during his later years, he served as vice-president. I well remember the vivid and spirited reminiscences he once gave us at our rooms in the old State House (which he had helped to build), of the New Haven of his boyhood.

His public life will be the subject of remark to-night by another who knew him well, but let me be pardoned for saying that he was, before all, a type of the kind of character that New Haven and New England are proud to claim, as peculiarly their own; of the man who makes the most of his surroundings, who reaps prosperity from a rugged soil; who joins honesty to thrift; who loves liberality as he scorns extravagance; who knows that there is no station in life, however lowly, or however high, that cannot be filled with dignity; no reward of life which cannot be gained by industry, integrity, good sense, and good morals.

In the great families of European lands, the insignia, the records, the portraits, the heir-looms, of past generations are preserved in some ancient castle or *château*, under the care of an hereditary representative of the line, whom the laws of descent have made rather their custodian than their owner. The nature of American institutions forbids the creation here of such centers of family history. How many are there

in this audience who live in a house in which their grandfather dwelt before them? With every break in the line of succession comes a division, a separation, a sudden severance of the last ties that had bound some absent child to the old home. All this is part of the price we pay for a condition of society founded on equality, and rejoicing in the common inheritance of a vast territory into which all were invited to enter and possess the land. But because of this, there is no country where the place of the historical society is so great, its mission so high, as on American soil. In their collections must the archives of our families be sought and established. There is no one in this hall, however he may seem favored by fortune, who would not be more sure that some prized relic of his ancestors would be preserved, to be seen and known by his descendants in the third and fourth generation, were it deposited here this night, than if kept in his own possession. "Men may come and men may go," but these massive walls, this society, which has already outlived almost all its original founders, these collections that speak to all the history of three centuries, will remain.

If there is in any institution of human hands an element of perpetuity, that institution is the corporation chartered by the State to cherish the memory of what past generations have said and done, for good

or ill. We have no theory to defend, which new discoveries may overthrow; no doctrine to inculcate, which wiser times may pronounce false; no object to advance which posterity may deem antiquated or vain. Be the methods, the institutions, the actions, of one century good or bad, they are alike and must always be alike worthy of commemoration at the hands of impartial history. During the last week, as the first fruits of this new building, with the security which it affords against loss or injury, there has come here, to find its fitting home, one of the most treasured relics of New England—the silver tankard of her greatest metaphysician, Jonathan Edwards, the gift to him of his Northampton parishioners. From father to son, it has descended through five generations, in each of which there was a Jonathan Edwards, and we receive it in accordance with the wish of the last of the line, into whose hands it came, the late Dr. Jonathan Edwards of this city.

I look to see by such accessions our collections, already of priceless value, grow steadily from year to year. I would have this building the common home-center of New Haven, and of all the towns, whose initials mark our seal, that made up the ancient colony. I hope our roll of membership, from two hundred and fifty, which it now contains, may come to

number five hundred or a thousand names. I hope, and I expect, that a career of prosperity and usefulness will open for this society, in these stately halls, such as it has never yet attained: and in your behalf I pledge it to make them the center of such a generous cultivation of historical research and local patriotism that they will be a fit memorial of the names in whose honor their walls were reared by a loving son, a public-spirited citizen.







COMMEMORATIVE ADDRESS

Delivered September 28th, 1893

BY

HORACE DAY,

THE FIRST SECRETARY OF THE SOCIETY

THE NEW HAVEN COLONY, whose name this society bears, ceased to exist as an independent civil and political organization nearly two hundred and thirty years ago. For a single quarter of a century New Haven, without authority derived from charter grant and without the recognition of any superior earthly power, exercised the highest functions of sovereignty. Its founders acquired the soil from its native occupants as being the only legitimate owners, organized their state, enacted laws, imprisoned, fined and whipped evil doers and beheaded and hung malefactors. The New Haven colony was for a few years the solitary instance of an absolutely independent state on the American continent.

The neighboring colony of Connecticut might seem an exception, but when its foundations were laid, they were laid as being within the chartered limits of Massachusetts, while its subsequent claims to territorial rights rested upon a questionable purchase of a grant, vague and ill defined, to John Hampden, Pym and others, at the mouth of Connecticut River.

Brief as was the independent existence of the New Haven colony it survived long enough to stamp its influence for generations upon our homes and to furnish the first precedent for much of the legislation which has made us a free, independent and self-governing people.

At its earliest beginning, it proceeded with slow and tentative steps and only gradually developed itself into what it soon became, the one theocracy in the entire Protestant world.

When for the first time the soil of New Haven was trod by the feet of Englishmen is unknown. In the first settlement of civilized men in a country of savages, the trapper and the hunter, the tramp and the scamp, commonly take precedence of the actual settler.

The restraints and orderly industries of civilized communities are felt to be irksome by men who find their highest enjoyment in an untrammelled, wandering life, in pursuit of beaver or deer. Those to whom the sheriff or constable are an offense, accept a life of vagabondage as their only safety. Such men whether reputable or disreputable have their place in the planting of new colonies. These pioneers of civilization become familiar with the habits, manners and language of the original population, and serve in a rude way as interpreters and intermediaries between the civilized and savage man. For more than twenty years before the settlement of New Haven, the traders of the Dutch West India Company, visiting the coasts of Long Island Sound in search of pelts and furs, furnished a sufficient inducement to adventurers of this class of different nationalities, to make their temporary habitation among the natives. Whether Thomas Stanton and John Clark in this way became acquainted with the language of the Quinnipiac tribe or not, they had become sufficient adepts in its use to act as interpreters when the issue of the war with the formidable Pequots opened the way for the settlement of New Haven.

The authentic history of New Haven begins with this war, which was not an outbreak of savage rage, but was designed by the natives to be a war of exter-

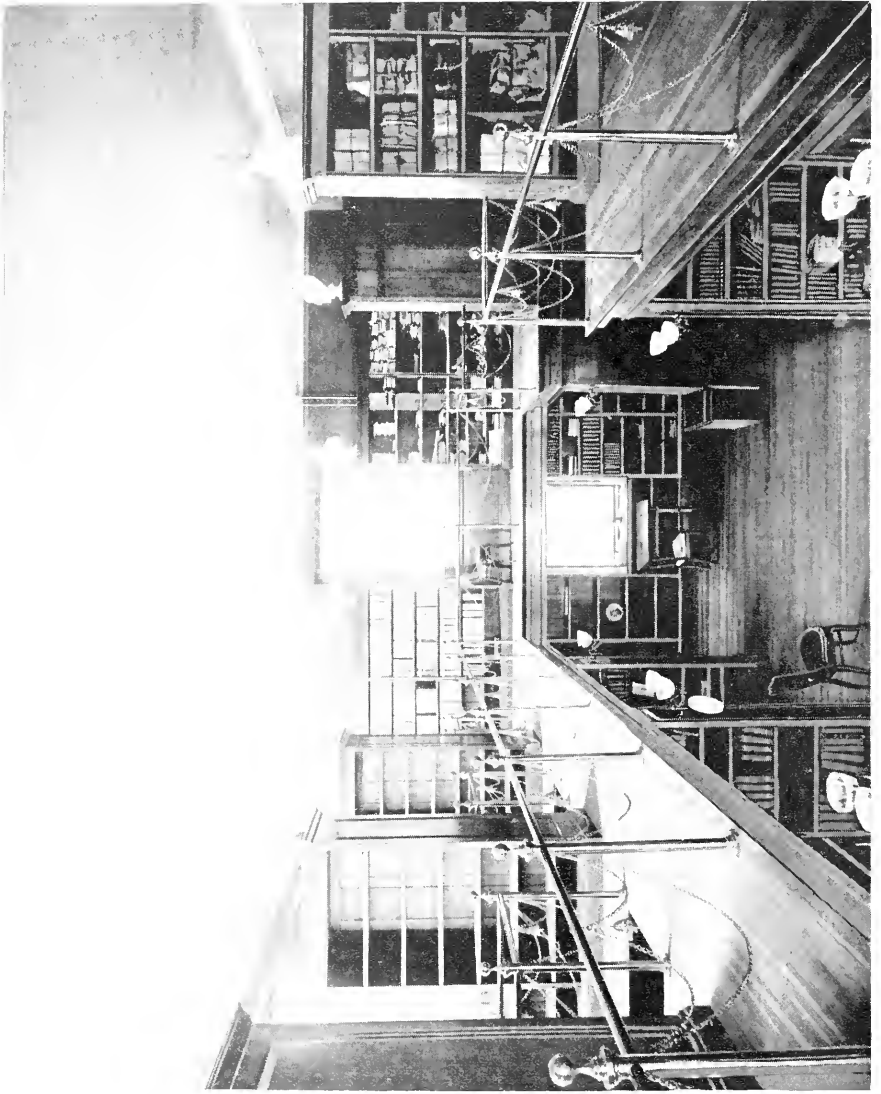
mination. The gradual encroachment of colonists first at Plymouth and then in Massachusetts Bay, had within the year been brought home to them by the settlement of Windsor, Hartford and Wethersfield, and more than all by the erection of a fort at Saybrook. The new comers had almost nothing in common with themselves. In their speech, their dress, their habits and their mode of living there was nothing in common. The Indian view of the matter, many years later, was thus expressed in response to an offer from one of the colonies, to educate some of the Indian youth: "Several of our young people were formerly brought up in the Northern provinces; they were instructed in all your sciences, but when they came back to us they were bad runners, ignorant of every means of living in woods, unable to bear either cold or hunger, knew neither how to build a cabin, take a deer or kill an enemy, spoke our language imperfectly, and were therefore neither fit for hunters, warriors nor counsellors. They were totally good for nothing."

On the part of the English, the war was waged not for purposes of chastisement, but for the utter destruction of the warlike tribe. Driven from their burning fort, and abandoning their dead, the Indians forced their panic stricken way for more than seventy miles through narrow paths known only to

themselves, fording rivers and streams and crossing treacherous morasses, till they found a temporary refuge in a swamp in Fairfield. The victorious English pursued the fleeing enemy, stopping long enough at Guilford to decapitate one or more of the captured sachems, then pressed on to New Haven where a few more of the Pequots were killed. The war ceased when that Fairfield swamp witnessed the extinction of the Pequots as a power seriously to be dreaded. Among those who were conspicuous in the war with the Pequots were Captain Nathaniel Turner, soon afterwards the first military commander, and Lieutenant Robert Seeley, the first marshal of New Haven. Doubtless there were many in the command who made known on their return to Connecticut and Massachusetts, the attractions for settlement presented by the country through which their weary march had led them. Soon after the close of the war, as the Indian tribes of Stratford and Fairfield had taken part with the Pequots, these towns were settled from Connecticut as being conquered territory, and were from the first a part of that colony, while the lands of Milford, New Haven, Branford, Guilford and Greenwich were acquired either by gift or purchase. Neither Momaugin nor Aunsantawa nor the other sachems of the New Haven settlements took any part in the war.

Previous to the purchase of New Haven from the Quinnipiac sachem, Governor Eaton had visited the place and noted its fitness for the commercial community it was intended to found, as well as the natural features of the country, as furnishing facilities for defense against Indian hostilities. Tradition says that Oyster Point was originally selected as the town site, having a large water front easily defended. The absence of springs and the necessity for digging deep wells led to the abandonment of this project and to the selection of the present site. Two small streams known then as the East and West Creeks, nearly at right angles to each other, the first following the line of the Northampton railroad and the other parallel with George street were selected as the base lines of the streets whose regularity adds so much to the beauty of our city.

The winter of 1637-8 was a bitterly cold one. Through those dreary months, six men, under the direction of Joshua Atwater, did what they could to prepare the way for the coming colonists. Some tents were probably brought with them. The bark wigwams of the Indians may have been suggestive. Excavations in the high banks of the West Creek, roughly covered with sod, were doubtless the cellars to which such frequent reference is made in our earlier records. Edward Wigglesworth, a native of



Hedon in Yorkshire, whose memorial stone, marked "E. W." in the rear of the Center Church, is sometimes mistaken for that of Edward Whalley the regicide, had this experience as recorded by his son: "We dwelt in a cellar partly under ground covered with earth, the first winter. I remember that one great rain broke in upon us and drenched me so in my bed, being asleep, that I fell sick upon it."

Early in the spring of 1638, a small vessel rounded what we know as Lighthouse Point, and entered into our harbor between shallow shores lined on the right nearly to the water's edge with massive oaks, and with savins and other evergreens on its left.

The two rocky eminences, which had given to the place the Dutch name of Rodenburg, were as conspicuous then as they are to-day. The plain itself was partly hidden by forest trees and partly by shrub oaks, the latter indicating the sites of abandoned Indian planting grounds. As the emigrants looked over the future home of themselves and their posterity they must have felt how uncertain that future was. Theirs was to be no temporary occupancy. They had left their ancestral homes forever. They had burned their bridges behind them. For better or worse they had come to stay. A new life was before them, but a life shrouded in uncertainties.

The leaders of the company as they looked over the landscape must have exulted in the thought that here at last was the spot where away from star chambers and privy councils, from cathedral pomp and lordly bishops, the kingdom of God on earth, was anew to be set up, and the gospel in its simplicity to be proclaimed to a chosen people.

Others on whom rested the more mundane conviction that there was a life here to be considered as well as a life to come, must have looked with curious eyes for the indication of whatever seemed encouraging in the way of their various industries; the farmers as to the apparent quality of the land; the tanners as to the abundance of astringent barks; those who followed the sea to the presence of shoals, the height of the tides, the depth of water and the safety of the haven as against the storms of the New England coast.

A few of military training, who might have seen service in the Low Countries or under Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden, would naturally look for its fitness for defense against the wiles of savage enemies. The wives, the mothers and the children may have thought more of the privations awaiting them in their new home, and of the possibility of the tomahawk and the scalping knife.

Tradition says that although the colonists entered the harbor on Friday, such was the reluctance, not wholly unknown in our own time, to begin an enterprise of importance on a day associated with the crucifixion of our Savior, that the landing was deferred till the next day. That Saturday must have been to them a busy one. Removing their household effects from the ship, making necessary provision of fuel, food, water and bedding could have left them little leisure before the setting sun indicated the approach of the day of sacred rest. The first observance of a Christian Sunday in New Haven would naturally be marked with the hushed solemnity of the Puritan's Sabbath. Unfortunately few details have come down to us of this day's doings except that the Rev. John Davenport, late vicar of St. Stephen's in Coleman st., London, preached under a great oak tree, at the corner of George and College streets, on the temptations of the wilderness.

Ten years later, when the unfortunate ship in which so much of the wealth and so many of the leading men of New Haven met their unknown fate, possibly the greatest loss to posterity was the loss of the sermons and other manuscripts of the preacher then on their way for publication in London.

No record whatever exists of what was done by the colonists for more than a year after their arrival,

except the record of a formal agreement with Momaugin, sachem of the Quinnipiacs for the surrender of his land, made in November, 1638, and with Montowese, another sachem, in December of the same year extending the New Haven territory about ten miles north of the Momaugin grant, and eight miles easterly and five miles westerly from the Quinnipiac River. To the latter conveyance is appended the renunciation of three men, apparently Indian traders, named Robert Cogswell, Roger Knap, and James Love, of all right and title to any part of the land ceded by Montowese. The consideration to Momaugin for the surrender of his land is thus expressed in the conveyance: "Remembering and acknowledging the heavy taxes and eminent dangers which they lately felt and feared from the Pequots, Mohawks and other Indians, in regard of which they durst not stay in their country, but were forced to fly and to seek shelter under the English at Connecticut, and observing the safety and ease that other Indians enjoy near the English, of which benefit they have had a comfortable taste already since the English began to plant and build at Quinnipiac, which with all thankfulness they now acknowledge, they freely give up all right, title and interest to all their lands, only desiring to receive from the English planters such a portion of ground as might be sufficient for them to plant in."

The twelve coats of English trucking cloth, the alchemy spoons, the hatchets and hoes and knives, the porringers, scissors, etc., they received from the English planters were no part of the purchase money, but are distinctly stated as given of their own accord, and as is expressed, "by way of free and thankful retribution." The grant of Montowese is likewise declared to be a free gift, and eleven coats of trucking cloth, and one coat for himself, made after the English manner, are mentioned as being also given by way of thankful retribution. Nothing appears to show that Montowese put on special airs from being the solitary Indian who could boast of an English made garment, nor the fact that fewer porringers and spoons and hoes and hatchets had been given him lay heavily on his mind. A possible explanation of this restricted liberality may be found in an implication in the subsequent controversy between Connecticut and New Haven, that Montowese had given away land which did not belong to him. With the exception of these grants, the recorded history of New Haven begins more than a year after its settlement.

The intervening months must have been fully occupied in erecting dwellings, clearing land, planting and harvesting crops and providing for the many necessities of a new plantation.

The fourth day of June, 1639, was a memorable day for New Haven. The entire male population left their several occupations and wended their way towards "a mighty barn" on the home lot of Robert Newman, the lot upon which we are now assembled, full of discourse in respect to the momentous question they were about to decide, the question whether the franchises of freemen should be limited to those who were in church fellowship or should be common to all free planters.

Limitations upon political suffrage are common in all governments. Moral character, the possession of property, length of residence, educational fitness are among these restrictions. What the restrictions should be under the circumstances in which the New Haven colonists were placed was the question they met to decide. Familiar as we now are with the routine of constitution-making, it was to our forefathers almost an unknown art. But scarce anywhere in the entire history of the organization of states, is there a more conspicuous instance of calm deliberation, of perfect fairness and of a lofty sense of responsibility to posterity than was witnessed on this spot two centuries and a half ago. After solemn prayer for guidance, and a proper provision for recording the entire transaction, Mr. John Davenport propounded, in the language of the record, "divers

queries to them publicly, praying them to consider seriously in the presence and fear of God the weight of the business they met about, and not to be rash or slight in giving their votes to things they understood not, but to digest fully and thoroughly what should be propounded to them and without respect to men, as they should be satisfied and persuaded in their own minds, to give their answers in such sort, as they would be willing they should stand upon record for posterity."

Five written questions prepared by Mr. Davenport were successively presented by him, to each of which unanimous assent was given by the uplifted hand; then, when recorded by the secretary they were read a second time, and a second time unanimously approved.

The first question was whether the Scriptures hold forth a perfect rule of doctrine and duty, equally obligatory as a rule for civil government as for the government of the church. The second question was whether the entire body of planters there assembled felt themselves bound by the plantation covenant they had made immediately after their landing, that in all things pertaining to the gathering of a church and to the choice of magistrates and officers, they would all be ordered by those rules which the Scriptures hold forth.

The third question, or rather request, was that all who wished to become free planters and proposed to seek admission to the church so soon as God shall fit them thereto, should hold up their hands twice, which was done. The fourth query was whether they held themselves bound to establish such civil order as might best secure the purity and peace of the church. Before this question was put to vote, "Mr. Davenport declared unto them, by the Scriptures, what kind of persons might best be trusted with matters of government, seeing that they were free to cast themselves into that mould and form of commonwealth, which appeared the best for them in reference to securing of the pure and peaceful enjoyment of all Christ's ordinances in the church." He then sat down evidently expecting some expression of dissent, and praying the company freely to consider whether they would have it voted at this time or not. After some space of silence and none opposing, it was voted.

The fifth question being in substance whether none but those in church fellowship shall become free burgesses and be entrusted with the power of choosing magistrates and officers, making and repealing laws, etc., was agreed to, no one openly objecting. After these votes had been taken and recorded, one man, probably Rev. Samuel Eaton who had been imprisoned in London for non-conformity, objected, "that



free planters ought not to give this power out of their hands, but resume it if things were not properly managed." After declining to give his reasons for his dissent, as he had allowed the vote to pass without objection, it was put to vote a second time and passed as unanimously as at first.

At the same meeting, twelve of the leading men were chosen, from whom seven were selected as the foundation of the church organization. These seven constituted the entire government of the plantation for the next four months.

The court thus established met for the first time late in October, when all former power or trust for managing public affairs was abrogated. Nine others, who in the interval had been received into the church and added to the original seven, proceeded to the election of their magistrates and other officers. It was further reaffirmed at this court that the word of God shall be the only rule to be attended unto in ordering the affairs of government in this plantation. In organizing the civil state, nothing was said about the rights of free born Englishmen, nothing about Magna Charta. No reference whatever was made to the common law, the canon law, nor to the enactments of English statute law. Entire libraries of precedents were thrown overboard, and the one all-sufficient

substitute for the accumulated political and legal learning of centuries was henceforth in New Haven to be found in a black letter volume as ordinarily printed, about nine inches long, seven inches broad and two and a half inches thick, commonly known as the Geneva Bible. In the midst of its ornamented title page, were engraved these words from the book of Joshua, "This book of the law shall not depart out of thy mouth, but thou shalt meditate therein day and night, that thou mayest observe to do according to all that is written therein, for then thou shalt make thy way prosperous, and then thou shalt have good success."

So significant are the accompanying verses of the same chapter that, omitting their primary reference to another people, they may be read as singularly expressive of the trust and hopes of our forefathers: "Now therefore arise, go over this Jordan, thou and all this people unto the land which I do give to them. Every place that the sole of your foot shall tread upon, that have I given unto you from the wilderness; even unto the great river and unto the great sea toward the going down of the sun shall be your coast. There shall not any man be able to stand before thee all the days of thy life. As I was with Moses, so I will be with thee, I will not fail thee nor forsake thee. Be strong and of a good courage, for unto this

people shalt thou divide for an inheritance, the land which I swear unto their fathers to give them. Only be thou strong and very courageous, that thou mayest observe to do according to all the law, which Moses thy servant commanded thee. Turn not from it to the right hand, nor to the left that thou mayst prosper whithersoever thou goest. Have not I commanded thee? Be strong and of a good courage, be not afraid neither be thou dismayed, for the Lord thy God is with thee whithersoever thou goest."

The broad ocean was the Jordan of our fathers, this wilderness was their Canaan and these promises were made to them as a chosen people.

Whether their solemn covenants and agreements were to prove a mere paper constitution or whether the magistrates were prepared to exercise the highest functions of government was immediately put to the test. The day next succeeding the first meeting of the court, an Indian, with a deer's head hung over his shoulder was arrested, charged with the murder of Abraham Finch on Connecticut River. The next day he nearly escaped. A third day was devoted to the testimony of witnesses. The fourth day he was found guilty as accessory to several murders. What should be done with him must have led to much deliberation and some serious doubts. To take the life of a human

being was to exercise the highest authority known to human law. But New Haven, in the eye of English law was nothing more than a community of squatters. It had no legal existence whatever, and to execute their prisoner might be regarded as murder, aggravated by the treason implied in such an exercise of judicial authority. The necessities of the case, the law of England itself, and the Mosaic law equally decided that "whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed."

The next day, the head of the murderer was placed on a log and cut off by Robert Seeley the marshal, and then erected on a pole in the green. This in brief is the story of the way in which government in New Haven was inaugurated.

Its colonial life for the next quarter of a century, enlarged as the original settlement was, by the successive addition of Milford, Branford, Guilford, Southold on Long Island and Stamford to its confederacy, cannot here be told. It was largely a history of disappointments. The diminished supply of skins and furs, the comparative poverty of its soil, its lessening trade, the loss of its great ship with its burden of wealth and worth, its danger incurred from heroic fidelity to the outlawed regicides, internal dissensions, the treachery or half-heartedness of friends, the malignity of

enemies and the final collapse of their scheme of government so dear to them, through its enforced union with Connecticut, seemed at the time to justify the bitter complaint of Davenport that "Christ's interest in New Haven Colony was miserably lost."

Call back for a moment from the shadowy past, that disheartened old man. Most of his early associates are gone, Eaton in his grave. His fellow laborer Hook, at rest in that London sepulcher of dissent in Bunhill Fields; 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 depth 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 but 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 remembrance of the powder plot, his school days at Coventry where dissent was strong, 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

with Nell Gwynne behind it; what a record at the end of seventy years to look back upon.

But the New Haven of Davenport's day is not the New Haven of 1893. Imagine this despondent patriarch passing down our streets from this center of his aspirations for a new heaven and a new earth, and told that on this home lot of Robert Newman was the home of a man whose dictionary of the English language is known the world over to all who read or speak the English tongue; that on the home lot of Ezekiel Cheever, the first school master of New Haven, was the home of one of his eminent successors in the First Church of New Haven, the very type and embodiment of a courage and fidelity to duty akin to his own, superadded to a broad catholicity which two centuries of Puritanism had developed; finding on the home lot of Gov. Eaton, the dwelling of an inventor, the product of whose genius in contributing to the clothing of the world is seen in countries most civilized and lands most barbarous; catching a glimpse of that marvelous medium of travel and traffic, pulsating its rush to distant cities in fewer hours than once exhausted days in accomplishing; bewildered by the assurance that through the complication of wires above his head, messages are sent to the remotest parts of the civilized world in less time than it takes to write an ordinary letter; confused by the sight of

cars in rapid motion, apparently with nothing to draw them; then crossing the green with its array of churches very unlike that unpainted turreted building, fifty feet square, the scene of his own ministry, possibly with a pang at the sight of Gothic windows suggesting that the prelaey from which he had fled away might have made a lodgment here, and entering the edifice standing at the center of the town plot, and taking up one of its books of sacred song, reads in its index the names of those whose verse are thought best to express christian sentiment, and finds there the names of cardinals of the Church of Rome, bishops of the Anglican church, Presbyterians, Baptists, Quakers, together with the names of many communions of which he had never heard; leaving the edifice in mute wonder and passing up to that row of buildings, more than covering with their frontage the entire square, and learning that they are the structures of a great university, bearing the name of a little boy of ten or twelve years old, whom he remembers, the grandson of the contentious wife of the governor, and turning in utter confusion towards the place he had left, casts his eye over the buildings of the scientific school of the university, and finds that they are devoted not to critical and physical studies that constituted the university life of his day but to instruction in electricity, biology, kinematics, thermodynamics, histology and a multitude of other sciences

of whose names even he is ignorant. Puzzled, confounded and awestruck, he turns toward this beautiful hall, and finds his amazement completed when assured that the graceful structure a little distance before him is a church of the Romish faith, whose ministry is of the order of St. Dominic, and that priests who revere the memory of Ignatius Loyola elevate the host and pray in an unknown tongue within hearing distance of the place where the Puritans of New Haven organized their theocratic state.

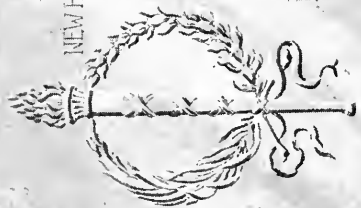
Would it be strange if this representative of a remote generation, should beg to be taken back from a life he cannot understand to the quiet of his Boston grave.

It is a trite reflection, humiliating enough to dogmatists of all kinds that the wisdom of one generation is often the folly of the next, and that opinions current in one epoch are either ridiculed or forgotten in another.

Yet that which constitutes the essential life of a people abides. Rectitude and truth, fidelity to duty, unselfish devotion to the public welfare, service and sacrifice of all kinds belong to every age. In a contrast of this nature, posterity can judge more



THIS BUILDING
WAS ERECTED AND PRESENTED TO THE
NEW HAVEN COLONY HISTORICAL SOCIETY
IN COMMEMORATION OF
JAMES EDWARD ENGLISH
1812-1890
AND OF HIS WIFE
CAROLINE FOWLER ENGLISH
1811-1874
BY THEIR SON
HENRY FOWLER ENGLISH
MDCCLXXCIII



wisely than we, whether the days in which we live are better than the days of those who have gone before us.

The 25th day of April, A. D. 2138, will be a memorable day in New Haven. Five hundred years of the life of this community will then have passed away. No human wisdom can foresee what that day will witness. Controverted opinions settled, intellectual and moral culture assuming new forms, fresh discoveries made of the relations of the forces of nature may show that the men of to-day were as little capable of comprehending this future progress as the men of 1638 could comprehend what we now see to have been accomplished.

As this society then meets, it may be hoped in this building, not indeed in the beauty of its youth, but venerable in years, its time-worn walls hidden in living green, and looks around this hall adorned it may be with the portraiture or other memorials of some who are present here to-night, and reads on that once polished tablet, then dimmed indeed but not effaced: IN COMMEMORATION OF JAMES EDWARD ENGLISH AND OF HIS WIFE, CAROLINE AUGUSTA ENGLISH, BY THEIR SON HENRY FOWLER ENGLISH, and should some one ask, why this beautiful building was erected, it might be a sufficient answer to say, that a son had thought that in this way he might unite the reverence due to

the memory of his parents with a noble contribution to a public object. But New Haven, Connecticut, and the United States also owe a debt of gratitude to the memory of Gov. English which it would dishonor us not to discharge.

The name of English is identified with the first settlement of New England. Thomas English is recorded as one of the company who signed the covenant made in the cabin of the Mayflower. What his connection was with those of the name found in the list of the settlers of Salem, is unknown. The readers of Whittier's poems, may recall the lines, in which the atrocities of the witchcraft delusion are portrayed in the case of Philip English, the wealthiest inhabitant of Salem. The imperfect records of the town leave it uncertain whether he was akin to Clement English, also of Salem, one of whose sons, Benjamin English made his home in New Haven. The circumstance that brought him here was probably connected with his marriage with Rebecca Brown, a grandchild of one of the first settlers of this colony. His son, Benjamin, was the father of that Benjamin English, who was murdered by a British soldier when New Haven was temporarily held by General Tryon during the War of the Revolution. His grandson, James English, the father of the Governor, was a master mechanic, much respected for his integrity and public spirit.

His mother, Nancy Griswold, of a family which has given two governors to Connecticut, was noted for her singular sagacity. Of their nine children, James, the fourth, was born March 13, 1812.

There seems to have been nothing precocious about him in his boyhood. No stories are related by his contemporaries of anything indicative of the career he was to run. He seems to have been an obedient child, good-natured, averse to contention and likely to grow up a respected and useful citizen and nothing more. His early experience of life was not one calculated to awaken roseate anticipations of the future. At the early age of 11 years, listening to an inquiry where a good boy could be found to drive the cows and do the small chores of a Bethlehem farm, he succeeded in persuading his parents reluctantly to yield to his importunity, and permit him to make trial of a farmer's life. In this way Mr. English began his first essay in the task in which he was afterwards so successful, of taking care of himself. At the age of fifteen, after two years spent in school, he was apprenticed to Mr. Atwater Treat, a man universally respected by all who knew him, to learn the trade of a carpenter and joiner, with whom he remained to the age of twenty-one. Some indications were apparent during these years that there was the making of more than an ordinary man in young English. There were

few other apprentices in New Haven so much held up as a model of what young men should be. Skillful in his trade, correct in all his habits, studious in lines connected with his business, and especially so in making architectural plans and designs, he spent no time as a journeyman, but became at once a contractor and builder. At that time New Haven was a town mainly of wooden dwellings, plain in construction and unornamented in detail. The large house at the south-east corner of Wooster Square, designed and built by him, was the first departure in wooden dwellings from the stereotyped pattern of single or double houses that are now being superseded by multitudes of tasteful residences which seem to have nearly exhausted the resources of the architect's skill. With no other ambition than that of doing well whatever he did, he exchanged his business of a builder in a few years for local trade.

The lumber firm of English & Welch, composed of himself and the late Harmanus M. Welch, afterwards state senator, mayor of New Haven and president of the First National Bank, soon acquired a deserved reputation for enterprise and integrity. Their subsequent participation in the purchase of an embarrassed corporation employed in the manufacture of clocks and their success in developing what soon became the largest factory of the kind in the world

established their claim to a wide and general public confidence.

It is a pleasant reflection that this edifice and the hall on the college campus which bears the name of Welch are fitting tributes by their sons to the memory of English & Welch whose early business life was no more promising than that of many among us who are now by sagacity, integrity and thrift, laying the foundations of their future fortunes.

During these years Mr. English filled various municipal offices, having gained the reputation among his fellow citizens of being a self reliant man, sound in mind, discriminating in judgment, never carried away with novelties, inflexible in his opinions, and habitually distrustful of theorists, adventurers and speculators.

Previous to his entry into a broader public life, there was nothing to indicate any special fitness for such duties. On the contrary his early education had been limited; he had never been conspicuous in local politics, and indeed a natural hesitancy in his speech would seem to have incapacitated him for distinction in positions that ordinarily call for fluency of utterance. His record as a legislator, both in the house and in the senate of Connecticut was that of a man possessed of unusual financial ability.

There is no evidence either in his youth or early manhood, that Mr. English had any ambition beyond doing whatever he did, well, securing the respect of the community, and attaining such local honors as are awarded to business men of sound judgment and unsullied character.

He once said to a friend that his early ambition was to make money honestly, then to make safe what he had acquired, but to do both in such a way as never to forfeit the respect of his townsmen. For many years his reputation had been chiefly a local and commercial one. In business circles, both at home and in places remote, his intelligent enterprise was acknowledged, but no one anticipated the influence he was soon to exert in the decision of a question upon which was centered the welfare of millions for ages to come. The time of his entrance into the broader public life at Washington was marked with an intensity of political feeling unknown in the previous history of the republic.

African slavery in America was almost as old as the country itself. One by one the Northern states had rid themselves of the institution, partly from a moral sense of its injustice, partly from the conviction among thoughtful men that slavery and free institutions could not permanently exist side by side and largely

from the fact that the labor of African bondsmen was not suited to the rigorous climate of the north.

Rice, cotton and tobacco, the leading products of the South were crops in the cultivation of which the rudest industry returned bountiful harvests which had made the South not only rich, but had developed a tone of society more and more alien to the habits and ways of thinking common in the free states.

It had long been foreseen that a conflict of some kind, sooner or later, was inevitable. The ablest statesmen in the country honestly held conflicting opinions as to the nature and obligations of the compact to which all had sworn allegiance. Even the most learned divines widely differed in their views of the moral nature of the relation between master and slave.

This is not an occasion on which to review the events which led to a frightful civil war but which are now making us more and more one homogeneous people with a common pride under a common flag. In 1861 Mr. English was elected to the 37th Congress. His position was an anomalous one. He was one of the few democratic members from any of the states who were known to be thorough-going war democrats. With him the Union was to be preserved and handed down to posterity at any and all sacrifice. Never, even during the darkest hours of the conflict, did he

doubt as to its final issue. So well was this understood at Washington, that President Lincoln said to a well known citizen of New Haven that he relied with absolute confidence on Mr. English. No one in Congress saw earlier or more clearly than he, that the real issue was the question of slavery. His vote for emancipation in the District of Columbia was a significant indication of what his future course would be.

No four lines in human language were ever fraught with consequences so momentous, as these words that are to stand forever in the Constitution of the United States: "Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the person shall have been duly convicted shall exist within the United States or any place subject to their jurisdiction." So slow was even the party of the administration to see that the utter extinction of slavery was the only condition on which a Union worth the saving could be preserved, that at its first introduction the member who offered the amendment requested Mr. English not to vote in its favor as it was certain to be defeated. At this interview Mr. English requested that the President be assured that his vote might be counted on whenever the amendment should be pressed. Its final enactment was not due wholly to the party of the administration. While an overwhelming majority was in its favor it needed the support of a

few war democrats to secure the two thirds vote necessary for its passage. When the name of James F. English was called, his very audible "yes" was welcomed with plaudits from the crowded galleries. A few days after he asked of a New Haven friend what was said of his vote by his Connecticut friends, and added that he knew he was politically dead, but that day had been the happiest day of his life.

In times when so many, entrusted with legislative or administrative authority, find it to be consistent with their notions of integrity and honor to unite their personal interests with their official acts, it is due to the memory of Gov. English to put it on record that his entire salary as a member of Congress was expended in aiding soldiers who had become sick or disabled in the war. Neither did he avail himself of his anomalous position as an uncompromising war democrat to profit by his knowledge of the intended financial policy of the government. Had he done so, he might quietly and without public scandal have made for himself a second fortune, but it was with him a matter of self-gratulation that he left his official service in Washington none the richer for having preferred the public welfare to his private interests.

Had Mr. English followed the dictates of party instead of the conclusions of his judgment, he would

at the time have escaped much abuse, but he would never have become the governor of the State nor its representative in the senate of the United States. His vote on the thirteenth amendment will hand down his name to posterity as a sagacious and honest statesman, who with a few party associates helped to preserve the Union, to emancipate more than three million of slaves, and prevent the possibility of a servile war. The remoter consequences of his act are yet in the future. Generations to come may see as we cannot see that the emancipation of the slave was not the whole end secured by the policy of freedom; that the deliverance of the noblest men of the South from the necessity of defending an institution at war with the spirit of the age, and utterly out of harmony with republican institutions, was even a more important emancipation than that of the enslaved. We, at the north have our share, in this progress to universal freedom. By it, we have been emancipated from servility to foreign opinions and have been released from the bondage of a base subservience to criticisms which are the outgrowth of political and social institutions hostile to our own.

In the stress of what at one time appeared to be a hopeless struggle for the perpetuity of the Union, we looked for expressions of sympathy at least, from that great country, across the water, to which we are



indebted for the heritage of whatever is ennobling in the history of the strifes for free institutions, but we looked in vain. With some noble exceptions, the statesmen, the scholars, the bar, the bench, and the press viewed with an averted eye our contest for freedom, and yielded up the control of public sentiment to the ship builders, the cotton brokers, and other representatives of commercial interest; apparently justifying the bitter taunt of Napoleon that England was a nation of shop-keepers. Our truest friends were found among the Manchester cotton weavers and the other operatives in the factories of that great nation.

Is it too much to say that the emancipation both of the North and South from these hostile influences has left a restored Union at liberty to work out the great problems of republican freedom?

The official life of Governor English terminated with the close of his senatorial term. For the remainder of his days he went in and out among us as a man of the people, full of sympathy with the daily life of New Haven, bearing his full share in whatever could contribute to its financial or manufacturing prosperity.

Two classes of minds have contributed to the progress of society. At one time, the influence of specu-

lative thought has lifted a nation's life from sluggish inactivity into a marvellous intellectual and moral development. At other times, practical sagacity in discovering the relation of material forces to the welfare of man has been the chief factor in the progress of society.

Governor English belonged to the latter class. While abstract thought and general ideas were not a conspicuous part of his mental furniture, he never failed to appreciate the worth of that intellectual culture which is developed through scholarly lines. His noble donation to the law library of one of the schools of the university, his liberal gift to its theological department, though his associations were with a different communion, sufficiently indicate how broad were his sympathies and how free from the narrowness that sometimes characterizes what are called self-made men. His donations to churches, to the hospital, and to innumerable charities bear witness to his unostentatious liberality.

When in the ages to come, strangers shall visit New Haven, and among all that is worth the seeing shall ascend the steep incline of East Rock Park, and look out upon a landscape made up of the dwellings of a populous and prosperous city, the buildings of a

great university, suburban residences indicative of opulence and taste, the distant glories of mountains and valleys and gracefully winding streams, and the question is asked to whose liberality New Haven is indebted, for a park whose natural beauty is scarcely paralleled in the whole world, the answer will be, to James E. English and Henry Farnam, whose names are forever associated with the transformation of these once rude heights and wild wood paths into scenes of taste and elegance and sublime beauty.

When in those future times, fountains and statues, beds of flowers and graceful shrubbery shall adorn the entire park; when a broad driveway from the foot of this first park shall connect it with that second park historically associated with the exile of the soldier who headed the cavalry at the decisive battle of Dunbar and who was the custodian of the monarch of England on his slow march to his doom; and when from the foot of the second mountain park, avenues shall lead through the western watershed park to the land below which nature seems to have formed for a cemetery worthy of a metropolitan city, then it may be seen that the munificence of these two men set the example of a liberality which, accompanied by what the park commissioners are now doing, will give the City of Elms the right to regard itself as emphatically in all America the City of Parks.

In his personal characteristics Gov. English was a genuine man, absolutely free from the arrogance and assumption which marks a mean nature elevated to stations of prominence. When he became the chief magistrate of Connecticut, and when he represented his constituency in the House of Representatives and his native state in the Senate at Washington, he was as unassuming in his intercourse with the humblest of his fellow citizens as when he wielded the carpenter's adz and pushed the joiner's plane. In his make-up there was no part of a cockade governor. He put on no airs. He never made any display of superiority toward men less distinguished than himself. His earnest advocacy of what he believed to be true and right was never weakened by pretence.

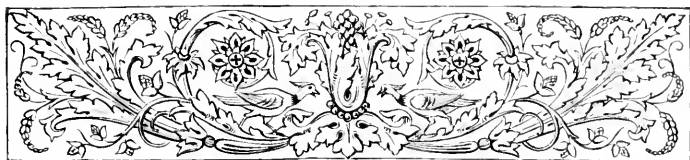
Few men of New Haven have been more familiar with its early and later history than Governor English. His pride in the town absolutely knew no limits. His interest in the objects of this society was manifested in his frequent presence and his participation in its meetings by narrating his reminiscences of the New Haven of his earlier days.

In his later years, his elastic step and manly presence seemed the promise of a long life. Unexpectedly the end came; and James E. English, carpenter, trader, manufacturer, legislator, governor of the

State, senator of the United States, patriot, statesman and public benefactor passed away. His life is his eulogy. What he was in his outer life has been briefly told. What he was in his domestic life of indulgent tenderness, is sacred in the remembrance of those to whom he was most endeared.

It may seem ungracious that nothing is said of him through whose liberality this admirable provision for preserving the memory of those who have gone before us has been erected. It ought not, however, to be thought a disregard of his own injunction to say, that among the commandments of the Decalogue, in that book which the founders of the New Haven colony adopted as the rule and guide of their lives, there is special significance attached to the command "Honor thy father and thy mother that thy days may be long in the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee;" not necessarily length of days as measured by the statistics of longevity but that more prolonged life which finds its limit only when the grateful recollection of generations to come shall cease.





A SKETCH OF THE HISTORY OF THE
NEW HAVEN COLONY HISTORICAL
SOCIETY

READ SEPT. 28TH, 1892

BY

THOMAS R. TROWBRIDGE,

Secretary of the Society

TO our honored townsman, Mr. Horace Day, we give the credit of originating this New Haven Colony Historical Society.

It was Mr. Day who issued invitations to many of the representative men of the city to meet at the house of the late William A. Reynolds, to organize a historical society. The place of meeting was well chosen, as the house stood on a portion of the cellar walls upon which, as early as 1639, rested the mansion of the first minister of the New Haven colony; almost directly opposite stood the house of the first governor, Theophilus Eaton,—the house “of twenty-four fire places and rich Turkey hangings.”

At that meeting, in the autumn of 1862, a memorial was prepared, which on October 6th of the same year was presented to the common council; stating the objects of a historical society, and the benefits which the town and city would derive from it, and also requesting the coöperation of the town and city in the work, and that a suitable room be given to the proposed society, in the city hall. The memorial was signed by many of our citizens, few of whom are now living.

The mayor, Mr. H. M. Welch, with the aldermen, met on October 11th, 1862, and unanimously granted the petition, assigning them the room and fire proof vault on the third floor of the city hall now occupied by the city engineer. With the usual New Haven caution, it was voted that the town or city be at no expense in fixing up the rooms. They were used by the society till its removal to the State House, in 1878.

On the 27th of the same month, most of the promoters of the society again met at the Reynolds house, and appointed a committee, consisting of Leonard Bacon, Henry White, Horace Day, Frederick Crosswell and Henry Bronson, to prepare a plan of organization and to call a meeting of citizens, to whom such plan should be submitted for approval.

The committee performed its work, and in response to its call for a public meeting about thirty of our citizens met at the office of the mayor, on the evening of November 14th, 1862. Of the gentlemen who attended that meeting but five are now living, Dr. Henry Bronson, Horace Day, Hon. Charles R. Ingersoll, Judge John C. Hollister, Gov. Luzon B. Morris, and William E. Sanford.

The constitution of the New Haven Colony Historical Society was then read by the secretary, Mr. Horace Day. For the benefit of those who have never heard it, I will repeat this original constitution of the society :

“ Article I. This association shall be known as the New Haven Colony Historical Society.

Article II. The object of this society shall be to collect and preserve such books, pamphlets, newspapers, broadsides, maps, plans, charts, paintings, engravings, lithographs and other pictorial representations, manuscripts, autograph letters, curiosities and antiquities of every kind, as may be connected with or may illustrate the local history of the towns included within the limits of the ancient New Haven Colony : to preserve such traditions as now exist only in the memories of aged persons ; to encourage historical and antiquarian investigation, and to disseminate historical information.

Article III. The president, vice-president, secretary and treasurer, and an advisory committee of not less than ten

members, shall be annually chosen on the last Monday of November.

Article IV. These officers shall together constitute a board of directors, who shall have charge of the collections made by the society, shall provide regulations for their safety and proper use, and shall prepare business for the regular meetings of the society.

Article V. Any person may become a life member of the society by payment of twenty-five dollars, or an annual member by the payment of one dollar.

Article VI. The mayor of the city of New Haven, the president of Yale College, and the town clerk of New Haven shall be *ex-officio* members of the advisory committee, and the aldermen of the city, and the selectmen of the town of New Haven shall be *ex-officio* members of the society.

Article VII. The society shall hold its meetings on the last Monday of each alternate month, and at such other times as the directors may appoint.

Article VIII. The collections made by the society shall never be broken up by sale nor by division among its members, nor shall they ever be removed from New Haven, nor shall any article be exchanged or disposed of except by unanimous vote of the directors or by the consent of the donors."

On the 29th of December, a series of by-laws were recommended by the committee and unanimously adopted.



Through the winter there seems to have been but little done regarding the welfare of the society, as it was necessary to wait for a meeting of the General Assembly of the State. On the 30th of March, 1863, on motion of Judge Wm. W. Boardman, the officers of the society were requested to take measures for obtaining a charter for the society from the legislature of the State. Henry White, Esq. and Charles R. Ingersoll, Esq. were appointed a committee for this purpose, and presented afterwards the charter as granted by the Assembly. At the annual meeting held on November 30th, 1863, it was unanimously adopted, and the society then became authorized to transact business.

On the 28th of November, 1864, the organization was complete, and the following gentlemen were elected officers of the society: president, Henry White; vice-president, E. Edwards Beardsley; secretary, Horace Day; treasurer, Nathan Peck; curator, John T. Collis. The directors were Leonard Bacon, Thomas R. Trowbridge, Henry Bronson, Elial T. Foote, Charles L. English, Charles R. Ingersoll, James M. Woodward, William A. Reynolds, Samuel Punderson, Henry C. Kingsley, Elisha L. Cleaveland, John W. Barber, Henry Dutton, Nathaniel A. Bacon. Of the officers first elected,

Governor Ingersoll, Dr. Bronson* and Mr. Day are now alone living.

A seal was ordered for the society, and a design made by L. S. Punderson was adopted and has since been used by us. On it is the date of settlement, in a wreath of laurel—1638—and around the outer edge are the initial letters of the six towns which comprised the New Haven colony,—New Haven, Milford, Branford, Guilford, Stratford and Southold.

Shortly afterwards, the society occupied the rooms which had been assigned them by the city, and contributions of portraits, books, furniture, pottery, engravings, and various historical articles were sent to the curator by friends of the work, and in a short time our rooms presented a very interesting collection of articles. Several gentlemen were appointed a committee to invite their fellow townsmen to become members of the society, and so great was the interest shown that in a few weeks 220 of our citizens had become members, besides some 20 who had joined as life members.

Papers were read on historical subjects, as soon as the society was installed in the new rooms. Among

* While these pages are passing through the press the newspapers announce the death of Dr. Bronson at the advanced age of eighty-nine years and ten months. His gifts, made during his life, to Yale University and other public institutions in New Haven, amounted to more than one hundred thousand dollars.

them were articles by Judge Crosswell, Dr. Beardsley, Dr. Bacon, Dr. Cleaveland, Thomas R. Trowbridge, Henry White, Prof. Palmer, Dr. Bronson, *et al.* There have been on an average about eight papers read yearly before the society, by members and friends of the same. Four volumes have been published, and the material is ready for the fifth.

For abiding places we have had several. Our first home was in the Room No. 17, City Hall, where we remained until early in 1878, when the need of the city for better accommodations for city work made it necessary for new quarters to be found for the society. A committee was appointed to secure a suitable place, and after some weeks' work decided to accept the offer of the city government, tendered by the mayor, Hon. Hobart B. Bigelow, of the rooms (two in number) on the southwest corner of the old State House, which had a short time previously been abandoned to the city by the State. Some five hundred dollars were expended in fitting up the two rooms, and a committee appointed to purchase carpets, shades, etc. Shortly afterwards our effects were removed to the new quarters, and the members of the society felicitated themselves upon at last having a permanent home and a resting place for years to come.

Hardly were we domiciled in our new home before propositions were made and articles appeared in our daily press, recommending the removal of the State House. In a short time a memorial was presented to the court of common council, praying that orders be given for the demolition of the building, and the State House fight began in earnest. One of our members, at the first municipal election, was elected a member of the city government, with a view of watching the popular feeling regarding the State House. He spent three years in the business,—watching, obstructing, memorializing, raising committees, etc. I fear the tedious debates on bath houses, crosswalks, sewers, etc. did not interest the historical member as they should have done. Bills were introduced *pro* and *con*, committee after committee was appointed to view the building, which was pronounced by some to be in danger of immediate falling down, by others to be as firm as the eternal hills. In a morning paper of the time, a memorial was published, begging the mayor to rail the building off, so that the children playing about it need not be killed by its falling walls. The same day, more than a hundred children were invited to play in and around the structure and regaled with ice cream and cake.

The war raged through the sessions of 1881, 1882, 1883 and 1884, and it seemed as if the State House

question was the important one before the council. It is only fair to say that the friends of the society were generally victorious; at least, they prevented for several years the demolition of the building.

After our victories, as we had no funds to expend for banquets, etc., we celebrated each new success by extending our quarters. When the verdict of the council was given in our favor, we quietly annexed another room, and as we entered into the State House war with two rooms and came out with six, we have always thought that we were the victors. At last, in the city election of 1884, a vote was taken whether to destroy or save the building. A handsome majority in favor of allowing the building to stand gave its friends assurance of restful possession and proper repairs. But no; the iconoclasts were up and at it again. In the vote to preserve the State House, nothing was said about repairing the same, so there was another outbreak of war. After another long series of debates, committees, architects' reports, etc., the council, by a majority vote, ordered the removal of the building. The officers of the society at once obtained an injunction at the suit of several of our largest tax payers, and immediate removal was prevented.

In due time the injunction was removed,* and though, by appealing to the courts, the building could have been preserved, perhaps for years, still the society, seeing that public opinion had in a measure changed, and unwilling to defy the sentiment, withdrew its opposition, and quietly removed all of its belongings to Room 24 in the Insurance Building, where we felt about the same sense of isolation that Noah must have felt on Ararat. The State House was soon a memory, and now we all rejoice in its removal, since it has brought to us such great good fortune.

Some two years ago, we were invited to occupy the galleries of the Public Library, and immediately went to work and prepared our books and articles for removal thither. To our surprise, just as we were ready to move, notice was sent us to await the action of the council, which finally decided not to admit us to the library. That news well nigh discouraged us. We not only feared the loss of interest in the society by the public, but were grieved to see a spirit of "giving up" show itself among some of our friends; some even proposing to wind up the society and present our property to the Hartford society.

* The suit is reported as *Whitney, et al., vs. City of New Haven*, 58 Connecticut Reports, p. 450.

While in this depressed state of affairs, one of our citizens (I may say one of our old town-born citizens), bade us worry no longer about a home, saying that he would present us such a building as the society might choose, to be situated wherever they elected. The palatial edifice in which we are now gathered is the gift which was promised us, and as we dedicate it to-day, we feel sure that generations still to come will thank Henry F. English for his noble and permanent testimonial.

The collections of this society are both numerous and valuable. Among the choicest of our treasures are: the silver snuff box of the regicide, John Dixwell, whose grave is behind the Center Church; President Stiles' map of the city of New Haven; the original sign of Benedict Arnold, as a druggist, his mortar used in business, his day-book, and also his army medicine chest; a model of the first trestle bridge built in the world; the original prints of the battles of Bunker Hill, Concord, and Lexington, engraved and colored by Amos Doolittle; the ship "Constitution" which was found floating in the British channel in 1783, and brought to this port by a New Haven ship-master; an iron brank, which in the early days of our colony was placed on the heads of scolding women; the first map of the United States, called "the Grand Display of the United

States;" the crucifix which belonged to an early Roman Catholic priest in the city; a series of four oil paintings, illustrating the sea fight between the "Constitution" and "Guerrière"; the portmanteau which Commodore Hull was using on the cruise when he fought the battle; a pair of pistols used by Gen. Jackson at the battle of New Orleans. These are a few of the valuable relics, which kindred societies might be glad to possess. Our collection of historical portraits and engravings is of great value, and through the interest and kindness of our citizens is increasing constantly.*

Our library is of more value and importance than most of us imagine. Many of our books and pamphlets are rare and unique. Among them is the History of Georgia, of which less than one hundred copies were printed. Our copy was presented by Madame De Renne of Savannah, to our secretary, who in turn gave it to the society. The one hundred copies were published by Madame De Renne, at an expense of \$8,000. Our library numbers fully

* Since the foregoing was written, we have received from Mr. A. C. Hendrick, late Chief of the New Haven Fire Department, his entire collection of articles, 200 in all, relating to the history of the department. It is a most interesting contribution and we thank him for it.

From Mrs. Marion C. E. Dunscomb we have received a silver tankard, once the property of President Jonathan Edwards, and marked with the initials of his wife, Sarah Pierpont of New Haven.

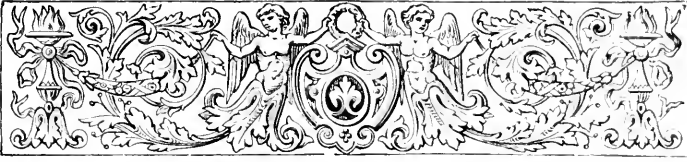


3,600 books of value, besides which we have about 6,000 pamphlets, chap-books and broadsides, and many ancient manuscripts. Among the latter is part of the original draft of Dr. Stiles' History of the Judges ; letters of John Dixwell ; and Chief Justice Church's notes on the constitutional convention of 1818.

The files of newspapers are of especial value, and are very often consulted by antiquarians and others. They were of great use to many who were searching for matter to substantiate claims under the French Spoliation Act. Parties came to our rooms to consult their columns from Philadelphia, Baltimore, and other cities.

This society should have a membership of fully one thousand of our citizens. We need the help and coöperation of our friends to keep the society up to the place which it deserves, and we cordially invite all to assist us in this noble work.





LIST OF THE EXECUTIVE OFFICERS OF THE
SOCIETY SINCE ITS FOUNDATION

PRESIDENT.

Henry White, M.A.,	-	-	-	1862 to 1873
Rev. E. Edwards Beardsley, D.D., LL.D.,	-	-	-	1873 to 1884
Hon. Simeon E. Baldwin, LL.D.,	-	-	-	1884

VICE-PRESIDENT.

Rev. E. Edwards Beardsley, D.D., LL.D.,	-	-	-	1862 to 1873
Thomas R. Trowbridge,	-	-	-	1873 to 1883
Hon. Simeon E. Baldwin, LL.D.,	-	-	-	1883 to 1884
Hon. James E. English, M.A.,	-	-	-	1884 to 1890
Eli Whitney, M.A.,	-	-	-	1890

SECRETARY.

Horace Day, M.A.,	-	-	-	1862 to 1865
Rev. Chauncey Goodrich, M.A.,	-	-	-	1865 to 1867
Daniel C. Gilman, LL.D.,	-	-	-	1867 to 1872
Franklin B. Dexter, M.A.,	-	-	-	1872 to 1873
Rev. William G. Andrews, D.D.,	-	-	-	1873 to 1883
Thomas R. Trowbridge,	-	-	-	1883

TREASURER.

William S. Charnley, -	-	-	-	1862 to 1863
Nathan Peck, -	-	-	-	1863 to 1883
Robert Peck, A.B., -	-	-	-	1883 to 1888
Charles S. Leete, -	-	-	-	1888 to 1893
Dwight E. Bowers, A.B., LL.B., -	-	-	-	1893

LIBRARIAN.

John T. Collis, M.A., -	-	-	-	1863 to 1871
Edward H. Leffingwell, M.D., -	-	-	-	1871 to 1881
Henry Trowbridge, Jr., A.B., -	-	-	-	1881 to 1883
George D. Watrous, D.C.L., -	-	-	-	1883 to 1884
George Sherman, M.A., -	-	-	-	1884 to 1887
Dwight E. Bowers, A.B., LL.B., -	-	-	-	1887

CURATOR.

John T. Collis, M.A., -	-	-	-	1863 to 1871
Edward H. Leffingwell, M.D., -	-	-	-	1871 to 1881
Henry Trowbridge, Jr., A.B., -	-	-	-	1881 to 1883
George D. Watrous, D.C.L., -	-	-	-	1883 to 1884
George Sherman, M.A., -	-	-	-	1884 to 1887
Dwight E. Bowers, A.B., LL.B., -	-	-	-	1887 to 1891
George H. Larned, -	-	-	-	1891 to 1892
Katharine H. Trowbridge, -	-	-	-	1892



LIST OF OFFICERS, 1893-94

PRESIDENT.

HON. SIMEON E. BALDWIN, LL.D.

VICE-PRESIDENT.

ELI WHITNEY, M.A.

SECRETARY.

THOMAS R. TROWBRIDGE.

TREASURER.

DWIGHT E. BOWERS, A.B., LL.B.

BOARD OF DIRECTORS.

Rev. Timothy Dwight, D.D., LL.D., President of Yale
University, *ex-officio*.

Hon. J. B. Sargent, Mayor of the City of New Haven,
ex-officio.

Frederick H. Brethauer, Town Clerk of New Haven, *ex-officio*.

Hon. Charles R. Ingersoll, LL.D.

Rev. James M. Hoppin, LL.B., D.D.

Frank E. Hotchkiss.

Charles H. Townshend.

George Petrie.

James G. English.
 T. Attwater Barnes.
 Hon. Caleb B. Bowers.
 Hon. Lynde Harrison, LL.B.
 Henry L. Hotchkiss.
 Ellsworth I. Foote.
 Edwin H. English.
 Hon. Edward E. Bradley.
 James M. B. Dwight, M.A., LL.B.
 Charles L. Baldwin.
 George A. Root.
 Henry F. English, LL.B.
 Andrew L. Kidston.
 Prof. George B. Adams, Ph.D.
 Prof. Arthur M. Wheeler, M.A.
 Nathan H. Sanford.
 Prof. Charles H. Smith, M.A.
 Edward C. Beecher.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

Simeon E. Baldwin.
 Thomas R. Trowbridge, *ex-officio*.
 Caleb B. Bowers.
 Edward E. Bradley.
 Arthur M. Wheeler.

PUBLICATION COMMITTEE.

Simeon E. Baldwin.
 James M. Hoppin.
 Thomas R. Trowbridge.
 Lynde Harrison.
 Henry F. English.

LADIES' AUXILIARY COMMITTEE.

Mrs. James M. Hoppin.
Mrs. Evelyn McC. Salisbury.
Mrs. Wm. D. Whitney.
Mrs. Thomas R. Trowbridge.
Mrs. C. B. Bowers.
Mrs. Wm. H. Carmalt.
Miss Elizabeth Hotchkiss.
Mrs. Henry F. English.

LIBRARIAN.

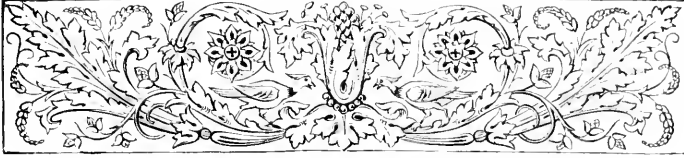
Dwight E. Bowers, A.B., LL.B.

CURATOR AND ASSISTANT LIBRARIAN.

Miss Katharine H. Trowbridge.

N. B.—The collections of the society on the lower floor of its building, No. 144 Grove street, are open to public inspection daily from 10 A. M. to 12.30 P. M., and from 2.30 P. M. to 4.30 P. M. The library is open to members and their families for consultation during the same hours. The society meets stately at 8 A. M. on the last Monday of each month, except June, July and August. Persons desiring to become members are invited to send in their names to the Curator. Annual dues, \$5. Life membership, \$50. There is no initiation fee.





LIST OF MEMBERS OF THE SOCIETY, 1893-94

LIFE MEMBERS.

Rev. Wm. G. Andrews, D.D., Guilford.
Frederick Sanford Attwater.
Roger Sherman Baldwin, A.B., LL.B.
Nathan A. Baldwin.
Hon. Simeon E. Baldwin, LL.D.
E. Henry Barnes.
L. Wheeler Beecher, Westville.
George Bliss, New York City.
Frederick Bostwick.
Dwight E. Bowers, A.B., LL.B.
Leonard A. Bradley, M.A.
Cornelius S. Bushnell.
Wm. H. Carmalt, M.D.
Gen. Joseph Colton.
Prof. Franklin B. Dexter, M.A.
William E. Downes, A.B.
Edwin H. English.
Henry F. English, LL.B.
James G. English.
Richard M. Everit.
Prof. Henry W. Farnam, M.A., R.P.D.
Franklin Farrel, Jr., Ansonia.

Gen. George H. Ford.
Gen. Edwin S. Greeley.
Hon. Lynde Harrison, LL.B.
Frank E. Hotchkiss.
Henry L. Hotchkiss.
Henry Stuart Hotchkiss.
George H. Larned, Wickford, R. I.
Joseph Parker.
Mrs. Elizabeth F. Pratt.
Joseph Porter.
Edwin Rowe.
Thomas F. Rowland, Ph.B., New York City.
Nathan H. Sanford.
Hon. Joseph B. Sargent.
Prof. Thomas D. Seymour, Ph.D.
Joel A. Sperry.
Ezekiel G. Stoddard.
Henry A. Taylor, Milford.
Charles Hervey Townshend.
Henry Hotchkiss Townshend.
E. Hayes Trowbridge, Jr.
Frank D. Trowbridge, A.B.
Henry Trowbridge.
Rutherford Trowbridge.
Thomas R. Trowbridge.
William R. H. Trowbridge, M.A.
Wilson Waddingham, West Haven.
Hon. Francis Wayland, LL.D.
Eli Whitney, M.A.
Eli Whitney, Jr., M.A.
Prof. Arthur W. Wright, Ph.D.

ANNUAL MEMBERS.

Prof. George B. Adams, Ph.D.
Max Adler.
H. Trowbridge Allen.
Wm. H. Allen.
David R. Alling.
George A. Alling.
John W. Alling, M.A.
Lorenzo Armstrong.
Francis Bacon, M.D.
T. Attwater Barnes.
Wm. E. Barnett, A.B., I.L.B.
Samuel E. Barney.
Samuel E. Barney, Jr., Ph.B.
George S. Barnum.
Starr H. Barnum.
Francis G. Beach, A.B., I.L.B.
John K. Beach, A.B., I.L.B.
Rev. Wm. W. Beardsley, A.B.
Frank E. Beckwith, M.D.
Prof. Wm. Beebe, A.B.
Edward C. Beecher.
George W. L. Benedict.
Philo S. Bennett.
Frank L. Bigelow, Ph.B.
Timothy H. Bishop, M.D.
Henry T. Blake, M.A.
Edwin B. Bowditch.
Hon. Caleb B. Bowers.
Hon. S. Dwight Bowers.
Hon. Edward E. Bradley.

Franklin S. Bradley, M.A.
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Eugene S. Bristol, Ph.B.
John W. Bristol, A.B., LL.B.
Louis H. Bristol, A.B.
Benjamin E. Brown.
Robert Brown, M.A.
Hon. Samuel L. Bronson, A.B.
Frank Bruen.
Wm. H. Burchell.
Winthrop G. Bushnell, A.B.
George A. Butler.
Mrs. Sarah L. Cady.
Frederick S. Calhoun, A.B.
Prof. A. Guyot Cameron, Ph.D.
Leverett L. Camp.
John S. Cannon.
Edward L. Catlin.
George R. Chamberlin.
James Gardner Clark, M.A.
Frederick H. Cogswell.
E. Shelton Cornell.
Thomas L. Cornell, Birmingham.
Frederick L. Cowles, Ph.B.
Robert I. Couch.
Samuel P. Crafts, Hamden.
George O. Cruttenden.
Prof. Edward L. Curtis, Ph.D., D.D.
George W. Curtis.
David L. Daggett, M.D.
Leonard M. Daggett, A.B., LL.B.

Wm. G. Daggett, M.D.
Prof. Edward S. Dana, Ph.D.
Prof. James D. Dana, Ph.D., LL.D., F.R.S. (Lond.
and Ed.)
Isaac N. Dann.
John A. Dann.
Mrs. John M. Davies.
Arthur H. Day, Ph.B.
Wilbur F. Day.
Frederick C. Dayton.
Andrew W. DeForest.
Charles S. DeForest.
Eugene DeForest.
Louis S. DeForest, M.D.
Clarence Deming, A.B.
Hon. Lucius P. Deming, LL.B.
Charles Dickerman.
George L. Dickerman, A.B., LL.B.
Hon. Tilton E. Doolittle, M.A., LL.B.
Myron R. Durham.
James M. B. Dwight, M.A., LL.B.
President Timothy Dwight, D.D., LL.D.
Prof. D. Cady Eaton, M.A.
Wm. L. Elkin, Ph.D.
Benjamin R. English.
John C. English.
Joseph T. English.
Lewis English.
James T. Ensign.
Willard P. Ensign.
Wm. W. Farnam, M.A., J.U.D.

F. Wayland Fellowes, M.A.
Prof. George P. Fisher, D.D., LL.D.
J. Brewster Fitch.
Septimus C. Fleetwood.
Ellsworth I. Foote.
Horace A. Foote.
Frederick A. Fowler.
John S. Fowler, LL.B.
John P. C. Foster, M.D.
Mrs. Philip S. Galpin, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Samuel A. Galpin, M.A.
Charles Gilbert.
Levi C. Gilbert.
Wilbur F. Gilbert.
Melville M. Gower.
Hon. James Graham, West Haven.
George M. Grant.
Charles E. Graves, M.A.
Prof. Arthur T. Hadley, M.A.
Theodore Hagaman.
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Hon. John M. Hall, A.B.
Charles S. Hamilton, M.A., LL.B.
Hon. Henry B. Harrison, LL.D.
Paul Wolcott Harrison.
Franklin H. Hart.
Rev. P. V. Hartigan.
Nathaniel J. Hayes.
Samuel I. Hayes.
John E. Heaton.
Andrew B. Hendrix.

Rev. A. V. Higgins, D.D.
Albert B. Hill, Ph.B.
Francis Hillhouse, Ph.B., New York City.
Miss Isaphene Hillhouse.
William Hillhouse, M.D.
A. Maxey Hiller, M.A.
Frank H. Hooker, A.B.
Thomas Hooker, M.A.
Frederick R. Honey, M.A.
Prof. James M. Hoppin, LL.B., D.D.
J. Mason Hoppin, A.B.
Hon. Hobart L. Hotchkiss, LL.B.
Justus S. Hotchkiss, LL.B.
F. Thornton Hunt, A.B.
Hon. Charles R. Ingersoll, LL.D.
Robert S. Ives, M.D.
Hon. Stephen W. Kellogg, M.A., Waterbury.
Tredwell Ketcham.
Andrew L. Kidston.
Lyman M. Law.
Edward Lawrence.
Charles S. Leete.
John G. Lewis.
Charles A. Lindsley, M.D.
C. Purdy Lindsley, M.D.
Mrs. E. A. Lineaweaver.
Rev. Edwin S. Lines.
George S. Lord.
Fred C. Lum.
Graham Lusk, Ph.D.
Richard F. Lyon.

Hon. Burton Mausfield, Ph.B., LL.B.
E. F. Mansfield.
Henry W. Mausfield.
John T. Manson.
Edwin Marble.
George B. Martin.
C. M. Mathews.
Albert McC. Mathewson, LL.B.
Robert W. McIntyre.
Charles G. Merriman.
Edwin F. Mersick.
Hon. Samuel E. Merwin.
Wilbur E. Miller.
Ralph I. Miner.
Rev. G. Brinley Morgan, M.A.
Cornelius S. Morehouse.
Hon. Luzon B. Morris, M.A.
Elliott H. Morse.
Henry J. Morton.
Seth H. Mosely.
William H. Mosely.
Rev. Theodore T. Munger, D.D.
William Neely.
George F. Newcombe.
Henry G. Newton, M.A., LL.B.
Prof. Hubert A. Newton, LL.D., F.R.S. (Ed.)
M. B. Newton.
John W. Nichols, Branford.
John C. North.
John H. North.
Norris G. Osborn, A.B.

Arthur D. Osborne, A.B.
Lewis E. Osborne.
Oliver T. Osborne, M.D.
A. Leroy Page.
Samuel K. Page.
William S. Pardee, A.B., LL.B.
Henry S. Parmelee.
Hon. Henry F. Peck.
Henry S. Peck.
John M. Peck.
C. Berry Peets.
George Petrie.
Prof. A. W. Phillips, Ph.D.
John H. Phillips.
D. Goffe Phipps.
Hon. Rufus S. Pickett, LL.B.
Hon. James P. Pigott, A.B., LL.B.
Horatio G. Redfield.
Rev. Wm. T. Reynolds, M.A. North Haven.
Prof. Chas. B. Richards, M.A.
Henry W. Ring, M.D.
Hon. William C. Robinson, LL.D.
Wm. W. Rodman, M.D.
Mrs. Sarah B. Rogers.
George A. Root.
Henry C. Rowe.
Amory E. Rowland, Ph.B.
F. C. Rowland.
Thomas H. Russell, M.D.
Wm. H. Sage, M.D.
Prof. Edward Elbridge Salisbury, LL.D.

Lucien Sanderson.
Leonard J. Sanford, M.D.
Edward R. Sargent, Ph.B.
Prof. John Christopher Schwab, Ph.D.
George D. Seymour, LL.B.
Horace P. Shares.
Miss Jane de F. Shelton, Birmingham.
Edgar L. Shipman.
Bernard Shoninger.
Augustus B. Smith.
Prof. Charles H. Smith, M.A.
Sylvester Smith.
Wm. L. Squire, Meriden.
Morris Steinert.
Wm. F. Sternberg.
James E. Stetson.
John H. Taylor.
James Terry.
Alphonso Thill.
C. S. Thompson.
Frank I. Thompson.
Harry Grant Thompson, Jr.
George H. Townsend.
Hon. Wm. K. Townsend, M.A., D.C.L.
Francis B. Trowbridge.
Fred. L. Trowbridge.
William Trumbull, A.B., LL.B.
George H. Tuttle.
Nathan H. Tuttle.
Theodore A. Tuttle.
Julius Twiss, M.A., LL.B.

Morris F. Tyler, M.A., LL.B.
William R. Tyler.
Addison VanName, M.A.
Emory J. Walker, M.D.
Charles T. Ward.
Prof. George D. Watrous, M.A., D.C.L.
Charles H. Webb.
Clarence W. Webb.
Pierce N. Welch, A.B.
Thomas Westbrook.
Prof. Arthur M. Wheeler, M.A.
Edwin S. Wheeler, M.A.
John Davenport Wheeler, Ph.B.
Oliver S. White, M.A., LL.B.
Roger S. White, M.A., LL.B.
Stephen Whitney.
Prof. Wm. D. Whitney, Ph.D., L.H.D., LL.D., J.U.D.
Frank Whittemore, M.D.
F. Wells Williams, M.A.
Mrs. Jane E. Winchester.
George Woodward, M.D.
Samuel A. York, Jr., A.B., LL.B.

ERRATA.

The following names were accidentally omitted in the foregoing lists of the members in 1893 :

LIFE MEMBERS.

James D. Dewell.
Hon. James M. Townsend.

ANNUAL MEMBERS.

Charles L. Baldwin.
Henry R. Gruener.
Rollin McNeil, M.D.
Edwin C. McNeil.
Gardner Morse.

CORRESPONDING AND HONORARY MEMBERS, 1893.

CORRESPONDING MEMBERS.

Hon. Charles C. Baldwin, M.A., Cleveland, Ohio.
George R. Howell, M.A., Albany, N. Y.

HONORARY MEMBERS.

Gen. Charles W. Darling, Utica, N. Y.
Rev. George E. Ellis, D.D., Boston, Mass.
Hon. Wm. L. Stone, Mt. Vernon, N. Y.
Henry F. Waters, London, England.
Rev. Epher Whitaker, D.D., Southold, N. Y.

INSRIPTIONS

ON

TOMBSTONES IN MILFORD.

“The first ground occupied for a burying place in the town, was a part of Mr. Prudden’s home lot, being the east end of his garden. On the north side of it was a road called Prudden’s or burying yard lane, which has long been shut up. The first English person who died in Milford, was a son of William East aged a year: he died June 18th, 1644. The first adult, was Sarah, wife of Nicholas Camp. The records state that ‘she had twins on the 2d of September, 1645, and was doing well till the night of the 4th, when she was taken very ill with cold—she died on the 6th (being the last day of the week) in the morning, and was buried the evening after, in the garden of Mr. Peter Prudden Pastour.’ Here were buried all who died in the town previous to about 1675, and among these was Mr. Prudden himself in 1656. The present burying ground was at first laid out small, but the town since, at five different times, have purchased land adjoining and added to it. The original part is the southeast side.”

Thus far wrote Lambert in 1838, but since then, great additions have been made to the area, principally by the purchase of private lots, and it is now one of the largest “Burying Grounds” in the State, that has in it graves of those born in England previous to 1640. A few old stones on which but a few letters are legible, are not recorded in this book.

The writer is confident that many stones are missing.

Did not the comforting old sentiment that—"As I am now, so you must be," come from the tomb of Edward, the Black Prince, buried at Canterbury in 1330?

Whereon the following is said to be found :

Whoso thou be that passeth by
 Where these corps entombed lie,
 Understand what I shall say
 As at this time speak I may.
 Such as thou art sometime was I
 Such as I am, such shalt thou be ;
 I little thought, on th' hour of Death
 So long as I enjoyed breath.
 Great riches here I did possess,
 Whereof I made great Nobleness,
 I had gold, silver, Wardrobes, and
 Great treasure, Horses, Houses, Land,
 But now a Caitiff, poor am I,
 Deep in the ground, Lo here I lie,
 My beauty great is all quite gone,
 My flesh is wasted to the bone,
 Nothing but Truth comes from my tongue,
 And if ye should see me this day
 I do not think but ye would say
 That I had never been a man,
 So much altered now I am.
 For God sake pray to the Heavenly King
 That he my soul to Heaven will bring,
 And all they that pray and make accord
 For me unto my God and Lord
 God place there in his Paradise
 Wherein no wretched Caitiff lies.

The engravings are furnished by William Miles Fowler (whose ancestors for seven generations are buried in Milford), copied from photographs taken by R. A. Lawrence of New York, also of Milford descent.



INSCRIPTIONS.

1

[A Table.]

Here lies interred
the Body of
Cap^t George Allen
who dec^d Oct^r y^e 7th
Anno Dom. 1734,
in the 57th year
of his age.

2

A table adjoining, probably the
tomb of his wife.

3

Here lyes Buried
the Body of
Abigail Andrew
wife to y^e Revnd Mr
Samuel Andrew
who dec^d Decem^{br} 5th
Anno Dom 1727 in y^e
68th year of her age.

4

Here lyes ye body of ye Rev^d & Learned
Mr Samuel Andrew Pastor of ye Church
of Christ in this place for above 50 years
formerly *fellow* of *Harvard* College & more
lately *Rector* of Yale College a singular orna
ment & Blessing in every Capacity & Relation.
of exemplary Holiness & unwearied Labors
Modest, Courteous and Beneficent, never fond
of this world, earnestly pursuing and reecomend
ing a better, greatly esteemed in Life & La
mented at death, which was Jan^{ry} 24th 1737/8
lacking 5 days to complete 82 years of Life.

¹ Son of Gideon and Sarah (—) Allen; m. Frances Arnold, dau. of Josiah and Mary (Ward) Arnold, Nov. 20, 1707.

³ Dau. of Gov^r Robert Treat.

⁴ Son of Samuel and Elizabeth (White) Andrew; b. in Cambridge, Mass.

5

He lyes ye body of
Mrs Abigail Andrew
wife to the Rev^d Mr
Samuel Andrew
Died Sept ye 9th 1742
In ye 77th year
of her Age.

6

Here lyes buried
the body of Mr
Samuel Andrew
Jun^r who dec^d April
26th Anno Dom 1728 in
ye 40th year of his age.

7

Samuel Andrew A. M.
juris, perites, integer
Vitae scelerisque purus.
Obiit Oct^{is} 13 mo. A.D. 1760
.Etatis Suae 38.

8

John Andrew
aged 4 days
Died March ye 27 : 1728.

9

Andrews
d. April ye 13th
1733 in ye 49 year of his age.

10

Andrew
John
Died 1733
year of . . . age.

11

In memory of Mrs
Esther Andrew
the amiable consort of Mr
William Andrew
who departed this Life
Feb 17 A.D. 1787 in the
43rd year of her Age.

12

Here lyes the body of Mr
Jonathan Andrew
Died Sept ye 1st
1739, in the
29th year of his age.

13

In Memory of
John Arnold who
departed this Life
August 15th A.D. 1783.
In the 50th year
of his age.

14

Joseph Ashbun
died March ye
1st 1728/9 aged 4 years

⁶ Eldest son of Samuel and Abigail, Y. C. 1711. m. Eunice, only dau. of Hon. John Hall of Wallingford, Dec. 9, 1719. His widow m. Gov. Jonathan Law, as 5th wife.

⁷ Only son of Samuel and Eunice (Hall) Andrew. m. Elizabeth, eldest dau. of Dr. John and Mary (Camp) Herpin, Nov. 3, 1748 (219).

⁸ Probably son of ().

⁹ Probably John, son of Thomas Andrew; b. 1686.

¹¹ Husband, was son of Jonathan and Elizabeth (Smith) Andrew.

¹² Son of Samuel, the Pastor.

¹⁴ Children of Joseph and Thankful (Wheeler) Ashbun.

Thomas Ashbun aged one
year, 1 mo. & 26 ds. d.
March y^e 9th 1728/9.

15

Mary Ashbun
aged 3 years, 1 mo. & 17 days
died March —

16

In

Memory of

Deacon William Atwater
who departed this Life

August 8th 1816

in the 70th year of his age.

Blessed are the dead who die in the
[Lord.

17

In Memory of
Mrs.

Mehetabel Atwater
the

Amiable and Virtuous
Consort of

Mr William Atwater
who departed this Life

Nov 30th 1784 in

the 31st year of her age.

"Firm & unmoved are they
Who rest their Souls on God."

18

Here lyeth the
body of Mr

Timothy Baldwin
Died Dec 8th 1703
in the 49th year
of his Age.

19

Here Lyeth ye
body of Mrs

Mary Baldwin

Died y^e 29th day

of Nov^r 1703

in y^e 45th year of her age

Wife to Mr

Timothy Baldwin.

20

Mr Obediah
Baldwin died
Jan 8. 1738

in y^e 78th year
of his age.

21

Mrs Abigail wife
to Mr Obediah
Baldwin, Died

Sept ye . . . 1744 in y^e

76th year of
her age.

22

Mr Ebenezer
Baldwin died
Aug 26 1740

in y^e 41st year
of his age.

¹⁶ Child of Joseph and Thankful (Wheeler) Ashbun.

¹⁶ b. in New Haven, son of David and Hannah (Talmage) Atwater.

¹⁷ b. in Bristol, R. I., March 15, 1754, dau. of Gamaliel and Elizabeth (Cary) Clark.

¹⁸ b. June 12, 1658; son of Timothy, the Settler, 1639.

¹⁹ b. Nov., 1658, dau. of John and Anna Beard, and sister to 20.

²⁰ Son of John (the settler, 1639), and Mary (Bruen) Baldwin. He "looked after the boys in the gallery."

²² Son of Obediah and Abigail.

23

Here lyes y^e body
of Ebenezer Baldwin son
(remainder lost)

24

Here lies ye body
of Mrs Jerusha
Baldwin wife to Mr
Thomas Baldwin
Aged . . . rs & 10 mos
Died April 17²⁸.

25

Thomas Baldwin
died March y^e 2nd
174- in y^e 54th year
of his age.

26

Here lyes buried ye
body of Mrs Arney
Baldwin wife to Mr
Richard Baldwin
who dec^d May 28th
1728 in ye 62nd
year of her age.

27

Here lyes y^e body of
Mr Jonathan Baldwin
Died Dec ye 13th 1739 in ye 91st
year of his Age.

28

Here lyes the body of
Serj^t Samuel Baldwin
Dec^d Jany 8th 1737/8
in the 63rd year of his age.

29

Here lyes buried y^e
body of Mrs Eunice
Baldwin wife to Mr
Stephen Baldwin
who departed this life
Oct^r y^e 18th A D 1740 in
y^e 48th year of her Age.

30

Here lyes y^e body of
Eunice Baldwin
dau^t of Mr Noah &
Mrs Thankful Baldwin
who died March
22nd 1737/8 aged 4
years & 2 months.

31

Here lyes buried
the body of Mr
Joshua Baldwin
who departed this Life
April 20th 1758 in ye 67th
year of his age.

²³ Probably son of Jonathan and Thankful (Strong) Baldwin.

²⁴ Dau. of George Clark, baptised June, 1692; m. Jan. 17, 1712.

²⁵ Son of Richard and ———; m. in 1725, Abigail Baldwin; dau. of Joseph.

²⁶ Her husband was son of John (the settler of 1639) and brother to 27.

²⁷ He was son of Joseph and Hannah Baldwin, settlers 1639; m. 1st, Hannah, dau. of John Ward; 2d, Thankful Strong, dau. of Elder John Strong, of Windsor, Ct.

²⁸ b. March 14, 1674/5, son of Josiah and Mary (Camp) Baldwin; m. Rebecca Wilkinson; dau. of Edward and Rebecca (Smith) Wilkinson.

²⁹ By birth, Eunice Hays, and m. 1st, Wm. Fowler, Jr., Sept. 15, 1730.

³⁰ An only child, father was deacon in Plymouth Church.

³¹ Son of Jonathan and Hannah (Ward) Baldwin, baptised Jan. 24, 1691.

32

Here lyes ye body of
Mrs Elizabeth Baldwin
wife to Mr Joshua
Baldwin who died
Nov y^e 20, 1753, in ye
52nd year of her age.

33

Here lyes y^e body of
Mrs Sarah Baldwin
wife to Mr. Stephen Baldwin
who departed this Life
Sept the 30th 1758 in y^e
46 year of her age.

“Vanity of Vanities all is vanity.”

34

Sacred to the memory of
Mr Stephen Baldwin
who departed this Life
March 30th 1788.
in the 89th year
of his age.

35

Sacred to the Memory of
Mrs Philena Baldwin
wife of Solomon Baldwin
who departed this Life
April 23 1785
Aged 45 years
also her infant daughter

who was born Oct 30th 1772
The small and great are there.

36

In Memory of
Comfort the daughter of
Mr Hiel & Mrs Ann
Baldwin, who dec^d
December 14th 1785,
in the 7th year of her age.

37

In Memory of Mrs.
Abigail Baldwin
wife of Mr
Elihu Baldwin
who died October
9th 1784 in the 47th
year of her age.
Our Life is . . . on the wing
and death is ever nigh
The moment when our lives begin
We all begin to die.

38

In Memory of
Mr Noah Baldwin
Deacon & ruling elder
in the Second Church
in Milford
who departed this Life
March 5th A.D. 1784.
in the 83rd year of his age.
The Memory of the just
is blessed.

³² Was his 2d wife.

³⁴ m. 1st, Sept. 15, 1730, Eunice Fowler, widow of William, Jr., son of Zackariah and Elizabeth Baldwin; baptised Dec. 31, 1699.

³⁵ Her husband was son of 34 and 29; d. July 4, 1798, she was probably dau. of Peleg and Abigail (Camp) Baldwin; baptised Oct. 21, 1739.

³⁶ Her mother was Ann, dau. of Theophilus Miles.

³⁷ b. March, 1737; Abigail, dau. of Samuel and Sarah (Clark) Gunn. Her husband was son of Nathan and Elizabeth (Rogers) Baldwin.

³⁸ Son of Jonathan and Thankful (Strong) Baldwin; baptised Nov. 30, 1701; m. March 27, 1733. Thankful Johnson, of Stratford. See 30. Half brother to 31.

39

Here lyes y^e body of
Mrs Mary Basset
wife to Mr. John
Basset who died
Oct y^e 23rd AD.
1752 aged 64 years.

40

Here lyes buried
y^e body of Mr
Samuel Beach
who died Sept y^e
9th 1728 in ye 69th
year of his age.

41

Mr John Bard
died August 24th
in the 54th year of his age
1708.

42

Here lyes the body of
Mr Joseph Beard
aged about
66 years.
Dec^r Nov 1732.

43

Here lyes ye body of
M^{rs} Sarah Beard wife

to Mr Joseph Beard
Aged 61 years Dec^r
October 30 1732.

44

Here lyes buried
ye body of Mr
Jeremiah Beard
who departed this life
Nov 2nd Anno Dom 1744
in y^e 72nd year of his age.

45

Here lyes ye body of
Mrs Marcy Beard wife
to Mr Jeremiah Beard
who departed this Life
Feb^r 21 1761 in ye
88th year of her age.

46

John Beard son
of Mr John & Mrs
Abigail Beard
Died Aug 14 1756
Aged 1 year & 11 months.

47

Here lyes Buried
the body of
Mr John Beard.
who departed this Life

⁴⁰ b. June, 1660; son of Thomas Beach.

⁴¹ b. June, 1654; eldest son Capt. John Beard.

⁴² b. July, 1666; m. 1st, Sarah Sanford, in 1703; 2d, Sarah Smith, in 1706, see 43; son of Capt. John and bro. to 41.

⁴³ Dau. of Benjamin and Mary (Baldwin) Smith; b. Oct., 1671; m. 42, June 27, 1706.

⁴⁴ Twin bro. to Ebenezer (who d. in 1674), sons of Capt. John and bro. to 41 and 42; b. April, 1672. see 45.

⁴⁵ b. ——— Martha (say records) Pettit, and m. 44, May 26, 1697.

⁴⁶ Mother was Abigail Hollingsworth, by birth.

⁴⁷ Son of Joseph and Sarah (Sanford) Beard; b. March, 1702, see 42; m. Martha Burwell, dau. of Ephraim, Jan. 30, 1729.

Feb^r y^e 14th 1774 in y^e
72^{n^d} year of his Age.

48

Here lyes y^e body of
Mr John Beard only son
of Mr John & Mrs Martha
Beard who departed this
Life July y^e 7th 1761 in y^e
32^{n^d} year of his age.

49

In memory of Mr
Joseph Beard who
died February 19
1779 in the 72^{n^d} year
of his age.

50

Here lyes ye body
of Mrs Sarah Beard
wife to Mr Joseph
Beard died August
y^e 30th 1751 in ye 39th
year of her age.

Joseph Beard son of Mr
Joseph & Mrs Sarah Beard
died August ye 30th 1751
in ye 2^{n^d} month of his age.

51

John son
to Jeremiah
& Thankful
Blague aged
17 days died
Feb 10. 1741.

52

Here lyes interred
ye body of Mr
John Brinsmead
who departed
this Life Jan^y y^e 19th
A.D. 1753 in y^e
71st year of his age.

53

In memory of
Mrs Mary Bristol
wife of Capt
Richard Bristol
who departed this Life
Nov^m 10th A.D. 1781 in
the 68th year of her age.

54

Heth Son to
Heth & Ann Botsford aged 7 years &
[6 mos.
Died Oct y^e 28th 1748.

55

Here lyes y^e body
of Ann daugh^r of
Mr Heth & Mrs Ann
Botsford. who
Sept y^e 22^{n^d}
1750 aged 4 years & 10 mo.

56

Here lyes ye body of
Mrs Sarah Botsford.

⁴⁸ Son of 47.

⁴⁹ Son of Joseph and Sarah (Smith) Beard; b. May, 1707. See 42.

⁵⁰ Wife of 49; dau. of Josiah and Sarah (Burwell) Platt; b. March, 1713.

⁵¹ The mother was Thankful Roach.

⁵³ Dau. of Nathan and Elizabeth (Rogers) Baldwin.

⁵⁶ Probably the wife of Nathan Botsford who m. Sarah, dau. David Collins,

57

In memory of Mr
Timo Botsford
who departed
this life Febr
28. 1774 in his
65th year.

Life how short
Eternity how long.

58

In memory of
Ruth wife of
Nathan Briscoe
who dec^d
Nov^r A.D. 1806. aged 87 years.

59

Here lyes ye body of
Mr Ebenezer
Bryan Dec^d
Sept y^r 20 1728
in ye 38th
year of his age.

60

Here lyes ye body of
Mr Richard Bryan
Died Jan: y^r 18. 1734.
in ye 69th year of
his age.

61

Here lyes buried ye
body of Mr

Joseph Bryan
who departed this Life
August the 1st 1742.
in the 57th year of his age.

62

Here lyes interred
y^e body of Mr Joseph
Bryan, who departed
this Life, April y^e
3^rd Anno Domni
1751 in ye 30
year of his age.

63

Mehitable dau to Mr Richard & Mrs Sarah Bryan aged 1 year & 4 months Died Sept 4 th 1746.	Sarah dau ^t to Mr Richard & Mrs Sarah Bryan aged 2 years & 21 days Died June 17 th 1746.
---	---

64

Sarah Bryan dau^r
to Mr Richard & Sarah Bryan
died Oct y^e 26th 1739.
in y^e 17th year of her age.

65

In Memory of
Mrs Sarah y^e wife of
Richard Bryan

⁵⁷ Son of Timothy and Mary (Peck) Botsford; m. Lydia Smith, dau. of Timothy and Elizabeth, Jan. 6, 1735.

⁵⁹ Son of Alexander and Sybella (Whiting) Bryan; m. Esther Goodyear of N. H., July 15, 1713. His widow m. Thomas Gibb, Aug. 20, 1729.

⁶⁰ Son of Richard (the merchant and settler, 1639); m. Sarah Platt, dau. of Josiah and Sarah (Canfield) Platt.

⁶¹ Son of Richard, the merchant, and Elizabeth; m. Mary Newton, dau. of Rev. Roger and Abigail.

⁶² Son of (61); m. Mehitable Clark, dau. of Samuel.

⁶⁵ Dau. of Joseph and Sarah (Bryan) Treat. Was his 2d wife.

died November 12th 1748
in ye 49th year
of her age.

66

Here lyes buried
the body of
Mr Nathan Bryan
who departed this Life
Feb^{ry} the 28th 1766 in y^e
52nd year of his age.

67

In memory of
Mrs Elizabeth wife of Mr
Nathan Bryan
who died Oct 12. 1802
in the 87 year
of her age.

68

Here lies buried the
Body of Capt.
Joseph Bryan who
Died August y^e 11th 1783
Aged 38 years.

Let not the dead forgotten be
Lest men forget that they must die.

69

Here lyes buried
y^e body of Mr

Daniel Buckingham
aged 75 years
Dec^d May y^e 2nd
1712.

70

Mr John Buckingh
am died Novemb
the 17 in the
31st year of his
age anno domni
1703.

71

Here lyes the body
of Capt Samuel Buckingham who
Decs^d this Life
Dec ye 29th
anno dom 1749
in ye 56 years
of his age.

72

Here lyes ye body
of Samuel son to
Capt Samuel & Mrs
Silence Buckingham
who de^{cd} this
Life February y^e 3rd
Anno Domoni 1749/50
in the 25th years
of his age.

⁶⁶ Son of Richard and Sarah (Platt) Bryan, see 60; m. Elizabeth Whitman, dau. of Zachariah and Hannah (Allen) Whitman.

⁶⁷ Dau. of Zachariah and Hannah (Allen) Whitman; b. July, 1716.

⁶⁸ Son of Joseph and Mehitable (——) Bryan.

⁶⁹ b. in England in 1636, was one of the seven pillars of the "Church of Christ;" oldest son of Daniel Buckingham, the settler.

⁷⁰ Son of 69 and Alice Newton, his 2d wife; his widow Sarah m. George Clark.

⁷¹ Son of Samuel and Sarah (Baldwin) Buckingham; m. Silence, dau. of Ensign George Clark, May 20, 1714. Years should perhaps be read yeare.

73

Here Lyes ye body of
Gideon Buckingham
died June 1st 1719
Aged 44 years.

74

Here lyes buried
ye body of
Mr Gideon Buckingham son
to Gideon & Sarah
Buckingham
who died June
24th Anno Domini
1733 in y^r 29th year
of his age.

75

Here lyes ye body of
George Buckingham
son of Jared and Sarah
Buckingham died
Aug y^e 20th 1757 in
ye 2nd month of his age.

76

Here lyes buried
ye body of Mr
Josiah Buckingham
who departed this Life
August ye 28th A.D. 1749.
in y^e 71st year of
his age.

77

In memory of
Mrs Anne Buckingham dau^r
of Capt Josiah & Mrs
Anne Buckingham who
died March 12th 1766 aged
19 years. 5 months & 13 days.

Mature from Heaven the fateful mandate came
With it a chariot of Ætherial Flame.
In which Elijahlike she passed the spheres
Brought joy to Heaven, but left the world in tears.

78

Capt Josiah Buckingham
died Oct 18. 1784
Æt 66 to whose memory
This Monument is erected.
Time how short.
Eternity how long.

79

In memory of
Mrs. Anne Buckingham
relict of
Capt Josiah Buckingham
who died
Jan 21 1806. aged 83.

⁷³ Son of (69) and Alice Newton, his 2d wife; m. Sarah Hunt Feb. 3, 1703, his widow m. Joseph Platt.

⁷⁶ Son of Elder Daniel (69) and Alice Newton, his 2d wife.

⁷⁷ Her mother was Ann Brinsmade, dau. of John and Abigail; b. Feb., 1723.

⁷⁸ Was captain in the French Wars.

⁷⁹ b. Feb., 1723; dau. of John and Abigail Brinsmade.

S0

In memory of Deacon
Nathaniel Buckingham
who departed this Life
Oct 26 AD 1780
in the 80th year
of his age.

S1

In memory of
Mrs Sarah the wife of
Deacon Nathaniel Buckingham
who departed this Life
April 22nd A.D. 1771
in the 68th year
of her age.

S2

In Memory of Miss
Sarah Buckingham
who departed this Life
February 19th A.D. 1772.
in the 38th year of her age.

S3

This Monument
is erected in memory of.
Gideon Buckingham Esq^r
who died Dec^r 8. 1809
Æt 65

Judge of the County Court.
Justice of the Peace
Town Clerk &c And was improved
in almost every kind of publick
Business for 35 years in which
he sustained a good Character.

S4

Benjamin Son
to Benjamin &
Martha Burn
aged 3 years &
2^{mo} Died Nov
y^r 21st 1746.

S5

Here lieth bu
ried the body
of M^s Susanna
Bull died July,
the 20th 1703 in
52 ye r
of her age.

S6

Here lyes interred ye
body of Mrs Esther
Bull wife to Mr
Benjamin Bull.
Died March y^e 26th Anno Dom 1750
Aged 22 years.

S7

Here lyes intomb^d
the body of
Frederick Bull son to
Henry & Harriet Bull
who was killed
by a fall from a Horse
Sept 11th 1798 aged 13 years.
Oh ! what is man, poor feeble man
Born just to bloom & die
Like as the glass his courses run
His fleeting moments fly.

⁸⁰ Son of Thomas and Mary (Briscoe) Buckingham; m. Sarah, dau. of Joseph and Martha (Bryan) Smith, May 30, 1728.

⁸¹ Dau. of Joseph and Martha (Bryan) Smith, sister to s2.

⁸² Dau. (S0 and S1), b. Feb. 29, 1734.

⁸³ b. June 22, 1744; son of Josiah and Rebecca (Brinsmade) Buckingham, and 1788, Delegate to Convention for Ratification of State Constitution; m. a widow Brian, but had no issue.

⁸⁶ Dau. of Solomon Baldwin and m. son of Benedict and Sybella (Bryan) Bull.

⁸⁷ His mother was Harriet, dau. of John and Mary (Read) Herpin.

88

Here lyes ye body
of Stream Burwell
died September y^e
5th 1729
in ye 30th year
of his age.

89

Here lyes ye body of
Mrs Sarah Burwell
wife to Mr Ephriam Burwell
Died August
1729 in y^e 62^{n^d}
year of her age.

90

Here lyes ye body of
Ephriam Burwell

Died August y^e 28
172-
in ye 23rd
year of his age.

91

Here lyes ye body of
Mary Burwell died August y^e 7th
1729.
in ye 23rd year
of her age.

92

Mrs Marcy Burwell
wife to Mr Ephriam
Burwell, who died
Aug 31 1748
in y^e 69th year of
her age.

93

Here lyes ye body
of Daniel Burwell who
died Oct y^e 21st
AD 1751 in
y^e 6th year of
his age

Here lyes ye body
of John Burwill who
died Nov^r y^e 8th
AD 1751 in
y^e 10th year of
his Age

children of Mr John
& Mrs Sarah Burwell.

94

Here lyes ye body of
Benjⁿ Bunnell
Died June ye . . .
1753
aged 21.

95

Margaret dau^r
to Gershom
& Margaret Bunnell
aged 17 days
Died July y^e 2^{n^d}
1729.

⁸⁸ Son of Ephriam and Sarah (Stream) Burwell.

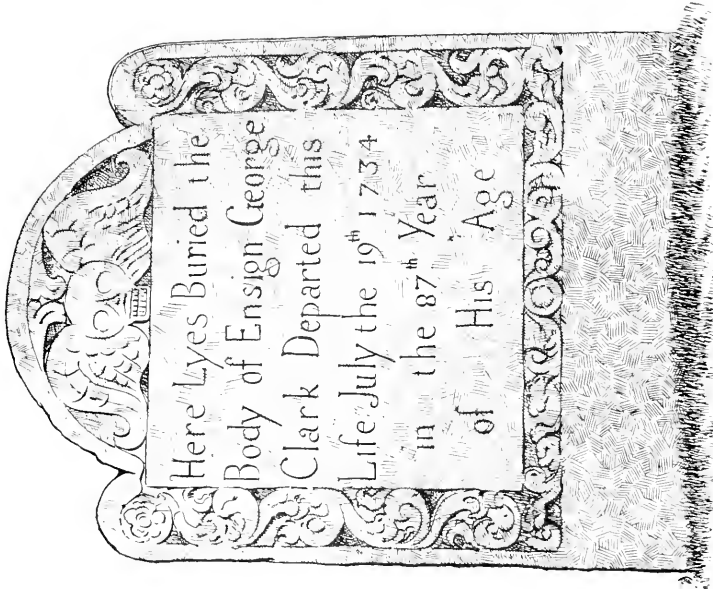
⁸⁹ b. Feb., 1667, dau. of John and Martha (Beard) Stream.

⁹⁰ Bro. to 88 and son of 89; b. July, 1707.

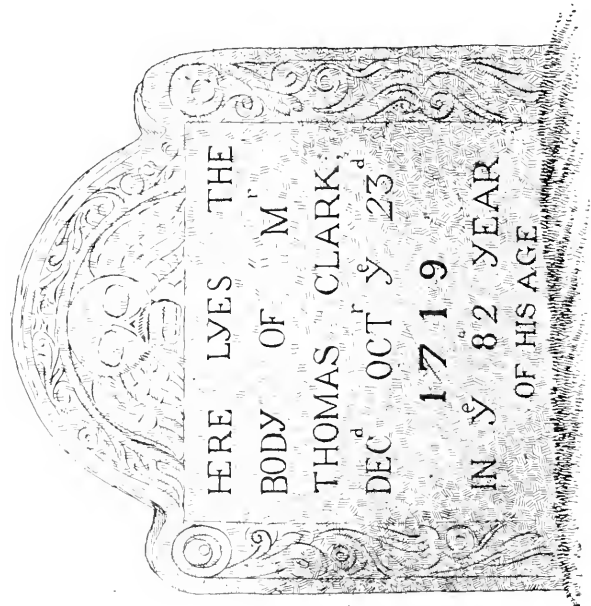
⁹¹ Sister of 88 and 90, and dau. of 89.

⁹⁴ Son of Benjamin and Mehetable (Baldwin) Bunnell.

⁹⁵ b. twin with sister Hannah.



Here Lyes Buried the
Body of Ensign George
Clark Departed this
Life July the 19th 1734
in the 87th Year
of His Age



HERE LYES THE
BODY OF "M"
THOMAS CLARK,
DEC^d OCT^r 23^d
1719
IN 82 YEAR
OF HIS AGE

96

Abigail Bunnel
aged 1 year
5 mo & 11 days
died March ye 12
1728.

97

In Memory of
Mrs Abigail Burns,
Wife of Mr David Burns,
who departed this Life
November 8 1797 in the
44th year of her age.

Blessed are the dead, who die in
the Lord, even so saith y^e spirit that
they may rest from their labors
And their works do follow them.

98

Charles Burrough
son of Mr Charles &
Mrs Mary Burrough of Charleston
Died Nov 26 1778.

99

Here lyes the
Body of Mr
Thomas Clark
Dec^d Oct^r y^r 23rd
1719
in y^r 82nd year
of his age.

100

Here lyes buried
the body of Mrs

Rebeckah Clark
wife to Mr
George Clark
aged about 54 years
Dec^d Oct^r y^r 17. 1712.

101

Here lyes the body
of Mrs Mehetabe
Clark wife to Mr
Samuel Clark Dec^d
Dec y^r 15th 1721
in the 54th year
of her age.

102

Here lyes buried
the body of
Samuel Clark Esq^r
who Dec^d May y^e
29. 1725 in y^e 59th
year of his age.

103

Here lyes buried
the body of Deacon
Thomas Clark
who dec^d Feb^ry y^r 12th 1727/8
in y^e 60th
Year of his age.

104

Thomas Clark
son to Thomas &
Susannah Clark
aged 10 days
died October the 4th 1728.

⁹⁶ Sister to 94.

⁹⁷ By birth, Abigail Jones.

⁹⁹ b. before the town was settled; son of Deacon George Clark, carpenter; m. May 20, 1663, Hannah, dau. of William Gilbert.

¹⁰² Son of Thomas and Hannah (Gilbert) Clark.

¹⁰³ Son of Thomas and Hannah (Gilbert) Clark, bro. to 102; m. Martha Clark, dau. of John, of Hartford, Nov., 1703.

105

Here lyes buried
y^e Body of Mr
Nathan Clark
who died Sept^r
y^e 3^rd Anno Domini
1729 in y^e 43^rd year
of his age.

106

Here lyes ye body
of Jonathan Clark
son of Mr Nathan
& Mrs Elizabeth
Clark, who died
Aug 19. 1729 in ye
5th year of his age.

107

Elizabeth Clark
daugh^{tr} to Mr //
Gamaliel & Mrs
Elizabeth Clark
aged 7 months
Died August ye
24 1742.

108

Here lyes buried the
body of Ensign George
Clark departed this
Life July the 10th 1734
in the 87th year
of his age.

109

Here lyes ye
Body of Eld^{sr} George
Clark who departed this
Life Sept^{br} y^e
28th A.D. 1754 in ye
47th year of
his age.

110

Here lyes ye Body of Richard Clark who died August 1750 in ye 10 th year of his age.	Here lyes ye Body of Hezekiah Clark who died August 1750 in y ^e 6 th year of his age.
Children of Mr George and Mrs Abigail Clark.	

111

Susanna ye wife of
Thomas Clark died
December ye 11th 1742 in
ye 36th year of
her age.

112

Here lyes ye body of
Andrew Clark
son of Mr Samuel &
Mrs Mary Clark
Died August ye
28th 1750 aged 12 years & 3 months

¹⁰⁵ Son of George Clark; m. Elizabeth, dau. of William and Ann (Beard) Fowler, June 29, 1710.

¹⁰⁶ Son of 105.

¹⁰⁷ The mother was Elizabeth, dau. of Benjamin and Susanna Cary, and sister to No. 17.

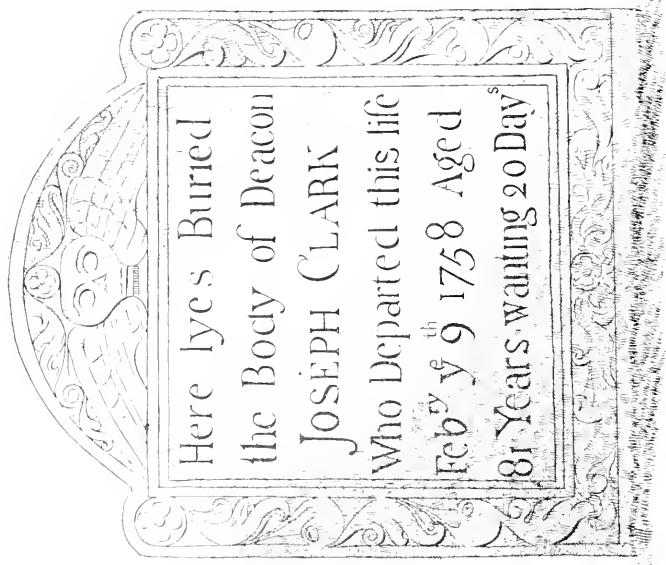
¹⁰⁸ Son of Deacon George, the carpenter, and bro. to 99; m. Deborah, dau. of Nathan Gold of Fairfield.

¹⁰⁹ Son of George and Mary Clark; m. Abigail Law, dau. of Gov. Jonathan.

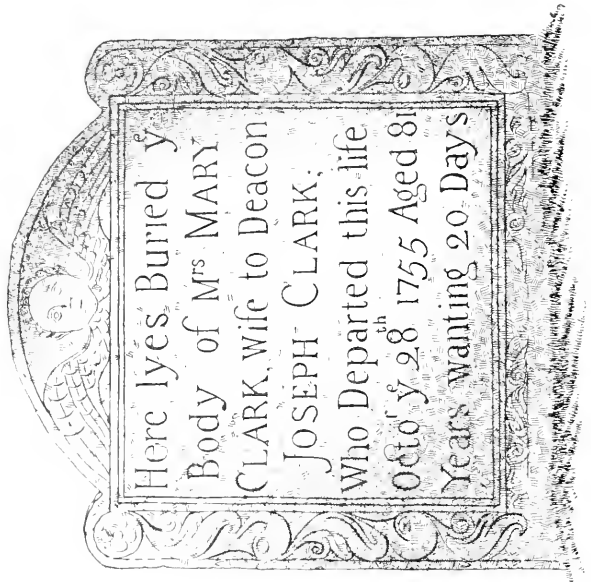
¹¹⁰ See 109.

¹¹¹ See 123, dau. of John and Mary (Platt) Woodruff; b. May, 1707.

¹¹² His mother was dau. of Rev. Samuel and Abigail (Treat) Andrew.



Here lye's Buried
the Body of Deacon
JOSEPH CLARK
Who Departed this life
Feb^y 9th 1758 Aged
81 Years waiting 20 Day^s



Here lye's Buried y^e
Body of M^{rs} MARY
CLARK, wife to Deacon
JOSEPH CLARK;
Who Departed this life
Octo^r y^e 28th 1755 Aged 81
Years waiting 20 Days

113

Here lyes the body of
Job Clark son of
Mr Job & Mrs Jean Clark.
who departed this Life
March y^e 15th 1757 in ye
7th year of his age.

114

Here lyes buried
the body of
Mr Job Clark
who departed this Life
Oct^o 13th 1766 aged 40
years 5 months & 24 days.

Memento Mori.

115

Here
lyes the body of
Capt Isaac Clark.
who departed this Life
July 12 1787 in the 61st
year of his age.

The sweet remembrance of the Just
Shall flourish when he sleeps in dust.

116

In memory of Mrs
Hannah Clark
the consort of Capt
Isaac Clark who
departed this Life
March 11 1786 in
the 57th year of her
age.

117

Here lyes buried
the body of
Mr Joseph Clark
who departed this Life
May the 17th in
the year of our Lord
1763 in ye
57th year of his age.

118

Here lyes buried
the body of Deacon
JOSEPH CLARK
who departed this Life
Feb^{ry} y^e 9th 1758 aged
81 years wanting 20 days.

119

Here lyes buried ye
body of Mrs MARY
CLARK wife to Deacon
JOSEPH CLARK
who departed this Life
Oct^o y^e 28th 1755 aged
81 years wanting 20 days.

120

[A Foot Stone.]
BETHUEL CLARK.

121

Sacred
to the
Memory of

¹¹³ Mother was Jane, dau. of Joseph and Ruth (Allen) Northrup.

¹¹⁴ Son of Ensign George and Mary Clark.

¹¹⁵ Son of Thomas and Suanna (Woodruff) Clark; b. Feb., 1727. See 116.

¹¹⁶ Dau. of Jonathan and Hannah (Clark) Fowler; b. 1729.

¹¹⁷ Son of Joseph and Mary (——) Clark. See 118 and 119; m. Mary, dau. of Andrew and Margaret Sanford.

¹¹⁸ Son of Thomas and Hannah (Gilbert) Clark. See 99.

¹¹⁹ Dau. of Deacon Josiah and Sarah (Canfield) Platt.

¹²¹ Son of 118 and 119; his wife Abigail d. August, 1805, aged 85.

Deacon Daniel Clark
who died March 24 1787
aged 71 years.

In hopes of a blessed immortality
For the just live by Faith and
they die in the Lord and their
Memory is blessed.

122

Sacred to the memory of
Mrs Sarah Clark
the amiable consort of
Mr Enoch Clark
who departed this Life
July 29th 1797 aged 51 years & 7 days.

Death thou hast conquered me
I by thy dart am slain
But Christ will conquer you
And I shall rise again.

123

In memory of Capt
Thomas Clark
who departed this
Life 6th 1774 June 6th
in the 75th year of his age.

124

In memory of
Mrs Hannah Clark
wife of
Mr Isaac Clark
who died Decemb^r 29. 1800
Æ 42.

125

MR NICHOLAS
CAMP DIED

JUNE THE 10TH 1706 IN
THE 77
YEAR OF
HIS AGE.

126

Here lyes buried
ye body of Mrs
Hannah Camp
wife to Mr Joseph Camp
who departed this Life
January 9. AD. 1739/40
in ye 76th year of her age.

127

Me. Mento. Mori.
Here lyes ye body
of Mr Joseph Camp
who departed this Life
May ye 20th Anno Dom 1750,
in ye 93rd year of his age.

128

Here lyes interred
the body of Mr
Caleb Camp who
died Oct^r y^e 3rd
1749 in the 44th
year of his age.

¹²² Enoch, her husband; d. 1811, aged 65.

¹²³ m. Susanna, dau. of John and Mary (Platt) Woodruff, Dec. 15, 1725; son of Samuel. See III.

¹²⁴ Probably dau. of Thaddeus and Hannah (Camp) Nettleton.

¹²⁵ Son of Nicholas, the settler, and b. before the town was purchased; m. 1652, Kattern, widow of Anthony Thompson.

¹²⁷ Son of Nicholas the settler, 125.

¹²⁸ Son of Joseph, 127 and 126; probably m. Mary Northrup, dau. of Amos; b. 1705.

129

Here lyes ye body of
Joseph Camp son of
Mr Caleb & Mrs Mary
Camp who departed
this Life Sept y^r 30th
AD. 1750 in ye 3rd
year of his age.

130

Here lyes buried
the body of
Lieut Ezra Camp.
who departed this Life
August 30th 1758 in ye
66th year of his age.

131

This is in Memory
of Mr John
Camp who
Departed this Life
Sept^r y^r 12th AD.
1752 in y^e 55th year
of his age.

132

Here lyes the Body
of Deacon John Camp
Departed this Life
August the 2nd
1731 in the 69th
year of his age.

133

Here lyes the body of
Mr Samuel Camp Sen^r
Died March y^r 13th 1743^{1/4}
in y^e 69th year of his age.

134

Here lyes the body of
Mrs Mary Camp.
wife to Mr Samuel Camp
Died Oct the
29th 173(?).

135

Here lyes y^r body
of Mrs Mary Camp
wife to Mr Samuel
Camp who dec^d Sept^r
y^e 12th A.D. 1750 in
ye 40th year of her age.

136

Here lyes ye body
Mrs Sarah Camp wife to
Mr Jonah Camp who
departed this Life
Nov y^r 28th AD 1752
in ye 22nd year of her age.

Here lyes Interred a blooming youth
Who lived in Love.
Died in the Trust.

¹²⁹ See 128.

¹³⁰ Son of Joseph; m. Mary Rogers, dau. of Joseph.

¹³¹ Son of John and Mary Camp; b. Dec., 1697.

¹³² Son of Nicholas and Kattern (Thompson) Camp, 125; b. 1662.

¹³³ Son of Samuel and Hannah (Betts) Camp; b. May, 1675.

¹³⁴ Probably dau. of Timothy and Mary Baldwin; baptised Nov., 1684.

¹³⁵ Dau. of Timothy and Eliza (Wilkinson) Smith.

¹³⁶ Her husband was son of 137 and 138.

137

Here lyes buried
the body of
Mr Enos Camp
who departed this Life
June y^e 20th 1768 in ye
81st year of his age.

138

Here lyes ye body of Mrs
Martha Camp wife to Mr
Enos Camp aged 50
years & 13 days, Died
September y^e 14th
1740.

139

Here lyes y^e
body of Lucy
dau^r of Phineas
& Rebecca Camp
dec^d Aug^s y^e 7th 1750
aged 3 years & 8 mos.

140

Here lyes interred
the body of
Mr Samuel Camp
who departed this
Life on the 17th day
of Feb^ry A.D. 1773
in the 68th year of
his age.

141

In memory of
Mr Amos Camp
who departed this
Life 30th Sept 1775
in the 42nd year of
his age.

142

Here lyes buried
the body of
Deacon Samuel Camp
died

143

In memory of
Mr David Camp
who died Feb 19th AD 1798
Æ 60

The Living should think of the dead
As of me, ☺—so of you will be said.

144

Elizabeth daughter
to Jeremiah and
Judah Canfield
died Oct y^e 24th
in the 9th year
of her age.

¹³⁷ Son of Samuel, 142, and m. 138, Sept. 28, 1710; he m. 2d, Elizabeth Clark, dau. of Samuel, June 19, 1744.

¹³⁸ By birth Martha Baldwin, dau. of Theophilus and Elizabeth (Canfield) Baldwin.

¹³⁹ Mother was Rebecca Clark, dau. of Thomas.

¹⁴⁰ Son of Samuel and Mary (Baldwin) Camp.

¹⁴¹ Son of John and Mary Camp, and bro. to 143.

145

Jeremiah son
to Jeremiah &
Judah Canfield died Jan^y y^e 20th
1726 in y^e 15th
year of his age.

146

Here lyes y^e body
of Moses son of Mr
Thomas & Mrs Abigail
Canfield who dec^{ed}.
Sept^h y^r 9th 1750 in
y^r 5th year of his age.

147

Mary dau of Mr
David & Mrs Mary
Canfield died
Jan^y 25 AD
1757 in ye
5th year of his age.

Abel son of Mr
David & Mrs Mary
Canfield died
Jan^y y^e 23rd
1751 in ye
6th month of his age.

148

In memory of
Dr Elias Carrington
who departed this Life Aug 6th
AD 1800 in the 66th year of his age.

For more than 40 years he served his generation
As a faithful, candid, skilful & approved Physician
Nor was he taken off from the duties of his Profession
'til within a few days of his Death.

In him his mourning confort has lost an
affectionate friend, the bereaved children a
tender & benevolent Parent, the Church of Christ
an Exemplary member
the Community a general & faithful servant
Stranger ! as you pass this Monument
remember that neither usefulness nor esteem
will protect thee from the Shaft of Death.

Tho worth & high Esteem, thy useful life attend
Or friends or wealth their many comforts blend
Yet Death must soon o'er cast thy brightest day.
And make thy bed beside this mouldering clay.

¹⁴⁵ The mother was Judith Mallory, and m. July 24, 1711.

¹⁴⁶ Mother was dau. of John Smith of Derby.

¹⁴⁷ Father was bro. to 144 and 145, and settled in New Milford; mother was Mary Northrup, dau. of Joseph and Ruth (Allen) Northrup.

¹⁴⁸ Son of Noahdiah Carrington of New Haven; m. Feb. 23, 1763, Esther, dau. of Ephriam and Sarah (Gunn) Northrup.

148 a

In memory of Mr
Freegift Coggeshall
who departed this Life
August y^e 5th 1767 in y^e
78th year of his age.

148 b

Here lies Buried
the body of Capt
William Coggeshall
who departed this
Life September 21st
1773 aged 40 years
and 10 months.

149

Here lyes ye body of
Mrs Martha Coley
Died O^t y^e 1st 1737
in ye 74th year
of her age.

150

Here lyes ye body of Mrs
Ruth Collins wife to
Sarg^t Daniel Collins
Aged 64 years died
Dec^r y^e 3rd 1747.

151

Samuel son to
Jacob & Mary
Collins aged
8 days died
March y^e 30th 1749.

152

Here lyes y^e body of
Elijah son of Mr
Jacob & Mrs Mary
Collins died Decem^{br}
y^e 6th 1752 in y^e 2nd
year of his age.

153

In memory of
Mrs Eunice wife of
Capt William Davison
who departed this Life
May 15 1776. being 23
years & 10 days old.

See there, all pale and dead she lies
Forever flowing from my streaming eyes
Eunice is fled, the lovliest mind
Faith, sweetness, witt, together joined
Dwell faith & wit & sweetness there
O view the change and drop a tear.

^{148a} b, in Rhode Island; he m. Martha, dau. of Samuel and Martha (Baldwin) Nettleton, June 28, 1726.

^{148b} Son of 148a; m. Mehitable Smith, dau. of John.

¹⁴⁹ Dau. of Ensign John and Martha (Beard) Stream, settlers 1639.

¹⁵⁰ Dau. of Edward and Rebecca (Smith) Wilkinson; m. Dec. 7, 1699, Daniel Collins a grandson of Thomas Tibbals, settler; sister to 459.

¹⁵¹ Mother was Mary Canfield, sister to 144 and 145.

¹⁵² See 151.

¹⁵³ b. Eunice Baldwin, m. Nov. 30, 1775. Her husband m. 2d, May 20, 1778, Mary Fenn, and 3d, Feb. 28, 1782, Anna Treat.

154

Pause & reflect
That as I am, you soon must be.

Entombed is here deposited
the dear remains of
Mr Garrit V. H. DeWitt
who bid a vain world adieu
Febr^y 23rd 1793 aged 58.

Happy the woman who called him
her husband, happy the child
who called him Father
but his character requires not the
panigerick of a tombstone
to perpetuate it to posterity.

Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord
Even so saith the Spirit for they rest from their labors.

155

Here the wicked cease from troubling
& here the weary are at rest.

Entombed is here deposited the
Dear remains of
Mrs Margaret DeWitt
who closed her eyes upon a

vain world Feb^y 11 1794 aged 54.
Her exemplary conduct in Life
her unparalled patience
when wrecked with pains
the most excruciating & her
perfect resignation in her last illness
disarmed the King of Terrors
of his Sting & softened him
to a Prince of Peace.

156

Be ye also ready

Entombed is here deposited the dear
remains of Mrs Martha DeWitt
the amiable consort of Mr Ab^{rm} V. H.
DeWitt & daughter of Capt Charles
Pond, who in sure & certain hope of
the resurrection, closed her eyes upon a
vain transitory world Sept 30. 1790 aged 20.

¹⁵⁴ b. in Holland, came when a child to America; m. Margaret Van Horn.

¹⁵⁵ By birth Margaret Van Horn, dau. Abraham.

¹⁵⁶ Dau. of 335 and 336; m. Jan. 3, 1790, and her husband m. 2d, Martha Belden of Weathersfield, Aug. 22, 1792.

She was Charitable, Humane, Benevolent & of a truly sympathetic Disposition
 Could real virtue have added to the number of her months Patty had yet been living, her Husband her Parents and her friends had yet been happy but Alas, she languished, she sickened, & she died
 Heaven is the reward of Vertue.

She's gone and I shall see that face no more
 But pine in absence and till death adore
 When with cold dew my fainting eyebrows hung
 My eyeballs darken, with my faltering tongue
 Her name shall tremble with a feeble moan
 And love with fate—divide my dying groan.

157

Here lyes ye body of
 Mrs Rebecca Downs
 wife to Mr Deliverance
 Downs Died Feb^r ye 2nd
 1740. in ye 64th
 year of her age.

158

Here lies buried y^e Body
 of Mrs Margaret Emes
 wife to Mr Joseph Emes
 who departed this Life
 June y^e 2nd AD 1756
 in y^e 38th year of her age.

The body was opened to let her flie
 To build her happiness on high.

159

Abigail Farrand
 dau^t to Mr Nathaniel

& Mrs Anna Farrand
 died June the 28th 1729
 in the 12th year of her age.

160

Here lyes ye body of
 Esther Farrand daught^r
 of Mr Jonathan & Mrs
 Abigail Farrand who
 Died Decem^r y^e 15th 1757 aged 3 years

Beneath these clods my body lyes.
 To cruel death a sacrifice
 No age nor sex from death is free
 O think of death then think of me.

161

Here lyes ye body
 of Mrs Sarah Fenn
 wife to Deacon
 Benjamin Fenn
 who dec^d May y^e
 26th 1727 in the 64th
 year of her age.

¹⁵⁷ Dau. of Simon and Persis Lobdell, of Springfield.

¹⁵⁸ Dau. of Samuel and Margaret (Fowler) Smith; m. Joseph Emes, May, 1754; sister to ³⁵⁴.

¹⁵⁹ Her mother was dau. of Timothy and Mary (Baird) Baldwin. See 16 and 17.

¹⁶¹ Dau. of Thomas and Hannah (Gilbert) Clark, see 99; b. March, 1664.



Here lyes Buried
y Body of Dea^{con}
BENJAMIN FENN.
Who Departed this
Life August 29th Anno
Domⁿⁱ 1732 in y
71st Year of His Age.



ME MENTO MORE
Here lyeth Interred
y Body of Captm
Samuel Gunn Esq
who Departed this
Life SEPT^{br} y 10th Anno
Dom^o 1749 in y
80th Year of his Age

162

Here lyes buried
y^e body of Deacon
Benjamin Fenn
who departed this
Life August 29th anno
Domⁿⁱ 1732 in ye
71st year of his age.

163

Here lyes the body of
Capt Benjamin Fenn
for many years a ruling
Elder of the Second Church
in this town—who departed
this Life January the 10th
Anno Domini 1770
aged 80 years.

The memory of the just
is blessed.

164

Deposited under these
clods is the body of Mrs
Sarah the amiable consort
of Elder Benjamin Fenn

who was removed from
this, into the eternal world
May the 9th A.D. 1773
aged 86 years.

Blessed are the dead
which die in the Lord.

165

In this grave is deposited
the body of Colonel
Benjamin Fenn
who was removed from
this into the invisible State
February the 20th
Anno Domini 1778.
in the 58th year of his age.

It is appointed unto men
once to die.

166

Here lyes y^e body of
Nathan Fenn son
of Mr Benjamin & Mary Fenn died
Novem^b ye 9th 1750
in ye 6th year of
his age.

167

Here lyes buried
the body of
Lieut Benjamin Fenn
who departed this Life
Oct^o 27th 1780 in y^e
39th year of his age.

Happy are they who rest their Souls on God.

¹⁶² Son of Benjamin and Mehitable (Gunn, dau. of Jasper) Fenn; m. 161.

¹⁶³ Son of 161 and 162, husband of 164.

¹⁶⁴ Probably dau. of Gamaliel Prince.

¹⁶⁵ Son of 163 and 164; m. Sarah Mary Peck, dau. of Samuel and Martha (Clark) Peck.

¹⁶⁶ See 165.

¹⁶⁷ Son of Benjamin and Mary (Peck) Fenn; m. Sarah, dau. of Joseph and Clemence Treat, Oct. 31, 1765.

168

Mrs Mary Fenn
wife to Mr Aron Fenn
aged 28 years
Died March y^r 28th 1746.

169

Here lyes ye body of
Mary Fenn daugh^t
of Mr Joseph & Mrs Sarah Fenn
died Augst ye 13th
in ye 4th year of her age. 1750.

170

Here lyes y^e body of
James Fenn
Died December y^e 28th 1746.
in ye 47th year of his age.

171

Here lyes buried y^r
body of
Mrs Joanna

Fenn wife to Lieu^t
James Fenn who
died June 2nd 1740
in y^r 64th year of her age.

172

Here sleeps in death
the body
Lieu^t Dan Fenn
whose mortal existence
ended Febr^y 23rd 1789
aged 36 years.

173

Come view the ground
where lieth the remains
of Mrs Sarah
the beloved wife of
Lieu^t Dan Fenn
who yeilded to death
May y^e 9th A.D. 1784
aged 27 years.
O! Death where is thy sting?

174

In memory of
Miranda Fenn
Daugh^{tr} to Mr Peck
& Mrs Urania Fenn
who died March 11th
A.D. 1796 Æ^t 1 year
and 4 months.

Rest lovely babe, thy toils are at an end
Returned to God, thy Saviour, & thy Friend.

175

Benjamin Fiske
son to Ebenezer
& Mrs Mehitable
Fiske aged 18 days
Died Feb y^r 5rd
1729. 30.

176

Here lyes Buried
ye body of Mr
William Fowler Jun who dec^d March
y^e 7th 1726/7 in y^e 26
year of his age.

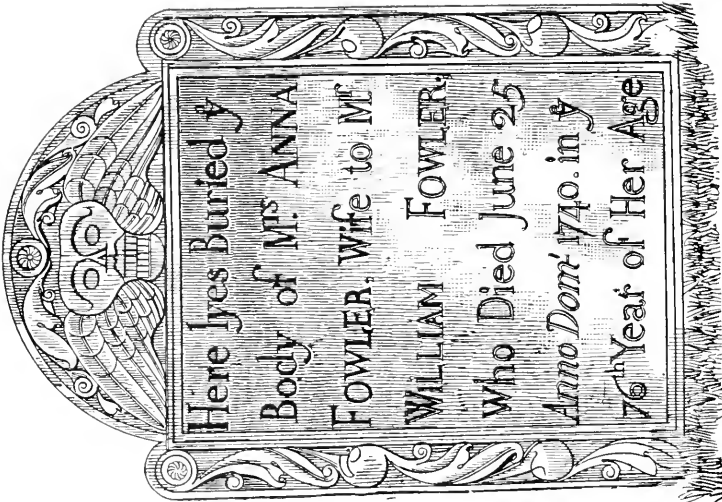
¹⁷⁰ For wife, see 171; son of Benjamin and Susanna (Ward) Fenn.

¹⁷¹ Dau. of Samuel and Grace (Judson) Prudden.

¹⁷² Son of Benjamin and Mary (Peck) Fenn, 165.

¹⁷⁴ Father was son of Benjamin, see 167; mother, dau. of Lemuel and Catherine (Smith) Durand.

¹⁷⁶ Son of 177 and 178, 1st husband to 29.



Here Lies Buried y
Body of M^{rs}. ANNA
FOWLER, wife to M^r.
WILLIAM FOWLER,
Who Died June 25
Anno Domⁱ 1740. in y
76th Year of Her Age



Here Lies Buried y
Body of M^r. WILLIAM
FOWLER. Who Dec^d.
Febu^{ry} y 25. 1728, in y
65 Year of His Age.

177

Here lyes buried y^r
Body of Mr William
Fowler who dec^d
Feb^ry the 23^rd 1728 in ye
65th year of his age.

178

Here lyes buried y^r
body of Mrs Anna
Fowler wife to Mr
Wm Fowler who died June 25th
Anno Dom 1740 in ye
76th year of her age.

179

Here lyes ye body of
Susanna Fowler
Daughter of Mr John &
Mrs Susanna Fowler
who died Sept y^e

13. 1727 in y^e 15th
year of her age.

180

Here lyes y^e body
of Fletcher Fowler
Son of Ensign John
& Mrs Mary Fowler
who dec^d March
ye 8th AD. 1751 $\frac{1}{2}$ in
ye 1st day of his
age.

181

Here lies Buried
the body of
Mr Jonathan Fowler
who departed this Life
May the 5th 1773 in y^e
70th year of his age.

The hopes we have, the better part
is now above the Skies.

182

Here lyes interr'd
under this earth, the body of
Mr Jonathan Fowler
who departed this Life on the
21 day of Sept^r AD. 1789 in
the 54th year of his age.

In his Life he sustained the chara
cter of a kind husband and indul
gent parent—, a beloved brother in the

¹⁷⁷ Son of Wm. (the settler) and Mary (Tapp) Fowler; m. Anna, dau. of Capt. John Beard.

¹⁷⁸ Dau. of Capt. John Beard, who came with his mother, Martha—a child at the settlement of the town.

¹⁷⁹ Drowned in Long Island Sound; mother was dau. of Lt. Samuel and Sarah (Fenn) Burwell.

¹⁸⁰ Mother was dau. of Fletcher and Hannah (Platt) Newton.

¹⁸¹ Son of 177 and 178, bro. to 176; m. Hannah, dau. of Joseph and Mary (Platt) Clark, Jan. 9, 1728. See 118 and 119.

¹⁸² Son of Jonathan and Hannah (Clark) Fowler, see 181; m. Content, dau. of Nathan and Elizabeth (Rogers) Baldwin.

church of Christ & a worthy mem
ber in community. In his last distress
ing illness was patient and submissive
until death conquered.

Ye living men come view the ground
where you must shortly lie.

183

Here lyes the body
of Elihu the son of
Jonathan Fowler who
departed this Life Oct 9th
AD. 1784. aged 3 years
& 9 months.

His Life a Span—the Mournful toll
Declares the exit of his Soul
Grim death is come
His life is called
To take its flight
The means a Scald.

Ye who are young come learn your end
By deep repentance make Christ your friend.

184

In memory of
Mr William Fowler Jun^r
only son of Mr William
and Mrs Eunice Fowler
who departed this Life
Dec^r 9th 1785 in y^e
23rd year of his age.

William is dead. Death's closed his eyes
Here in this Grave his body lies
While living, lived in love of all
When dead was mourned by great & small.

185

Sacred to
Memory William
only son of Mr Nathan
& Mrs Sarah Fowler

who died Sept 3 1799
Æt 3 years 7 months.

Stop children dear as you pass by
and see you'r not too young to die.

¹⁸³ Son of 182.

¹⁸⁴ His mother was dau. of Nathan and Elizabeth (Rogers) Baldwin; sister
to his brother's wife, 182.

¹⁸⁵ Mother was Sarah Platt.

186

Here lies the Body of
Mrs Susanna Fowler
the amiable consort of
Mr Nathan Fowler who
Departed this Life

Sept^r 2 1798 in the 55th
year of her age.

For this the end of all mankind
How swift we hasten to the grave
See all the living must be joined
Unto the dust from whence they came.

187

Sacred to the memory
of Miss Mary Fowler
daughter to Mr Wil
liam & Mrs Eunice
Fowler who died
Feb 1 AD 1792 in the
24th year of her age.

Molly tho pleasant in her day
Was suddenly seized and sent away,
How soon she's ripe, How soon she's rotten
Sent to her grave & soon forgotten.

188

In memory of
Lieu^t John Fowler
who departed this Life
Augst 17th AD. 1787
Aged 39 years.

All gracious heaven is this the end of man
A dreadful thought, a melancholy plan.

189

Beneath these clods
are deposited the remains of
Mrs Mary Ann Fowler
who made her exit on the
25th Nov. 1798.
Æt 47 years.

This kind relief the social passions crave
Jesus himself, wept at a good mans grave.

¹⁸⁶ By birth, Susan Miles, dau. of Theophilus; her husband, son of 181.

¹⁸⁷ Dau. of William and Eunice (Baldwin) Fowler.

¹⁸⁸ Son of John and Mary (Newtown) Fowler; m. Mary Ann Harpin 180.

¹⁸⁹ Dau. of Dr. Jean and Mary (Read) Harpin. See 210; wife of 188;
mother of 190.

190

In memory of
Mr John Fowler
who departed this Life
Oct^r 13th AD 1790
Aged 21 years & 6 days.

Mysterious Heaven why nip^d this charming flower
The Frost of Death before the Evening hour.

191

Mary Ford
dau^t to Thomas &

Mary Ford
Died Dec y^e 2nd/1737 in the
7th year of her age.

192

Here lies buried
the body of Lieu^t
John Ford
who departed this Life
Nov y^e 10th 1760 in y^e
56th year of his age.

Here lies buried
the body of Mrs
Mary Ford wife to
Lieu^t John Ford
who departed this Life
Nov y^e 10th 1760 in ye
48th year of her Age.

193

Me Mento, More
Here lyeth interred
ye body of Captⁿ
Samuel Gunn Esq^r
who departed this
Life Sept^{br} ye 10 Anno
Domni 1749 in ye
50th year of his age.

Mrs Mercy Gunn wife \times
to Mr Samuel Gunn Esq^r
who departed this Life
August ye 11th Anno Domni
1750 aged 76 years.

194

Memento mori
Here lyes interrred ye body of

195

Here lyes Buried
the body of
Lieu^t Samuel Gunn
who departed this Life
Jan'y 8th 1756-aged 55.
years 4 months & 11 days.

¹⁹⁰ Son of 188 and 189; m. Lucy, dau. of Lewis and Mary (Merwin) Mallett.

¹⁹² Son of John and Sarah Ford; wife was dau. of Samuel and Mercy (Smith) Gunn. See 193.

¹⁹³ Son of Jebomah and Sarah (Lane) Gunn; m. Mercy dau. of Ephriam Smith.

¹⁹⁴ Wife to 193. mother of Mary 192 and 311.

¹⁹⁵ Son of 193 and 194; m. Sarah, dau. of George and Sarah (——) Clark.

196

Sarah dau^r to Mr
Samuel & Mrs Sarah
Gunn died Feb^{ry} y^o
18th 1743 in ye
15th year of her age.

197

Memento Mori
Here lyeest interr^d
the body of Mr
Lazarus Gunn
who departed this Life
March y^o 27th
Anno Domⁿⁱ 1751
in ye 44 year of his age.

198

[A Foot Stone.]
Isiah Gunn.

199

Here lyes ye body
of Abel Gunn son
of Lieu^t Samuel &
Mrs Sarah Gunn
Died Sept^{br} ye 7th
1750 in y^r 4th year
of his age.

200

In memory of
Mr Isaac Gunn
who departed
this Life Jan
25th AD 1776
aged 32 years.

201

Here lyes the body
of Mr John Gaud,
who died Septe^b y^o
15 1750 in y^r
53th year of
his age.

202

Here lyes y^o body of
Mr Joseph Garnsey
died March y^o 3rd
1730 in the 80th year of
his age.

203

Here lyes ye body of
Gamaliel Gibson
Died July 31st 1740
in y^o 43rd year
of his age.

204

In memory of
Abigail ye daugh^r
of David & Abigail
Gibson dec^d June
ye 23rd 1746 in ye
20th year of her age.

205

Here lyes buried ye
body of Mrs Esther
Gibb wife to Mr Thom^s
Gibb who departed
this Life Jan 24th 1740
aged 46 years.

¹⁹⁶ Dau. of 195.

¹⁹⁷ Son of 193 and 194; bro. to 198.

¹⁹⁸ Son of 193 and 194, and bro. to 197 and 198.

¹⁹⁹ Son of 195.

²⁰⁰ Son of 195 and bro. to 199; m. Susanna Nettleton; dau. of Nathan.

²⁰⁴ The mother by birth was dau. of John Brinsmead. See 51.

²⁰⁵ By birth Esther Goodyear; m. 1st, Ebenezer Bryan. See 58, and 207.

206

Here lyes buried
the body of
Mr Thomas Gibb Jr
who departed this Life
Dec^r y^e 10th 1776 in y^e
26th year of his age.

207

Here lyes buried
the body of
Mr Thomas Gibb
who departed this
Life Nov 12th 1768
in y^e 61st year of his age.

209

Here lyes ye body of
Mrs Mary Gibb wife to
Mr John Gibb
who departed this Life
Oct y^e 21st 1769 aged
38 years & 4 months.

210

Capt John Gibbs
Born 1731. Died 1809.
His wife Eunice
Boin 1738 Died 1826.
John Gibbs born 1762
Died 1784. His wife Sarah Born 1761.
Died 1782. Esther Gibbs born 1760
Died 1848.

211

Here lyes ye body
of Mrs Hannah Green

wife to Mr Edward Green
who died Aug y^e 12th
1757 in the 38th year
of her age.

Also the daughter that was still born
was buried in her arms.

212

Here lyes ye body of
Jonathan Gillit Deces^d
Sept the 5th 1732 in the
29th year of his age.

213

Here lyes buried
Jeremiah Gillit
Dec^{e'd} Sept y^e 24th 1732
in ye 32 year of
his age.

214

Here lyes ye body
of Mary Gilit
wife to Mr Eliphal Gilit
aged 53 years
Dec^{'d} Jan ye 31st 1730.

215

Here lyes the body of
Mrs Elizabeth Gillet
wife to Mr Eliphal Gillet
aged 76 years Died
July 17. 1732.

²⁰⁶ Son of 207 and his second wife Hannah.

²⁰⁷ See 205.

²⁰⁹ Dau. of John and Mary (Beard) Smith. See 392.

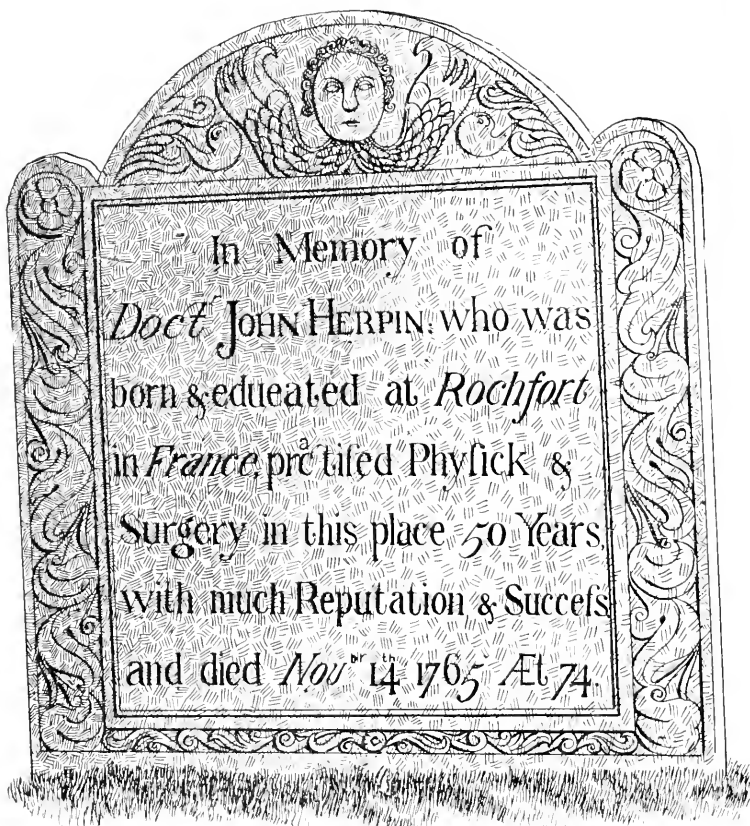
²¹⁰ John, 1st son of 205 and 207; m. 1st 209, 2d Eunice; John, 2d son of 209, m. Sarah Jones, dau. of John and Sarah (Hawley); Esther dau. of 209.

²¹² Son of Eliphal and Mary (Wheeler) Gillit; b. 1703.

²¹³ Bro. to 212; m. Frances Bryan, dau. of Richard, his widow m. Stephen Miles.

²¹⁴ Dau. of Ephriam and Mary (Holbrook) Wheeler, mother of 212 and 213.

²¹⁵ Probably mother to the husband of 214.



216

Here lyes the body of Mrs
Phebe Gillit wife to Mr
William Gillit Jun^r who died
Feb^y ye 10th AD. 1756 .Æ 29.

Her dying word unto her husband are
Refrain your Passions, why so much dispare
Its the will of God I hope its for the best
For you—for me & for my motherless
To whom adue—to God & you
I now commit thare care

Pattern of Pationts to the end of Life
Now ded she speak to every liveing wife
Peti such juells shovld be laid in dust
Men are unwarthy & the Lord is just.

217

Here lyes buried ye body
of Elisha Gillit son of Mr
Elisha Gillit & Mrs Sarah
his wife who died May
ye 22nd AD 1750 in ye
2nd year of his age.

Oh happy babe fo early fled away
From this vile earth to realms of endless day
What wondrous change *dear* hast thou known
Leaving thy cradle to ascend a Throne.

218

Here lyes the
Body of
Elizabeth Haise
who Dec^r Sept^r
y^e 13. 1727. in ye 19th
year of her age.

219

In memory of
Doct. JOHN HERPIN who was
born & educated at *Rochfort*
in *France*, practised Physick &
Surgery in this place 50 years
with much reputation & success
and died *Nov* 14th 1765 .Et 74.

²¹⁶ Dau. of Daniel and Zeruah (Canfield) Terrell; m. son of William and Elizabeth (Welch) Gillet, Sept., 1749.

²¹⁷ Mother was Sarah, dau. of John and Keziah (Clark) Buckingham. For this name see also Jillit.

²¹⁹ m. Mary Camp, dau. of John, 132.

220

Here lyes buried ye
body of Anthony Herpin
son of D^r John
Herpin & Mrs Mary
his wife who died
Jan^r 31st Anno Domⁿ 1737 8
in the 5th year
of his age.

221

Here lyes buried
ye body of Mrs Anna
Harpin daugh^t of Doct^r
John Harpin & Mrs
Mary his wife who
departed this Life Aug
ye 16th Anno Domni 1742
aged 18 years & 6 months.

222

John Anthony Herpin
obit 13th Sept^m 1750 Ætat 4.

Mary Anne Herpin
Obit 28th Aug 1750 Ætat 2.

How loved how valued once events thee not
To whom related or by whom begot
A heap of dust alone remains of thee
Tis all thou art and all the PROUD shall be.
Pope

Nicholas Herpin

Obit Jan^r 9th 1759 Ætat Die 16.

Of such is the kingdom of heaven. "Christ."

223

Here lyes ye body of
Mrs Susanna Hepburn
wife to Mr Peter
Hepburn who departed
this Life July ye 17th
AD 1762 in y^r 27th
year of her age.

225

Jane Hine daugh^r
of Mr Josiah & Mrs
Mehitable Hine
Died May 1st 1750
in y^e 11th year
of her age.

224

Rebecca Hine
wife to Samuel
Hine died Feb
y^e 4th 1748. in ye 27th year of
her age.

226

In Memory of
Martha Hine Dau^{tr} of
Mr Joel & Mrs Martha
Hine who departed this
Life July 20th 1771
in the 6th year of her age.

²²⁰ See 219.

²²¹ See 219.

²²² Children of John and Mary (Read) Herpin, mother was dau. of Col. John Read.

²²³ By birth, dau. of Joel and Abigail (Fenn) Baldwin; b. May 18, 1736; m. Dec. 16, 1763.

²²⁴ Dau. of Samuel and Rebecca (Pritchard) Oviatt; m. Aug. 9, 1739.

²²⁵ The mother was dau. of Daniel and Sarah Northrup.

Beneath these Clods my body lies
To cruel death a sacrifice
No age, nor sex from death is free
O think on death, then think on me.

227

Here lies buried
the body of Mr
Jonathan Ingersoll
who dec's^d May y^e
28th 1760 in ye 80th
year of his age.

228

Here lyes buried ye
body of Mrs Sarah
Ingersoll wife to Mr
Jonathan Ingersoll

who departed this Life
April 22 AD. 1748 in ye
62nd year of her age.

229

Here lyes buried
ye body of Mr
David Ingersoll
who died Feb 14th
Anno Dom 1742 in y^e
23rd year of his age.

230

In memory of
Mrs Mehitable Ingersoll wife of
Mr David Ingersoll
who dec^d June 7th 1798
in the 77th year of her age.

231

In Memory of
David Ingersoll Esq
His Piety was early and unaffected
His benevolence pure & universal
As a civil officer, a minister of God for good
In friendship endearing & faithful
A pattern of conjugal & parental affection
In prospect of a better state
He departed this Life July 10th AD 1774.
in the 34th year of his age.

All All on Earth is shadow, all beyond
Is substance the reverse is follys creed.
How solid all where change shall be no more.

²²⁷ Son of John and Mary (Hunt) Ingersoll, of Westfield, Mass., and by 228 had Jared. See Center Church Crypt, New Haven.

²²⁸ m. 1st Daniel Miles, son of Ensign John and Mary (Alsop) Miles and by him had John and Daniel.

²²⁹ Son of 227 and 228; m. Mehitable, dau. of Richard and Mehitable Bryan,

²³⁰ Dau. of Richard and Mehitable (Clark) Bryan, twin sister to Richard Bryan, that d. 1803.

²³¹ Son of 229 and 230; m. Clement, dau. of Joseph and Clement (Buckingham) Treat.

232

William Jillit son
to William and
Elizabeth Jillit
aged 1 year 7 months
& 11 days dec^d
Oct^r y^r 19th 1726.

233

Zebulon son
to William &
Elizabeth Jillit
aged 1 year 7 mo
Died March.

231

Sarah dau^r
to William & Elizabeth
Jillit aged 5
years 11 mo &
30 ds Died April
y^r 11 1746.

235

HEAR
LIETH BVRED
THE BODEY of MARTHA
LAMBART Deses
ed October 28
1703 in HIR 20 YEAR.

236

In memory of Mr
Jesse Lambert
who departed

this Life Dec 26th
1773 in the 82nd
year of his age.

Come my children see
Where you must shortly lie.

237

In memory of
Mrs Mary the
wife of Mr
Jesse Lambert
who died June
6th 1776 in the
80th year of her age.

Remember my children & friend
That you must die as well as I.

238

Jonathan Law
Govenour of the
Colony of Connecticut
From 1742 to 1750
He was born at Milford
August 6 1672
where he died
Nov 6. 1750.

239

Sarah Law dau^{er} to
Hon^b Jonathan Law
Esq^r & Eunice his
wife died Octo^r y^r
25th 1736 in y^e 6th
year of her Age.

²³² Mother was dau. of Thomas and Elizabeth Welch.

²³³ Bro. to 232 and 234.

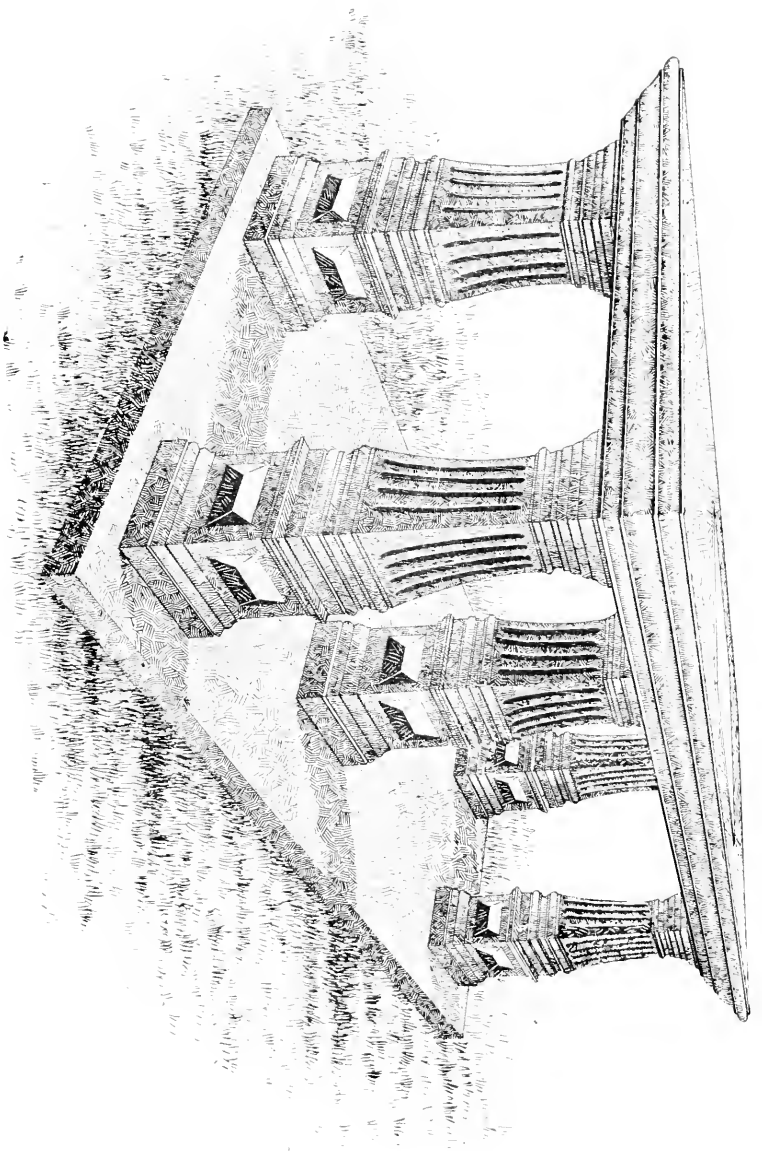
²³⁵ Dau. of Jesse and Deborah (Fowler) Lambert. Sister of 236.

²³⁶ m. 237, Dec. 6, 1717.

²³⁷ Wife of 236. See 214; dau. of Eliphal and Mary (Wheeler) Gillit.

²³⁸ Son of Jonathan and Sarah (Clark) Law; his mother was dau. of Deacon Geo. Clark.

²³⁹ Her mother was Eunice Hall, of Wallingford. See 6.



210

In Memory of
Mrs Eunice
Wife of Mr
Jonathan
Law
who died
May y^e 2nd AD.
1762 in the 42nd
year of her age.

211

In memory of
Mrs Sarah Law the
wife of Mr
Benedict A Law
who died November
29th 1785 in the 36th
year of her age.

Blessed are the dead
Who die in the Lord.

212

. . . . AI . LAW
DIED THE
. . . DAY OF
ANNO DOMNI
1704 : WHOSE
BODY LIETH
HERE INTERRED.

213

Daniel
Langstaff

Died March
the . . . 1688 (?)
in the
of his age.

214

Daniel Langstaff
Died March 9th 169-
in the 6th year of his age.

215

In memory of Elisha
Arnold Lewis son
of Mr Elisha & Mrs Anne
Lewis who departed
this Life Feb^r y^e 6th
1756 in ye 2nd
year of his age.

216

Mr Louis Liron
Marchant departed
this Life Septemb^r y^e 15th
1738 in y^e 88th year
of his age.

217

Mrs Katherine Liron
wife to Mr Louis
Liron departed this
Life Nov^r the 26th
1727 in the 58th
year of her age.

²⁴⁰ Dau. of Samuel and Eunice (Hall) Andrew. See 6.

²⁴¹ Dau. of Richard and Sarah (Fowler) Bryan; husband was son of Jonathan and Eunice (Andrew) Law. See 240.

²⁴² Probably mother of Gov. Jonathan Law, by birth, Sarah dau. of Deacon George Clark and sister to 99.

²⁴³ Son of Bethuel and Hannah (Buckingham) Langstaff.

²⁴⁴ Bro. to 243.

²⁴⁶ b. in France.

248

In Memory of
Mr Lewis Mallett
who died Sept^r 7th
1790
in the 82nd year
of his age.

249

In memory of
Mrs Eunice Mallett
wife of
Mr Lewis Mallett
who died Oct^o 19th
1789
in the 77th year
of her age.

250

Aaron son of Mr
Moses & Mrs Francis
Malary who dec^d
Novem^b y^r 11 age^d
3 years 1749.

251

In memory of
Mr Moses Malary

who died Decem 7
AD 1794 aged 70 years.

Children weep not, dry up your tears
Prepare to meet your God
I must ly here til Christ appear
Who paid my ransom with his blood.

252

In memory of
Mrs Anna Mallory
the amiable consort of
Capt Daniel Mallory
who died Feb 7. A.D.
1800 in the 46th year
of her age.

Weep not for me dry up your tears
Prepare to meet your God
I must ly here til Christ appears
He paid my ransom with his blood.

253

Here lyes y^e
body of Amos
son of Mr Samuel
& Mrs Sarah Merchant.
Dec^d Dec^r 20th 1750
in ye 3rd
year of his age.

254

Here lyes ye body of
Jedediah Merchant
Died Nov^{mb} y^e 30th
AD. 1755 in y^e 3rd
year of his age.

Here lyes ye body of
Hannah Merchant y^e 1st
Died Sept y^e 13th AD
1750 in y^e 11th month
of her age.

Here lyes y^e body of
Hannah Merchant
y^e 2nd who died
March 5th 1755
in y^e 3rd year of
her age.

Children of Mr Ezra &
Mrs Elizabeth Merchant.

²⁴⁸ Son of John and Jane (Liron) Mallett; his mother sister to 246.

²⁴⁹ Dau. of Ezekiel and Abigail (Briscoe) Newton.

²⁵⁰ See 251.

²⁵¹ m. in 1744, Frances, dau. of Samuel and Rebecca (Pritchard) Oviatt.

²⁵³ Mother was Sarah, dau. of Joseph Fenn.

²⁵⁴ Mother was dau. of Joseph Pritchard.

255

Joseph Marshall
son to Mr Joseph
& Mrs Abigail
Marshall aged
2 years & 3 months
Dec Nov y^r 11th 1739.

256

Here lyes y^e body of
Mrs Elizabeth Moor
of Boston dec^{sd}
December 29th 1769(?)
in y^e 84th year of her age.

257

Daniel ye son
of John &
Martha Miles
Died June y^r 16th
1746. aged
3 ys 11 ms & 10 ds.

258

Entombed is here
deposited the dear
remains of
Mrs Martha Miles
The amiable consort of
Mr John Miles
who with a Christian
resignation closed her
eyes upon a vain world
April 26th 1797 aged 85.

259

Sacred to the memory
of Isaac Miles Esqr

Distinguished by manly sense
Genuine integrity and firmest
in Patriotism & in virtue
After a life active in commerce
and in Public employments
A Life very useful to his family
and to the Public: worn out
by a long & distressing asthma
borne with a singular patience
He died on the 15th of Nov 1780
in the 55th year of his age.

260

In Memory
of Miss Susanna Miles
daugh^t of Mr Isaac Miles
Esq^r who died January 16th 1788.
.Etat 36.

Think what I was
Think what I am
Ah! think what you must be.

261

Here lyes y^e body of
Sarah Miles daugh^{tr} of
Lieut Theophilus & Mrs
Katherine Miles
who died Sept y^e 13th
1750 in ye 21st year
of her age.

262

Here lyes y^e body of
Theophilus son of Lieut
Theophilus & Mrs Katherine
Miles who dec^d
Sept y^e 3rd 1750 in
y^e 9 year of his age.

²⁵⁵ Mother, dau. of Joseph and Mary (Newton) Bryan, and sister to 61.

²⁵⁷ Father was son of 225 by 1st husband, Daniel Miles; mother was 258.

²⁵⁸ Dau. of Joseph and Martha (Bryan) Smith; m. Nov. 3, 1737, John, son of Daniel Miles and 228.

²⁵⁹ Son of Stephen and Susanna (Burwell, b. Baldwin) Miles; m. Catherine, dau. of Phineas and Rebecca Baldwin. Was with Ephriam Strong, representative in first session held under the State Constitution.

²⁶⁰ Dau. of 259.

263

In Memory of
Mrs Sarah Prince
wife of Mr
Theophilus Miles
who departed this Life
May 15 AD 1790
in the 23th year of
her age.

O Death where is thy sting
O Grave where is thy victory.

264

In memory of two children of Mr
Theophilus & Mrs Martha Miles
Susanna Miles died Septem^{br} 28th
1796 aged 3 years 3 months & 12 days.
Theophilus Miles Jr died October 2nd
1796 aged 1 year 6 months & 12 days.
Fresh in the morn the Summer rose
Lies withered ere tis noon
Wee scarce enjoy the Balmy gift
But mourn the perfume gone.

265

HEEAR
. T . E
THE OF MILES
ME . . . IN AGED
YEARS DIED
OF APRIL
1697.

266

Here lyes the body
of Elizabeth only
Daugh^{tr} to Mr John & Mrs Elizabeth.

Merwin who
Dec^d this Life
July 24th Anno
Dom 1749
In 18 year of her age.

267

Here lyes y^e body of
Mr John Merwin
Died January the 13th
17 . . . in the
.
of his age.

268

Here lyes ye body of
Mrs Elizabeth Merwin
wife to Mr John
Merwin aged about
69 years Died May
the 16th 1730.

269

Here lyes y^e body of
M^s Anne
Merwin wife to
Mr Miles Merwin
who dec^d Decem^{br}
y^e 3rd 1723 in y^e
28th year of her age.

270

Here lyes buried
the body of
Mr Miles Merwin
who departed this Life
May the 14th 1764 in ye
45th year of his age.

²⁶³ Dau. of Benjamin and Mary (Peck) Fenn, 165.

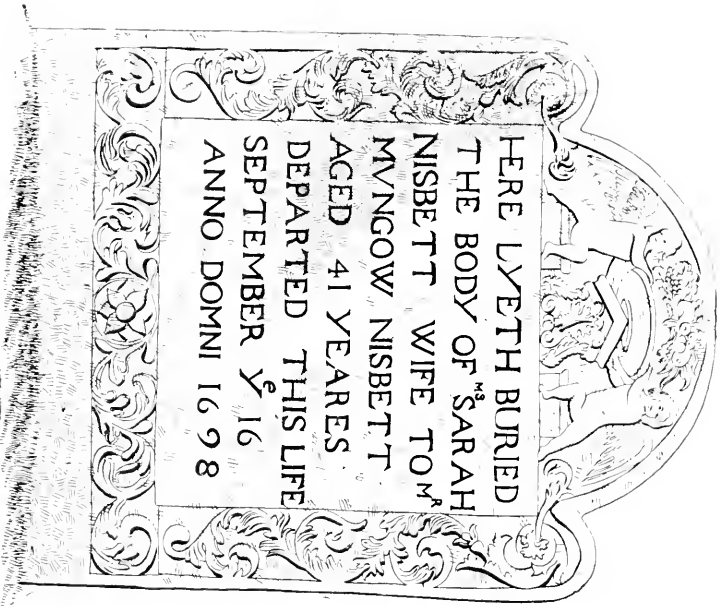
²⁶⁴ Mother was dau. of Thomas and Sibyl (Smith) Clark.

²⁶⁵ Probably the grave of Miles Merwin, who came here in 1645, d. April 23, 1697. His wife Sarah d. March 5, 1698.

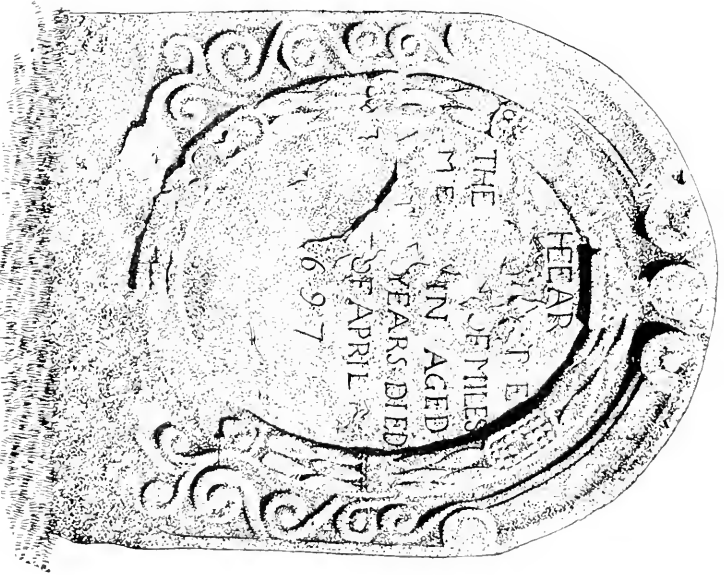
²⁶⁶ Mother, was by birth, dau. of Samuel and Martha (Baldwin) Nettleton; father, son of 267 and 268.

²⁶⁸ Dau. of Thomas and Phebe Canfield, the settler; m. 1st, Theophilus Baldwin in 1682, 2d, J. M. 1705; b. Feb., 1660.

²⁶⁹ Dau. of Ensign Joseph and Frances (Bryan) Treat.



HERE LYETH BURIED
THE BODY OF SARAH
NISBETT WIFE TOM
M VNGOW NISBETT
AGED 41 YEARES
DEPARTED THIS LIFE
SEPTEMBER Y 16
ANNO DOMINI 1698



HEAR THE VOICE OF THE
MIST ME IN AGED
YEARS DIED
OF APRIL 1697

271

In Memory of
Mrs Mary Merwin
Relict of
Mr Miles Merwin
who departed this life
Dec 27th 1797
in the 75th year
of her age.

272

HERE LYETH BURIED
THE BODY OF ^{MS}SARAH
NISBETT WIFE TO M^R
MVNGOW NISBETT
AGED 41 YEARES
DEPARTED THIS LIFE
SEPTEMBER Y^E 16
ANNO DOMNI 1698.

273

Here lyes the body of
Mr Ezekiel Newton
Deceased Febr^y the 12th
1728 in the 41st
year of his age.

274

Here lyes buried
ye body of Mr
Thomas Newton
who departed this
Life June y^e 8th AD
1753 in y^e 72nd
year of his age.

275

Here lyes buried
the body of Mrs
Mary Newton
wife of Mr Thomas
Newton who died March
the 29th 1744 in the
66 year of her age.

276

Here lies buried
the body of Mr
Samuel Newton
who Decd December
y^e 26th 1728 in y^e
52nd year of his age.

277

Here lyes y^e body
of Mrs Phebe Newton
wife to Mr Samuel
Newton who dec^d
November y^e 12th
1727 in y^e 42nd
year of her age.

278

Here lyes y^e body
of Joseph Newton
son of Mr Samuel
& Mrs Phebe Newton
who dec^d Feb^y 20th
1727/₈ aged 9 years
& 1 month.

²⁷¹ Probably Mary Allyn of New Haven.

²⁷² Dau. of Richard Bryan, the settler; m. 1st, Samuel Fitch, Oct., 1678, 2d, Mvngow Nisbett, 1696. See 421.

²⁷³ m. Abigail, dau. of Nathaniel and Mary (Camp) Briscoe, May 21, 1711.

²⁷⁴ Son of Samuel and Martha (Fenn) Newton.

²⁷⁵ Dau. of Zackariah Baldwin; m. 275, June 20, 1704, sister to mother of 259.

²⁷⁶ Son of 274 and 275.

²⁷⁷ Dau. of Joseph and Mary (Kellogg) Platt, and wife of 276.

²⁷⁸ Son of 276 and 277.

279

Mrs Lydia Newton
 wife to Mr John
 Newton died Oct y^e 23rd 1747
 in y^e 86th year
 of her age.

280

Here lyes y^e body
 of Mrs Martha Newton
 wife to Mr John
 Newton who
 Died July y^e 10th AD
 1750 in y^e 37th year
 of her age.

280a

Here lyes ye
 body of Mrs Phebe

Newton wife to Serg^t Jonah
 Newton who departed
 this Life April ye 26th
 AD 1756 in ye 36th
 year of her age.

281

Here lyes the body
 of Mrs Elizabeth Newton
 died July the 5th 1734
 in the 31st year
 of her age.

282

Here lyes buried
 ye body of Serg^e Jonah
 Newton who departed
 this Life April y^e 19th
 AD. 1756 in ye 42nd
 year of his age.

283

This Monument is erected
 to the memory of
 Mr Jonah Newton Jr
 The only son of
 Capt Jonah & Mrs Sarah Newton
 who suddenly departed this mortal Life
 on the 1st of October 1794
 aged 18 years & one month & three days.

284

The truly honorable & pious
 Roger Newton Esq^r
 an officer of distinguished note
 in ye expeditions 1709 & 1710

²⁷⁹ Dau. of Thomas Ford, the settler, 1646; m. John Newton, son of Roger, the Pastor, April 14, 1680.

²⁸⁰ Dau. of Samuel and Rachel (Lambert) Smith; husband, son of 279.

^{280a} Dau. of Joseph and Sarah Platt; wife of 282.

²⁸² Son of 276 and 277, bro. to 278; m. Phebe, dau. Joseph and Sarah Platt.

²⁸³ Mother was Sarah Woodruff, dau. of John and Sarah (Baldwin).

²⁸⁴ Son of Capt. Samuel and Martha (Fenn) Newton; m. 285, April 10, 1712.

for many years one of y^e council
& Col^o of the Second Regiment of
Militia, Judge of the Court of
Common Pleas 33 years and he
departed this Life Jan^y 13.th 1771
in the 87th year of his age.

His mind returned to God, intombd here lies
The part the Hero left beneath the Skies
Newton as steel inflexible /rom right
In Faith, in Law, in Equity, in Fight.

285

Mrs Susanna Newton
relict of the Hon^r:
Roger Newton E^s^{qr}
departed this Life

May 15th AD. 1776
in the 86th year of her age.

If the days of our years
Be fourscore years yet
It is soon cut off & we fly away.

287

Memento more
Here lyes buried
the body of Lieut
Fletcher Newton

(Stone broken remainder lost.)

288

Here lyes the body of
Mr Ezekiel Newton
aged about 74 years
Died May the 4th 1734.

289

Here lyes y^e body of

Joseph Nettleton
aged 24 years & 11 m^o
Died January y^e 31st
1724/5.

290

Susanna daught^r to
Nathan & Susanna
Nettleton died
Novem^r 5th 1736
in the 11th year of
her age.

291

Susanna dau^r to
Nathan & Susanna
Nettleton aged 3
months died Jan'y
y^e 8 1737.

292

Benajah son
to Silvanus &
Mary Nettleton
aged 4 months
& 7 d^s Died
Nov^r 25th 1746.

²⁸⁵ Dau. of Samuel and Martha (Whiting) Bryan. See 284.

²⁸⁷ Son of Roger and Abigail (Fletcher) Newton; m. Hannah, dau. of Joseph and Mary Platt, sister to 277.

²⁸⁹ Son of Samuel and Martha (Baldwin) Nettleton. ²⁹⁰ Her mother 293.

²⁹¹ See 290. ²⁹² His mother was Mary, dau. of Josiah Whitmore.

293

Here lyes buried ye
body of Mrs Susannah
Nettleton wife to Mr Nathan
Nettleton who departed
this Life June y^e 6th AD.
1754 in y^e 53 year of
her age.

294

Susanna dau^r of
Mr Isaac & Mrs Sarah
Nettleton died
Sept 15th 1774.
in her 5th year.

295

David son of
Mr Isaac & Mrs Sarah
Nettleton died
Sept 24th 1774
in the 9th year
of his age.

296

In Memory of
Isaac Nettleton
who died Sept 26th 1774
in his 12th year
Hezekiah who died
Sept 27th 1774 in his 7th year.

297

Daniel son of Mr Isaac
& Mrs Sarah Nettleton
Died Oct 7th 1774
In his 2nd year of his age.

298

In Memory of
Mr David Nettleton
who departed this Life
June 11. 1792
in the 29th year
of his age.

299

In Memory of
Mrs Hannah Nettleton
wife of
Mr Thaddeus Nettleton
Died May 9th 1797
Æ 61.

300

Here lyes inter^d the
body of Nathan
Nettleton son to Miss
Susanna P. Martin
who died Dec 29th
1780 aged 6 months.

Why want thy months Inlarged to years
To dry a forsaken mothers tears.

301

Here lyes ye body of.
Elizabeth Newhall
wife to Eliazer Newhall Died Nov^r
ye 12th 1743 in ye 37th
year of her age.

302

Amos Northrop
(died about 1726).

²⁹³ Dau. of Joseph and Susan Plumb.

²⁹⁶ Children of Mr. Isaac and Mrs. Sarah Nettleton.

²⁹⁹ Dau. of Caleb and (——) Camp.

³⁰⁰ The mother was dau. of Rev. Ebenezer and Susanna (Plumb) Martin of Spencertown, N. Y. 300a, (a foot stone) N. N. 1746.

³⁰¹ No more can be deciphered; he was born in 1689, and his widow married in 1729, Henry Peck; she was Mary Gunn, dau. of Jebomah.

303

Here lyeth the body
Joseph Northrop
who died in the 50th
year of his age
May 1700.

304

Here lyes y^e body of
Mr Jeremiah Northrop
died April y^e 11th
1734 in y^e 81st year
of his age.

305

David Northrop
son to David &

Rebecca Northrup

Died . . . 9. 1741 in ye 19th(?)
year of his age.

306

Rebecca Northrop
dau^r to David &
Rebecca Northrop
Died Oct ye 30th
1738 in the 5th
year of her age.

307

Here lyes ye body of
Mrs Northrop wife
to Mr James Northrop
aged about 42 years
Died May y^e 25th 1739.

308

Here lyes ye body
of John Northrop
son of Mr Phenihis
& Mrs Elizabeth
Northrup died
August y^e 21st
1750 in ye 5th
year of his age.

Here lyes ye body
of Rachel Northrop
da^u of Mr Phenihis
& Mrs Elizabeth
Northrup died
August y^e 22nd
1750 in ye 7th
year of her age.

309

Israel Northrvp
son of Mr Josiah &
Mrs Mary Northrvp
Died August y^e 10th
1750 in ye 11th year
of his age.

310

In memory of Mr
Ephriam Northrop
who departed this
Life October 10th AD
1787 aged 91 years.
Sweet is the memory of the just
While dying nature sleeps in dust.

³⁰³ Son of Joseph and Mary (Norton) Northrop, settlers, b. Aug., 1649.

³⁰⁴ Bro. to 303, b. in 1654.

³⁰⁵ and ³⁰⁶ Mother was dau. of Deliverance Downs.

³⁰⁷ Husband was son of 303.

³⁰⁸ The mother was dau. of John and Abigail Brinsmead. See 51. Father son of 304.

³⁰⁹ Mother was Mary, dau. of Samuel and Esther (Baldwin) Sanford.

³¹⁰ Son of William and Mary (Peck) Northrop; m. Sarah, dau. of Samuel and Mercy (Smith) Gunn, Nov. 26, 1730.

311

In memory of Mrs
Sarah Northrop
wife to Mr Ephriam
Northrop who died
November 1st 1780 aged
77 years.

Blessed are the dead which die in the
[Lord.

312

In memory of
Miss Abigail Northrup
Daugh^t of Mr Ephriam & Mrs Sarah
Northrop who died March 20 1790
aged 59.

Let not the dead forgotten be
Lest you forget that you must die.

313

John Oviat
Died July 17
1748 in y^e
47th year
of his age.

314

Alexander, son
to Alexander &
Lydia Oviat died
March y^e 31st
in y^e 10th year of
his age. 1737.

315

Here lyes ye body of
Lieut Joseph Peck

Dec^d March the 1st 1731 (?) in the 79th
year of his age.

316

Content dau^t to
Joseph & Han . . Peck
died July the 16th 1737
in ye 4th
year of her age.

317

Edward Perit
son to Peter &
Abigail Perit
aged 1 month & 3
D^s Died March y^e 10
1738/9.

318

Here lyes ye body
of Mrs Mary Perit.
wife to Mr Peter Perit
who departed
this life Janu^{ry} y^e
1st Anno Dom 1752
in ye 67th year of
her age.

319

In
Memory of
Mr Peter Perit
who departed this
Life April 8th AD
1791 in the 84th year
of his age.

³¹¹ Dau. of 193 and 194.

³¹² Dau. of 310 and 311.

³¹³ Son of Samuel; m. Susanna Hine, dau. of John (prob.), Jan. 16, 1724.

³¹⁷ Mother was dau. of John and Abigail (Allen) Shepherd.

³¹⁹ b. in France.

320

Here lyes the body
of Abner Permele
Died July y^e 26th
173 (?) in the 19th year
of his age.

321

Here lyes the body of
Captain Joseph Prime
Departed this Life
December the 22nd 1729
in the 41st year
of his age.

322

Here lyes ye body of
Mr Epenetus
Platt who dec^d
April y^e 10. 1723 in y^e
27th year of his age.

323

Here lyes the body of
Hester Platt daugh^t to
Richard & Hester Platt
Died December 24. 1728
in the 21st year of her age.

324

Here lyes buried ye
body of Sarg^t Richard
Platt who departed
this Life May y^e 3rd
A.D. 1756 in y^e 42nd
year of his age.

325

In memory of
Mr Richard Platt
who died Jan^y 11th 1799
in the 57th year of his age.

A loving Husband, a tender Father
Left this world to enjoy the other.

326

Sacred to
the Memory of
Mr Gideon Platt
who departed this Life
Sept 24th A.D. 1796
in the 63rd year of his age.

in hopes of a glorious immortality
Behold my friend as you pass by
Returned to dust—I here do lie
As I am now so you must be
Prepare for death and follow me.

327

Here lies buried
the body of Mrs
Rachel Plum wife
to Mr John Plum
who dec^d July y^e
21st 1723 in ye 45th
year of her age.

328

Here lies buried
y^e body of
Mr Zuriel Plum
who died March
y^e 24th 1728 in y^e
21st year of his age.

³²² Son of Joseph and Mary (Kellogg) Platt.

³²³ Her mother was Hester, dau. of Samuel and Sarah (Baldwin) Buckingham.

³²⁴ Son of Josiah and Esther (Buckingham) Platt, m. Mehetable, dau. of Ebenezer Fisk.

³²⁵ Son of Richard and Mehetable (Fisk) Platt, 324.

³²⁶ Son of Lt. Gideon and Mary (Buckingham) Platt.

³²⁸ Son of John and Rachel Plum, 327.

329

MR ROBERT PLUM
DESESED
DESEMBR THE
4 1703 IN THE
56th YEAR
OF HIS AGE.

330

Here lyes ye body

of Mr Samuel
Plumb aged 68
years died
May y^e 19th 1728.

331

Here lyes ye body
of Mr Joseph Plum
who deceas^d Nov ye 7th 1742.

332

This stone is erected
in Memory of
Mrs Sarah Pomeroy
widow of
the Rev^d Seth Pomeroy
former minister of
Greenfield
she died May 6th 1783
in the 48th year of her age.

Thou dear departed with no laboured bust
Nor panegyric I insult thy dust
Yet let a child with duty in arrear
Say while he heaves a sigh & drops a tear
The tenderest of all parents Slumbers here.

333

M . . . PETER I . . . D
DIN
MAY
YEAR OF
HIS AGE
ANNO DOMNI.

334

Here lyes y^e body of
M^{rs} Mary Pond, wife to
M^r Peter Pond, who
Died June y^e 16th 1761

in y^e 37th year of her
Age.

335

In Memory of
CHARLES POND
who died May 18. 1832
aged 88.

He was a good Husband;
A kind Parent;
A pattern of industry;
An actor in the revolution
And through Life, Liberty's friend.

³²⁹ Son of Robert and Mary (Baldwin) Plumb, settlers 1639; m. Ruth Fitch widow Thomas, by birth Clark.

³³² Dau. of Gov. Jonathan and Eunice (Hall) Law. See 238 and 8, her husband, son of () Graduate of Yale 1753.

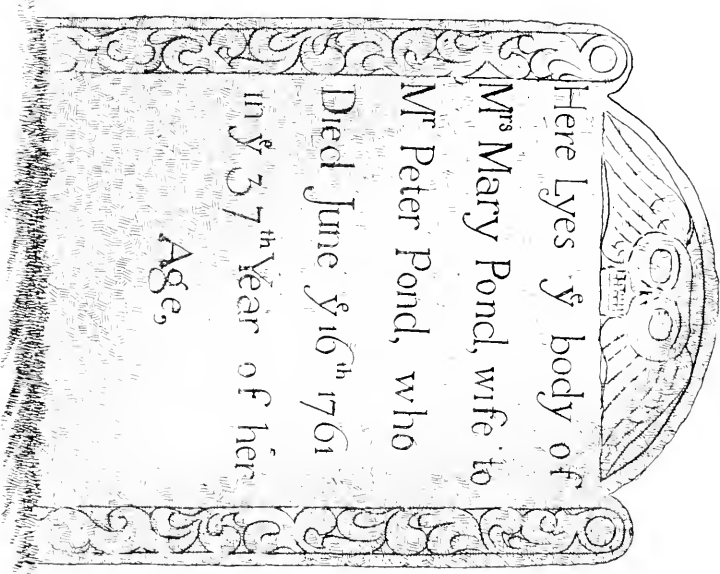
³³³ Probably Peter, son of Samuel and Grace (Judson) Prudden, died May 19, 1705.

³³⁴ By birth Mary Hubbard.

³³⁵ Son of 334; m. 1st 336, 2d Catherine, sister of 154.

IN MEMORY OF
CHARLES POND
who died May 18 1832.
aged 88.
He was
a good Husband;
a kind Parent;
a pattern of Industry;
an actor
in the Revolution
and through life,
Liberty's friend.

335



Here Lyes y^e body of
Mrs Mary Pond, wife to
Mr Peter Pond, who
Died June y^e 16th 1761
in y^e 37th Year of her
Age,

334

336

Entombed is here deposited
the dear remains of
Mrs Martha Pond
the amiable consort of
Capt Chas Pond
who with a Christian resignation
closed her eyes upon a vain world
May the 29th 1797 aged 57.

Blessed are the dead who die in the
Lord even so saith the Spirit for they
rest from their labors & their works
shall follow them.

337

In memory of
Charlotte Pond Dau^r
of Mr Charles & Mrs Martha
Pond who died July 8
1772 aged 19 days.

338

Here lyes buried y^e body
of William Powell son of
Capt William Powell & Mrs
Rebecca his wife who
dec^d April y^e 12th A.D.
1755 in y^e 6^h year of
his age.

339

Here lyes ye body of
Abigail Prince dau^r
to Mr Josiah Prince
& Abigail his wife
aged 3 years 6^{mos}
21 days Died July y^e 14 1729.

340

Here lyes y^e body of
Capt Josiah Prince
who departed this Life
December the 22nd
1729 in the 41st year
of his age.

341

Here lyes interred
ye body of Mrs
Sarah Prince dau^r
of Capt Josiah
Prince & Mrs Abigail
his wife died Oct^r
y^e 1st 1759 in the 23rd
year of her age.

342

Here lyes ye body
of Howell Prince
son of Mr Samuel &
Mrs Abigail Prince
Died Nov^r ye
7th 1751 in ye 2nd
year of his age.

343

Sibel dau^r to
Roger & Sarah Pritchard
who died Dec
in ye
2nd year of her
age.

344

Hannah Prichard
dau^r to Roger &

³³⁶ Dau. of John and Martha (Smith) Miles (258), mother of Gov. Charles
Hobby Pond. ³³⁷ See 335 and 336. ³³⁹ See 340.

³⁴⁰ Son of Gamaliel Prince and bro. to 164; m. Abigail, dau. of Samuel and
Martha (Whiting) Bryan, sister to 285; his widow m. as 2d wife, John Fowler.

³⁴¹ Dau. of 340.

³⁴⁴ Father was bro. to 345.

Hannah Prichard
aged ab^t 20 years
Died Aug 1738.

345

Here lyes y^e body of Mr
Benjamin Prichard
Died April ye 9th 1743
in ye 86th
year of his age.

346

Here lyes buried
ye body of Mr
Samuel Prudden who departed this
Life Octo^{br} 17th AD 1742.
Aged 69 years & 2 mos.

347

Here lyes ye body
Grace Prudden
Daugh^r of Mr
Samuel & Mrs
Hannah Prudden

who died Nov^{br}
18. 1742 aged 20
years & 1 month.

348

Here lyes buried
ye body of
John Prudden
who departed this Life
Jan^y 16th AD 1762 in y^e
82nd year of his age.

349

Here lyes intere'd the body
of the Rev Mr Job Prudden
late worthy Pastor of the Church
of Christ in the second society
Milford. He had his education
at Yale College in New Haven &
continued in the work of the Minist
ry almost 27 years. A bountiful
benefactor to mankind well belo
ved in his Life and much lamented
at his death which happened on
the 23rd day of June Anno Domini
1774 in the 59th year of his age.

350

Here lyes ye body
of Sibella Prudden
daugh^r of Mr John & Mrs Mary Prudden
who died June 4th
1740 aged 7 years
10 months & 4 day^s.

³⁴⁶ Son of Roger (the settler of 1653) and Elizabeth Slough, who was dau. to James, the bro. of Peter Prudden, the pastor.

³⁴⁶ Son of Samuel and Grace (Judson) Prudden; m. Hannah, dau. of Thomas and Hannah () Clark.

³⁴⁷ Dau. of 346.

³⁴⁸ Son of Samuel and Grace (Judson) Prudden, bro. to 346; m. Mary, dau. of Samuel and Mary (Clark) Clark; father of 353 and 349.

³⁴⁹ Son of 348; m. Esther, dau. of Nathaniel and Rebecca (Burwell) Sherman, whose sister m. Joseph Bellamy.

³⁵⁰ Sister of 349.

351

In memory of
Samuel Prudden
who in prospect of a
better world departed
this mortal Life August
14th 1774. in the 67th
year of his age.

Unshaken as the Sacred hill
And firm as mountains be
Firm as a rock the soul shall rise
That leans O Lord on thee.

352

In memory of
Hannah Prudden wife of
John Prudden
who died
Oct 7th 1790
aged 73 years.

353

In memory of
John Prudden
who died
Sept 3. 1786

in the 79th year
of his age.

354

This monument is
erected to perpetuate
the memory of Mr
Joseph Prudden
who departed this
Life January 16th 1775
in the 30th year
of his age.

Death is a debt to nature due
Which I must pay & so must you.

355

In memory of
Sarah Prudden
who with a happier
world in view depar-
ted this mortal state
July 27th 1788 in the
80th year of her age.

Our age to seventy years is set
How short the term how frail the state
And if to Eighty we arrive
We rather sigh & groan than live.

356

In memory of Sarah
and Anne Prudden daughters
of Mr Samuel & Mrs Anne Prudden
They were lovely & pleasant in their lives
and in their death they were not divided
Seized by a distemper which baffled
human efforts they suddenly departed
this Life on the 26th of January 1788
the former in the 6th & the latter in
the 4th year of her age.

³⁵¹ Son of Samuel and Hannah (Clark) Prudden; m. Sarah, dau. of Joseph and Sarah (Smith) Beard.

³⁵² Dau. of Fletcher and Hannah (Platt) Newton, 287.

³⁵³ Son of John and Mary (Clark) Prudden, 348; m. 352.

³⁵⁴ Son of 351 and 355.

³⁵⁵ Dau. of Joseph and Sarah (Smith) Beard; m. Samuel Prudden, Feb. 25, 1742. See 351.

357

Sacred to the memory
of Mrs Anne Prudden
the amiable consort of
Mr Samuel Prudden
who departed this Life
May 15th 1794
aged 35 years.

Death thou hast conquered me
I by thy dart am slain
But Christ will conquer you
& I shall rise again.

358

Katherine dau^r
to Daniel &
Mary Rilum
died March
1740 in y^e 17th
year of her age.

359

Here lieth
the body of
William Robarts
who departed this
Life in the
72nd year of his age
August 6 1689.

360

Ann Rogers dau^t
to Lieut Joseph & Sarah Rogers
Died Feb y^r 18th
1733 in y^e 18th
year of her age.

361

Here lyes interr'd
the body of Lieu^t
Joseph Rogers who
departed this Life
June y^e 6th AD
1754 in y^e 83 year
of his age.

362

Here lyes ye body
of Mrs Sarah Rogers
wife of Lieu^t
Joseph Rogers
who died Sept y^e 1st
1750 aged 72 years.

363

Here lyes ye body
of Joseph son of Mr
Joseph & Mrs Elizabeth
Rogers who died
Sept 21 1750 in y^e
9th year of
his age.

364

Here lyes ye body
of Ann daughter
of Mr Joseph & Mrs
Elizabeth Rogers
who dec^d March
13th 1746
aged 7 days.

365

Here lyes ye body
of Ann daugh^t of Mr

³⁶⁰ Child of 361 and 362.

³⁶¹ Husband of 362, son of Eliazer and Elizabeth Rogers.

³⁶² Dau. of Samuel and Mary (Clark) Clark.

³⁶³ Mother was Elizabeth, dau. of Nathan and Elizabeth (Fowler) Clark.

³⁶⁴ See 363.

³⁶⁵ See 363.

Joseph & Mrs Elizabeth
Rogers who dec^d
Sept y^e 30th 1750 in
y^e 2nd year of her age.

366

Here lies the body
of Nathan son of
Mr Joseph & Mrs
Elizabeth Rogers
who died May
y^e 3rd 1745 aged
5 months.

367

Here lies entombed the body of
Mrs Sally Rogers
the amiable consort of
Capt Josiah Rogers
who departed this Life
Sept 25th 1799
in the 23rd year of her age.

The Rose that flourish in the morn
But little knows its doom
My Sally is taken from my arms
and hastened to the Tomb
Unto the mighty power of death
Its hard to be resigned
But Jesus calls & I must go
And leave my friends behind.

368

Here lyes ye body of
Ephriam Sanford
Died April y^e 15th
1728
in y^e 52 year
of his age.

369

Here lyes buried
ye body of Mrs
Hannah Sanford
wife to Mr Samuel
Sanford who
deceased January
y^e 14th 1726.
aged 51 years.

370

Here lyes the body of
Thomas Sanford
aged about 43 years
Died Oct 18. 1731.

371

Here lyes buried
ye body of Capt
Andrew Sanford
who departed this Life
April 23rd Anno Domni 1747.
in ye 73rd year of his age.

372

Here lyes ye body of
Elijah Sanford son
of *Mr* Andrew & *Mrs* Andrew Sanford
who dec^d March 20th 1737
in ye 19th year of his age.

³⁶⁶ See 363.

³⁶⁷ Dau. of Samuel and Sarah (Peck) Andrews; husband was son of Timothy and Eunice (Hammond) Rogers of New London.

³⁶⁸ Son of Ephraim and Mary (——) Sanford.

³⁶⁹ Dau. of Nathaniel and Hannah (Botchford) Baldwin, b. July 11. 1674.

³⁷⁰ Son of Samuel and Hannah Bronson.

³⁷¹ Son of Andrew and Mary (Botchford) Sanford; m. Margaret.

³⁷² Son of 371.

373

Here lyes ye body of
Mary Sanford wife
to John Sanford aged
26 years & 19 days.
Dec^d July y^e 29th 1744.

374

Here lyes interr'd y^e body
of Cornet David Sanford
who departed this Life
Jan'y ye 16th AD 1751
in ye 41st year of his age.

375

He lyes ye body
of Mary Sanford
Dau^{tr} of Mr Samuel
& Mrs Ann Sanford
who died July 23
AD 1746 aged 7
months & 19 days.

376

Here lyes ye body
of Mr John
Smith Deses^d
Jan'y 8, 1732
in ye 87th year
of his age.

377

Mrs Ruth Smith
wife to Mr John

Smith died
June y^e 16th 1749
In y^e 68th year
of her age.

378

HERE LIES YE BOD .
.. RUI
WIFE TO MR JOHN
SMITH . GED . .
YEARS DIED
. AY
y^e 31 . 30.

379

Here lyes ye body
of Mr John Smith
who departed
this Life May y^e
14th AD 1751
aged 77 years.

380

Here lyes ye body
of Phebe wife to Mr John
Smith aged
74 years died May
y^e 3rd 1730.

381

Here lyes ye body of
Mr Timothy Smith
Died March y^e 2nd
1739 in y^e 71st
year of his age.

³⁷³ Dau. of Jesse and Mary (Gillet) Lambert; m. Sept. 14, 1743, son of 371.

³⁷⁴ Son of Samuel and Esther (——) Sanford.

³⁷⁵ Mother was dau. of Joseph and Susanna (——) Plumb.

³⁷⁶ Son of John the settler, baptized Sept., 1646; husband of 380.

³⁷⁷ Dau. of James and Sarah (Wheeler) Briscoe, wife of 379.
James and Sarah (Wheeler) Briscoe; wife of 379.

³⁷⁹ Son of John and Phebe (Canfield) Smith, see 380; m. Ruth, dau. of

³⁸⁰ Dau. of Thomas and Phebe Canfield, settlers; baptized March, 1656; m.
Jan. 23, 1673 to 376. ³⁸¹ Husband of 386.

382

Memento Mori
 Here lyeth interr'd
 ye body of Mrs Anna
 Smith wife to Mr
 Ebenezer Smith
 who died Sept^{hr} y^e
 27th AD 1750 in y^e
 56th year of her age.

383

Anna Smith daugh^{ter}
 of Mr Ebenezer
 & Mrs Anna Smith Dec^d December
 ye 29th
 1726 in y^e 4th
 year of her age.

384

Here lyes inter'ed
 ye body of Elias
 Smith only son
 of Mr Samuel
 & Mrs Margaret Smith
 Died July y^e 25th
 AD 1749 aged
 17 years.

385

Here lyes interr'd
 ye body of Mrs
 Margaret Smith
 wife to Mr Samuel
 Smith Died August

y^e 20th AD 1750
 aged 53 years.

386

Memento mori
 Here lyes y^e body
 of Mrs Elizabeth
 Smith wife to Mr
 Timothy Smith
 who departed this
 Life August y^e 27th
 1750 aged 77 years.

387

Here lyes ye body
 of Mr Ebenezer Smith
 who departed this
 Life August ye 31st
 Anno Domni 1750
 in the 33rd year of
 his age.

387 a

Phebe dau^r to
 Ebenezer & Phebe
 Smith aged 1 year &
 5 mos Died March 2nd 1746.

388

Here lies buried
 the body of Mr
 Benjamin Smith Jr
 who died Sept^r y^e
 22nd 1749 in ye 36th
 year of his age.

³⁸² Dau. of William and Anna (Beard) Fowler; sister to 385; husband, son of Benjamin and Sarah (Haughton) Smith.

³⁸³ Dau. of 382.

³⁸⁴ His mother, 385; b^o. of 158.
³⁸⁵ Dau. of William and Anna (Beard) Fowler, see 17 8; husband, son of Benjamin and Mary (Baldwin) Smith.

³⁸⁶ Dau. of Edward and Rebecca (Smith) Wilkinson; Rebecca Smith was dau. of Henry Smith of Stamford.

³⁸⁷ Bro. of 388 and m. Phebe Canfield, Aug. 10, 1742.

^{387a} See 387.

³⁸⁸ Son of Timothy and Elizabeth (Wilkinson) Smith; m. Mehetable Botchford, dau. of Samuel, June 16, 1747.

389

Benjamin son of
Mr Ebenezer & Mrs
Phebe Smith who
died Sept ye 7th
1759 aged 8
months.

390

Here lyes ye body
of Cumfort Smith
daugh^{tr} of Mr Benjamin
& Mrs Mehetable Smith
Died Dec^r ye 13 1750
in ye 7th month of her age.
Sleep on my lovely babe
and take thy rest
For Jesus Christ has called you
[hence
because he thought it best.

391

Here lyes ye
body of Ephriam
son of Mr Ephriam
& Mrs Sarah Smith
who dec^d Sept
ye [Stone broken.]

392

Beard Smith son
to Mr John &
Mrs Mary Smith
aged 2 years

4 mo Dec^d March
ye 25th 1736.

393

Here lyes ye body of Ammiel Smith who died July 21 st 1750 aged 5 years 1 mo & 21 d ^s	of Here lyes ye body Beard Still Smith who died July 28 th 1750 aged 12 years & 16 days.
---	--

The children of Mr John
& Mrs Mary Smith.

394

Susanna Smith
dau to Mr Joseph
& Mrs Mary Smith

395

In memory of Mr
Nehemiah Smith
who departed this
Life May ye 23rd 1789 in
the 70th year of his age.
Let not the dead forgotten be
Lest you forget that you must die.

396

Here lyes ye body
of Mr Samuel Smith
Died 1749
year of his age.

397

This Monument is erected
to the memory of
Mr James Smith

³⁸⁹ See 387.

³⁹⁰ See 388.

³⁹² Mother was dau. of Jeremiah Beard, see 43 and 44.

³⁹³ 392.

³⁹⁴ Stone broken.

³⁹⁵ Son of Nehemiah and Elizabeth (Platt) Smith.

³⁹⁶ Probably husband of 385.

son of Mr Joel
& Mrs Mary Smith
who departed this Life Aug^t
31st AD 1796 aged 21 years.

Stop gentle reader
Drop a mournfull tear
Over a youth who was like you
But now lies buried here

Who in his blooming youth was cut down
And from his friends & parents now is gone.

398

MRS CLEMANT
SMITH
DIED SEPTE
MBER THE
20 1695
IN THE . 6
YEAR . .
HER . . .

399

Here lyes ye body of
Ezekiel Stone
son to Mr Ezekiel
& Mrs Hannah Stone
Died July y^e 17th 1728
in y^e 17th year
of his age.

400

In memory of Mr
Ezekiel Stone who
died Novemb^r ye 22nd
1744 in y^e 65th year
of his age.

401

John son of Mr
John & Mrs Susanna
Stone who dec^d
Augu^t 29 AD
1750 in y^e 5th
year of his age.

402

Sarah dau^t
of Mr S. Mansfield
& Mrs Sarah Stone
died October 18th
1773 aged 5 years
& 2 months.

Sleep lovely babe
& take thy rest
God called thee home
Because he saw it best.

403

Here lyes ye body of
Mrs Joanna Stone
wife to Mr John Stone

³⁹⁹ Mother was dau. of John and Mary (Welch) Merwin.

⁴⁰⁰ Son of John and Susanna (Newton) Stone.

⁴⁰¹ See 400.

⁴⁰² Mother was dau. of Samuel and Hannah (Jennings) Peck.

⁴⁰³ Dau. of James and Joanna (Prudden) Fenn; husband m. 2d, Jan. 14,
1742. Susan Mansfield of New Haven.

died May y^e 19th
1741 in y^e 25th year
of her age.

404

In memory of
Mrs Eleanor Stone
relict of
Mr Joseph Stone
who departed this Life
August 9th 1798
in the 73th year of her age.

405

Here lyes ye body of
Iohn Strong son to
Mr Ephriam & Mrs Mary
Strong died April y^e
14. 1734 in y^e 19 year
of his age.

406

Here lyes ye body of
Mr Daniel TERRELL
aged 67 years
Died June y^e 10th
1727.

407

Memento Mori
Here lyes interr^d
ye body of Mr
Thomas Tibballs
who departed
this Life Sept^{br}

ye 1st Anno Domⁱ
1750 aged 71
years.

408

Here lyes ye
body of Samuel
Tibballs only
son of Mr Samuel
& Mrs Ruth
Tibballs dec^d
Jan y^e 1st 1752
in ye 27th year
of his age.

409

Here lyes ye body of
Mrs . . . Tibbols wife to
Mr Samuel Tibbols
who departed this Life
March 25 1767 in ye
71st year of her age.

410

Here lyes ye body
of Eliakim son of
Mr Josiah & Mrs Mary
Tibballs died Sept^r
ye 4th 1750 in ye 16th
year of her age.

411

Here lyes the body
of Mary dau^{tr} of
Mr Josiah & Mrs Mary

⁴⁰⁴ By birth Eleanor Beach, dau. of Thomas and Hannah.

⁴⁰⁵ His mother was Mary Briscoe, dau. of Nathaniel, widow of Samuel Buckingham. E. S. her second husband.

⁴⁰⁶ Son of Roger, the settler; m. 1st, Mary, dau. of Thomas and Ruth (Clark) Fitch, of Norwalk; 2d, Abigail Bristol in 1712.

⁴⁰⁷ Son of Thomas and Abigail (Stream) Tibballs; m. 1st, Sarah, dau. of Nathaniel Briscoe, 2d Ann, dau. of Josiah Arnold.

⁴⁰⁸ Mother was Ruth Rogers, dau. of John.

⁴⁰⁹ Probably Ruth Rogers by birth.

Tibbals who died
Sept^r y^e 9th 1750 in
y^e 6th year of
her age.

412

In memory of Mrs
Mehetabel wife of
Mr Samuel Tibbals
who died 2nd March 1774
aged 22 years.

Behold & see as you pass by
As you are now so once was I
As I am now so you must be
Prepare for death & follow me
Here doth my body rest in dust
Till my Redeemer come
With him ile live & spend a long
Eternity at home.

413

In memory of
Mr Josiah Tibbals
who died the 2nd day
of February 1790
aged 81 years
also

Mrs Mary Tibbals
his wife who died the
28th day of November 1798
in the 86th year
of her age.

414

Sacred
to Mrs Polly Tibbals

the amiable consort
of Capt Samuel Tibbals
who departed this Life
March 17. 1790
aged 37 years & 8 mos.

Death thou' hast conquered me
I by thy dart am slain
But Christ will conquer you
And I shall rise again.

415

In memory of
Mr Lemuel Tibbals
who died the 11th day
of May 1816 aged 76 years.
Also Mrs Mary Tibbals his wife
who died the
6th day of October 1798
aged 50 years.

416

HERE LYETH INTERRED THE
BODY OF COL^L: ROBERT
TREAT ES^R WHO FAITHFULLY
SERUD THIS COLONY IN THE
POST OF GOVERNOVR AND
DEPUTY GOVERNOVR NEAR
Y^E SPACE OF THIRTY YEARS
AND ATT Y^E AGE OF FOVR
SCORE AND EIGHT YEARS
EXCHANGED THIS LIFE
FOR A BETTER JULY 12
ANNO DOM: 1710.

⁴¹² Dau. of Jesse and Anna (Peck) Lambert; husband was son of Arnold and Dorothy (Thompson) Tibbals.

⁴¹³ Husband, son of Josiah and Bethiah (Miles) Tibbals; wife, dau. of Samuel and Abigail (Baldwin) Terrill.

⁴¹⁴ His 2d wife; dau. of Benjamin and Ann (Platt) Bull.

⁴¹⁵ Son of 413; wife was dau. of Aaron and Mary Fenn.

⁴¹⁶ Son of Richard Treat; m. 1st, Jane, dau. of Edmond Tapp, 417; m. 2d, Elizabeth, widow of Richard Bryan

417

1703
HEERE
LIETH INTERRD
MRS JANE TREAT
AGED 75 YEARS
AND DIED THE
LAST

417 a

[Foot Stone.]
R S
M
JANE
TREATE.

418

HEER
LIETH THE BODY
OF MRS ELIZABETH
TREAT WHO
DIED FEBUWARY
THE 10: 170 .
AGED 68.

419

Here lyes buried
the body of
Capt Joseph Treat
who departed this Life
Augst 9th Anno Domⁿⁱ 1721 in
y^e 59th year of his age.

420

Here lyes buried
ye body of
Mr Robert Treat
who dec^d March 20th
Ann^o Domⁿⁱ 1720 in y^e
67 year of his age.

421

Mrs Franceas
Treat wife to
Mr Joseph Tret
Died Septemb^r
the 21 1703.
in the 36th year
of her age.

422

Here lyes the
body of Mrs
Jean Treat
who dec^d Nov^{br}
y^e 12th 1723
in y^e 22nd
year of her age.

423

Here lyes ye
body of Mr
John Treat
who dec^d Novemb^{br}

⁴¹⁷ By birth, Jane Tapp, dau. of Edmond and Ann; she died the last of April, 1703, say town records.

⁴¹⁸ Born dau. of Elder Michael Powell of Boston; m. 1st, Richard Hollingsworth, Aug. 23, 1659; 2d, Richard Bryan, the settler and merchant of 1639; 3d, Gov. Robert Treat.

⁴¹⁹ Son of Gov. Robert and Jane (Tapp) Treat; m. 1st, 421; 2d, Nov. 8, 1705, Elizabeth Merwin.

⁴²⁰ Son of Gov. Robert and Jane (Tapp) Treat; m. Abigail Camp, dau. of Nicholas, about 1687, 429.

⁴²¹ Dau. of Richard and Mary Bryan, settlers 1639, sister to 272.

⁴²² Dau. of 419 and 421.

⁴²³ Son of 419 and 421; bro. 422.



417



417a

the 20th 1723
in the 26th year
of his age.

424

In memory of
Robert Treat Esq^r
a Gentleman of learning
& integrity who acted his
part worthily in private
life & in various public
employments till he clo
sed the Scene Sept^r 16th
1770 in his 75th year.

Useful in Life at death Lamented
The small & the great are there.

425

In memory of
Mr Robert Treat
who died
August 10th 1807
aged 76.

Our friend is dead
a solemn sound
Although we hope
In Christ he's found.

426

In memory of
Mrs Mary Treat
wife of Mr Robert Treat
who died Aug 29 1799
Æ 66.

Attend poor mortals grieve no more
No more lament thy departed friend
Her soul is wafted to a happier shore
Where every sorrow every trouble end.

427

Here lyes buried
the body of Mr
Samuel Treat
who departed this
Life April 28th 1753 in
y^e 57th year of his age.

428

Here lyes buried
ye body of Mrs Anna
Treat wife to Mr
Samuel Treat who
departed this Life
Decem^{br} 12th 1731 in y^e
23rd year of her age.

429

Here lieth buried
the body of Mrs
Abigail Treat relict
of Mr Robert Treat
who departed this Life
March 20th AD
1742 aged 74 years.

430

This
stone was erected
in memory of

⁴²⁴ Son of Robert and Abigail (Camp) Treat; m. Jane, dau. of Bethuel and Hannah (Buckingham) Langstaff.

⁴²⁵ Son of Robert and Jane (Langstaff) Treat; m. 426.

⁴²⁶ Dau. of Thomas and Mary (Platt) Clark.

⁴²⁷ Son of Robert and Abigail (Camp) Treat.

⁴²⁸ Probably Ann, dau. of Samuel Clark.

⁴²⁹ Dau. of Nicholas Camp 2d, 125.

⁴³⁰ Son of Robert, 420 and Abigail, 429, Treat; m. 1st, Martha 431; 2d, 432.

Mr Jonathan Treat
who departed this Life
May 31st 1779.
aged 78 years.

Think mighty God on feeble man
How few his hours, how short his Span.

Short from the cradle to the grave
Who can secure his vital breath,
Against the cold demands of Death
With skill to fly or power to save.

431

In Memory of
Martha y^e wife of
Mr Jonathan Treat
who dec^d Jan^y 12th
AD 1752 in y^e 46th
year of her age.

432

In memory of
Ann wife of
Jonathan Treat who died
Dec^r AD. 1801
aged 82 years.

433

In memory of
Samuel Treat Esqr
whose piety was early and unaffected
His benevolence pure & universal
In Serving his generation constant & unwearied
As a civil officer. A Minister of God for good
Faithful and endearing in friendship
An example of conjugal & paternal affection
In prospect of a better state He suddenly
departed this Life, August the 17th 1787
in the 59th year of his age.

All, All, on earth is shadow, all beyond
Is substance, the reverse is folly's creed.
How solid all where change shall be no more.
" I hear the Voice ! ye dead arise
And lo the graves obey
And wakening Saints with joyful eyes
Salute the expected day."

434

Here lyes buried
ye body of Mrs
Hannah Treat
wife to Mr Joseph Treat

who departed
this Life May 25th
Anno Domini 1733 in y^e
32nd year of her age.

⁴³¹ Dau. of Thomas and Martha (Clark) Clark; b. Jan., 1706.

⁴³² Dau. of Samuel and Ruth (Rogers) Tibbals; b. April, 1719.

⁴³³ Son of Samuel and Anna Treat, 427 and 428; m. Francis Bryan, dau. of Richard and Sarah, 438, June 27, 1751.

⁴³⁴ Dau. of John and Sarah Buckingham; husband was son 419, by 1st wife.

435

In memory of
Deacon Joseph Treat
who departed this Life

July 27th AD 1791 in the
69 year of his age.

Blessed are the dead who die in the
[Lord.

436

In memory of
Mrs Mary Treat
wife of
Deacon Joseph Treat
who died July 2nd 1803
.Æ 78.

Hear what the voice from Heaven proclaim
For all the pious dead
Sweet is the memory of their name
And soft their sleeping bed.

437

Here lyeth buried the body
of Mr Jonathan Treat only
son & only child of Mr
Jonathan & Mrs Martha Treat
& great grandson of Gov Treat
who departed
this life Augst y^e 22nd AD.
1746 aged 18 years six
months & 6 days.

As I am now, so you must be
And so prepare to follow me.

439

In memory of
Tente daughter of
Robert & Content Treat
who died July 21st
1794 aged 2 years
& 8 months.

438

In
Memory of
Mrs Frances Treat
wife of
Samuel Treat Esq
who died June 13. 1806
.Æ 80.

Behold I lie as you pass by
As you are now so once was I

440

In memory of
Jule Treat daughter
of Mr Joseph & Mrs
Rebecca Treat who
departed this Life De
cember 14 1795 in the
8th year of her age.

Christ called at Midnight as I lay
In thirty hours was turned to clay.

⁴³⁵ Son of Joseph and Hannah (Buckingham) Treat; m. 436.

⁴³⁶ Dau. of John and Elizabeth (Canfield) Merwin.

⁴³⁷ Son of 430 and 431.

⁴³⁸ Second wife, dau. of Richard and Sarah (Treat) Bryan.

⁴⁴⁰ Mother was dau. of Joseph and Rebecca Downs.

441

In memory of
Mrs Jane Treat
Daughter of Capt

Joseph & Mrs Clement
Treat who died
August the 14th 1785
in the 46th year of her age.

442

In memory of Mrs
Susanna Treat
the amiable and virtuous
consort of Capt
Isaac Treat who
departed this Life
Feb^ry 1772 in the
36th year of her age.

Her flesh shall slumber in the ground
Till the last trumpets joyful sound
Then burst the band with sweet surprise
And in her Saviours image rise.

443

Sacred to the
memory of Miss
Susanna the only child of Capt
Isaac Treat who died
greatly lamented 19th
Nov^r 1777 aged 7 years.

Her morning sun which rose divinely bright
Is quickly covered with

444

In memory of
David Treat
son of Mr David &
Mrs Mehetable Treat
who died Feb^ry 3rd 1797
aged 2 years & 20 days.

Rest lovely babe thy toils are at an end
Returned to God, thy Saviour & thy friend.

⁴⁴¹ Mother, dau. of Gideon and Sarah (Hunt) Buckingham, see 73.

⁴⁴² Dau. of Thomas and Susanna (Woodruff) Clark.

⁴⁴³ Mother was Mehetable, dau. of Joseph and Hannah (Buckingham) Platt.

445

Here lyes ye body
of Mrs Macy Treat
wife to Mr Philo
Treat who deceas'⁴¹
July y^e 31st 1758 in y^e
27th year of her age.

Sleep on my dearest
and take thy rest
Thy maker has called thee home
Because he thought it best.

446

Here lyes ye body of
Mr Richard Treat son

to Capt Joseph & Mrs
Clement Treat who
died April 8th 1760
in y^e
25 year of his age.

447

Here lyes bried y^e
body of Gideon y^e
son of Capt Joseph
& Mrs Clement Treat
who died October
ye 10th 1746 in y^e 10th
year of his age.

449

This monument
sacred to the memory of
Mr John Treat
who in hopes of a glorious Immor-
tality departed this Life
Oct^{br} 19th AD 1794
in the 63rd year of his age.

Though Earth to Earth & dust to dust return
And silent sorrow sits to guard the urn
Yet moves the soul through Ether unconfin'd
Thrice happy state of the immortal mind
While angel guards lead on their shining way
To fairer mansions of unclouded day
In bliss to dwell till the last trump shall sound
Shall cleave the skies, and shake the solid ground
The Elect redeemed shall wing their aerial flight
To reign forever in the realms of light.

450

This monument
erected in reme-
mbrance of
Ephriam Uffott
who departed this

Life Sept^r 4th A Domoni
1774 .Etat 66.

Death great propriator of all
tis thine to tread out Empire
and to quench the skies.

Young.

⁴⁴⁵ By birth, Mercy Hull of Bridgeport; m. June, 1655; her husband was son of 424. ⁴⁴⁶ Bro. to 441 and 447.

⁴⁴⁹ Son of Samuel and Buelah (Jennings) Treat; m. Ann, dau. of Richard and Sarah (Treat) Bryan, see 438.

451

In memory of
Mr Nathaniel Wallace
of Litchfield who died in this town
on his return home
from Virginia October 10th 1785
in the 33rd year of his age.

452

Ruth
Wheeler died
September
the 27 in
the 42nd
YEAR OF
HER AGE
1705.

453

MR WILLIAM
WHEELER DIED
NOVEMBER
THE . .
in THE 4
YEAR OF HIS
AGE.

454

THOMAS WH
EELER

DIED . A . RI
THE

455

REBECAH
WHEELER
DIED MARCH
THE

456

In memory of
Dr Elisha Whiting AM
who departed this Life
March the 11th 1766
aged 37 years.

457

In memory of Dr
Samuel Whittlesey
A.M. a young gentle
man endowed with good
Natural abilities & furn
ished by education for
public service but (such
was the pleasure of righte
ous Heaven) he departed
this Life in the 31st year
of his age Feb 9 1776.

458

Memoriæ sacrum
Reverendi Samuelis Whittlesey V D M
Collegii Yalensis et Harvardini Honoribus exornati

⁴⁵² b. Ruth Smith; m. Wm. Wheeler, April 10, 1682.

⁴⁵³ Town records say Wm. Wheeler died Nov. 12, 1705.

⁴⁵⁴ Probably son of Thomas and Joanna Wheeler, b. July, 1650.

⁴⁵⁵ Dau. of ⁴⁵² and ⁴⁵³.

⁴⁵⁶ Son of Joseph and Hannah (Trowbridge) Whiting; m. Esther, dau. of John and Mary (Camp) Herpin, 219.

⁴⁵⁷ m. Mary, dau. of Dr. Hubbard, of New Haven, Ct.; she m. 2d, Rev. — Lewis, of Rocky Hill, Ct.

⁴⁵⁸ Son of Rev. Samuel and Sarah (Chauncy) Whittlesey, of Y. C. 1729; m. Sept. 21, 1743, Susanna Newton, dau. of 284 and 285.

cujus Virtutes, Pietas et Res gestae proprio
 Splendor ubiq enttescunt cujus labor perennis
 fidusq; de facris per annos triginta et supra
 inter incolas Milfordiensis Honorem jure vindicat
 Denique ab omnibus terrenis Amicis officiis
 ac Honoribus Morte abreptus est
 anno Aetatis 56^{to} die Octobris 22^{do} et
 anno Domini MDCCLXVIII.

459

Here lyes the body
 of John Wilkinson
 aged 37 years
 Dec^d July the 10th
 1729.

460

Here lyes the body
 of Mrs Hannah Wilkinson
 wife to Mr John Wilkinson
 Died January 23rd
 1733/4 in the 37th year
 of her age.

461

MR THOMAS
 DIED
 FEBEWAR
 THE 20 IN
 THE 46 YE R
 OF HIS AGE
 IN 17 - - - -

462

Here lyes the
 body of Mr Thom^{as}
 Welch husband
 M^s Sarah Welch
 who dec^d this Life
 September the first
 Anno Domni
 1748 in the 58th
 year of his age.

463

Here lyes buried the
 body of Mrs Sarah Welch
 wife to Mr Thomas Welch
 aged near 36 years
 Departed this life
 October y^e 27th 1740.

464

John son of Mr
 Thomas & Mrs
 Mary Welch to the Smallpox
 a victim June 6
 1774 in his 20th
 year.

465

In memory of
 Mr Fitch Welch

⁴⁵⁹ Son of Edward and Rebecca (Smith) Wilkinson; m. Hannah, dau. of Bethuel Langstaff, Jan., 1717, see 460.

⁴⁶⁰ Dau. of Bethuel and Hannah (Buckingham) Langstaff.

⁴⁶¹ Son of Thomas Welch, the settler, and he died 1704; m. Elizabeth.

⁴⁶² Son of 461, and husband 463.

⁴⁶³ Dau. of Zachariah and Sarah (Fitch) Whitman.

⁴⁶⁵ Son of 462 and 463; m. Martha, dau. of Thomas Clark.

who departed this Life
 Octo^r 12th 1787
 aged 52 years.

In vain we mourn & drop these friendly tears
 Death & the grave have neither Eyes nor Ears.

466

Here lyes buried
 ye body of Capt
 John Woodruff
 who dec^d July 23
 Anno Domni 1726 in ye
 53rd year of his age.

467

In memory of
 Joseph Woodruff Esq

who departed this Life
 Janu^{ry} y^e 20th 1766 in y^e
 61st year of his age.

468

In memory of
 Mr Nehemiah Woodruff
 who departed this Life
 May y^e 8th 1769 in y^e
 33 year of his age.

469

Sacred
 to the memory of
 Capt Enoch Woodruff
 who departed this Life
 March 5 1786 æt 44.

A Gentleman of abilities in the office he sustained
 A Capt of the troop of horse of New Haven
 Distinguished for his many amiable qualifications
 In his public devotions he was attentive & devout
 He was cheerful, kind, affable and obliging

In his charity liberal

Feeling the misfortunes of others
 Making a proper distinction between the true
 objects of compassion and the undeserving
 In his business & employment in Life

He was diligent

Honest in his dealings

Punctual in the performance of his engagements
 And faithful in his promises.

Who feels a wound the dying friend imparts
 When the last pang divides two fond hearts.

⁴⁶⁶ Son of Matthew and Mary (Plumb) Woodruff, m. Mary, dau. of Joseph Platt, Dec. 22, 1698.

⁴⁶⁷ Son of 466; m. Phebe, dau. of Samuel Newton, Jan. 22, 1729, see 276 and 277.

⁴⁶⁸ Son of 467, probably never married.

⁴⁶⁹ Son of John and Sarah (Baldwin) Woodruff; m. Mary, dau. of Joseph and Mary Treat, see 435; his widow m. Capt. Enoch Newton, of Woodbridge.

470

In memory of two amiable chil-
dren of Mr. Matthew & Mrs. Esther
Woodruff
Benjamin Woodruff who died Novem-
ber 14 AD 1793 in the 11th year of his age
also David Woodruff who died Novem-
ber 15 AD 1793 aged 3 years 11 months
& 25 days.

Swept with an hasty torrent hence
Like a vain dream we pass
Spring up & grow & wither soon
As does the short lived grass.

471

In Memory of
Mr. David Botsford
who departed this Life
January 20, 1796.
in the 83rd Year
of his age.

474

Here lyes Buried
the Body of
M^r NATHAN BRISCOE
who departed this Life
May the 22nd 1769 in y^r
52nd Year of his Age

472

Here Lyes Buried
the body of M^r
SAMUEL BRISCOE
who departed this Life
April 12 1756 in y^r 79th
Year of his age

475

Here lyes the Body of
Martha Burwell Daugh^{tr}
of M^r Samuel Burwell &
M^{rs} Abigail his wife
who died Noum^{br} y^r 13th
AD 1750 in y^r 20th
Year of her age

473

In Memory of Mrs
ABIGAIL BRISCOE
wife of Mr
SAMUEL BRISCOE
who departed
this Life Augst 19th
1773 in her 86th Year

476

In Memory of
DAVID BURN son
of M^r DAVID & M^{rs}
ABIGAIL BURN who
Died July 27th 1793
in the 11th year
of his age

⁴⁷⁰ Mother was dau. of Benjamin and Esther (Baldwin) Bull.

⁴⁷¹ Son of Samuel B.

⁴⁷² Son of Nathaniel & Mary (Camp) Briscoe m. 1st Ruth Smith dau. of Ephriam in 1707.

⁴⁷³ Dau. of Josiah & Sarah (Canfield) Platt m. 472, July 3, 1712.

⁴⁷⁴ Son of 472 and 473.

⁴⁷⁵ Mother was Abigail Goodyear of West Haven.

⁴⁷⁶ Son of 97.

477

In Memory of
M^r JONATHAN LAW
who departed this
Life September 24th
1790 in the 85 Year
of his age

Sweet is the memory of the life
While dying Nature sleeps in Dust

478

MR ZECHARIAH
SANFORD

DIED DESEMBER
THE
27 YEAR
OF HIS AGE

479

Here lyes Buried
the body of
Cap^t JOHN WOODRUFF
who departed this Life
Febr^y the 3rd 1768 in y^e
65th Year of his Age

Add to 283

As a son and a brother, He was
dutiful & affectionate
As a friend and Companion peculiarly
endearing and agreeable
But neither his own amiable qualities
Nor the ardent affection, nor the raised
Expectations of his friends
Could secure him from a submission
(in early Life) to the stroke of
All conquering Death
Swept with a hasty torrent hence
Like a vain dream we pass
Spring up and grow and wither soon
As doth the short lived grass
Alas its gone and quickly too
When blasting winds go o're
And then the place on which it grew
Shall never know it more

⁴⁷⁷ Son of Gov^r Law by 2nd wife Abigail Arnold—Married Eunice dau. Samuel Andrew in 1738.

⁴⁷⁸ Son of Ephriam & Mary (Powell) Sanford Born 1683 Died 1710 says Town record.

⁴⁷⁹ Son of 466. m. 1st Hannah Andrew dau. Rev^d Samuel; m. 2nd Sarah Baldwin dau. Thomas.

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS TO NOTES.

- 1 Son of Gideon and Sarah (Prudden) Allen.
- 13 Son of Rev^d Jonathan and Abigail (Beard) Arnold and married Abigail Beard dau. Joseph.
- 19 Sister to 41, 42 and 44.
- 26 Mrs. Amey Baldwin dau^r of Thomas Oviatt b. Feb. 10, 1667.
- 28 Mary Camp read Mercy Camp.
- 46 Cross out Hollingsworth in note.
- 52 Son of Paul and Elizabeth Brinsmade of Stratford.
- 58 Dau^r of Samuel and Ruth (Rogers) Tibbals. Born 1720.
- 61 Son of Richard and Mary (Wilmot) Bryan.
- 68 Son of 62.
- 69 Son of Thomas Buckingham the settler.
- 70 Cross out Alice Newton. She bore him no children, his wife was Sarah Beard dau^r Cap^t John.
- 78 Son of 73.
- 85 2nd wife of Lt. Samuel Burwell widow of John Stone and dau^r of Rev^d Roger Newton.
- 97 Read Burn dau^r of John and Hannah (Basset) Jones.
- 98 For Gilbert read Gibbert, born Oct. 1641 in New Haven.
- 100 Dau^r Gamaliel Phippen of Boston, b. Feb. 12, 1657, once wife of Job Prince and 2d wife of 108.
- 101 Dau^r Gamaliel Phippen of Boston, once wife of Thomas Ford.
- 118 For Gilbert read Gibbert.
- 122 Dau^r Samuel and Sarah Prudden.
- 125 Cross out the Thompson marriage. Belongs to his father.
- 126 Dau^r Eleazer and Hannah Rogers.
- 132 Cross out Kattern Thompson.
- 135 Cross out entire foot note.
- 143 Son of John and Mary Camp, mar^d Mehetable Peck, dau^r John.
- 153 Dau^r of Nathan and Eunice Baldwin.
- 155 Dau^r of Abraham and Catherine (Rutgers) Van Horn.
- 164 Dau^r of Dau^r of Job and Rebecca (Phippen) Prince, see 100.
- 165 Cross out Sarah.
- 170 For Mother see 171, son of James and Joanna (Prudden) Fenn.
- 168 Dau^r of John and Sarah (Vallen) Andrews.
- 173 Dau^r of Samuel and Phebe (Platt) Miles.
- 174 Mother was dau^r of John and Anna Durand.
- 179 Cross out Sarah Fenn, insert Susanna (Newton), see 85.
- 201 Son of John and Elizabeth Gaud or Boston, born Mch. 13 1693.
- 223 Married Dec. 16, 1753.
- 228 Dau^r of Cap^t Samuel and Martha (Fenn) Newton, bap^t Sept. 1686, sister of 284.
- 240 Mother of 332.
- 251 Son of Stephen and Mary (of Stratford).
- 252 Dau^r of Jonas and Ann (Smith) Green.

- 267 Oldest son of Miles the settler.
 270 Son of 269.
 271 Dau^r of Samuel and Ruth Tibbals, see 409.
 273 Son of 279.
 276 Son of Samuel and Martha (Fenn) Newton and bro. to 274 and 284.
 288 Son of Rev^d Roger and Mary (Hooker) Newton, born Dec. 1659.
 298 Son of Thaddeus and Hannah Nettleton.
 301 Born? Roberts of Durham.
 308 Read see No. 52.
 315 Son of Joseph and Alice Peck, settlers, mar^d Jan. 1680, Mary Camp dau^r Nicholas 2nd.
 318 Dau^r of Samuel and Martha (Whiting) Bryan, sister to 285.
 324 Son of *Richard* and Esther Platt.
 327 Died 1728. Dau^r of Benjamin Bunnel of West Haven, b. Dec. 16, 1683.
 331 Read May 27, 1742.
 334 Dau^r of Zachariah and Mary (Hobby) Hubbart of Boston and granddau^r of Sir Charles Hobby.
 340 Son of Job and Rebecca (Phippen) Prince of Boston, see 100.
 344 For brother read son.
 357 Dau^r of Thomas and Deborah (Buckingham) Clark.
 374 Read Hannah for Esther.
 381 Son Benjamin and Sarah (Baldwin) Smith.
 391 Mother was Sarah dau^r Ezekiel and Abigail (Briscoe) Newton.
 398 Dau^r of Thomas Hosmer of Hartford, widow of Jonathan Hunt.
 401 Read see 403.
 402 Read Mother was dau^r of Ephriam Smith.
 404 Read Hannah (Atwater) Beach.
 436 Dau^r of John and Hannah (Platt) Merwin.
 450 Son of John and Abigail.



P. Maret

PHILIP MARETT.

BY SIMEON E. BALDWIN.

[Read September 22d, 1890.]

The great gifts of Philip Marett and his family to the charities of New Haven have made his name a familiar one, since his death. But coming here, as he did, in advanced years, and with no connection with the active business of the place, there were few of our citizens who were familiarly acquainted with him, and many to whom his very presence among us was unknown. It was my good fortune to be admitted to his friendship, when I was a young man, and he an old one, but from our first meeting, his distinguished manner and gentle courtesy made a deep impression upon me, as they did, I believe, upon all who were thrown in his society.

The Marett family, originally of France, and probably of Normandy, was settled in Jersey, the largest of the "Channel islands," as early as the thirteenth century. It has three branches, known as those of St. Helier, La Haule, and Avrauche, in one of which the manor of La Haule, St. Aubin's, has descended for nearly three hundred years. The name was spelt *Maret* until the latter part of the seventeenth century.

Peter Maret, born in 1641, the second "Seigneur of La Haule," had eight children, of whom the third, Philip Marett, born in 1701, emigrated to New England, when a young man, and was married in Boston, August 12, 1736, by Rev. Dr. Sewall, the pastor of the Old South church, to Mary Hichborn. The Hichborns were a well known Boston family. Two of them were on the Committee of Correspondence raised by the town in 1776 to consult as to the movement for independence. A silver cream pitcher of graceful shape, marked with the initials of Mary Hichborn, is still preserved, which was made by Apollon de Rivoire, after he had changed his name to Paul Revere. He was a native of Guernsey, another of the Channel Islands, and Philip Marett and he came to Boston at about the same time.

The former was a sea captain, and on April 21, 1759, "being bound to sea," made his will, disposing, among other things, of his house "at the westerly part of Boston," and of certain "real estate in Jersey." It is probable that in the fall of 1760

he died abroad, and in his native island, for a bill for some of the expenses of his funeral, has been kept among the papers of the family, which seems to have been rendered by a Jersey house. It indicates that the funeral took place from a church, and is sufficiently illustrative of the manners of the time to deserve a place here. It reads thus :

“Dr. Mr. Philip Marett, for Funeral of his Father. Furnished per Ch. Robin.

1766.

Dec ^{bor} 1 st .	To 6½ y ^{ds} black Tamy @ 28/	£ 9. 2
	To ½ y ^d D ⁿ . @ 36/	
	1 y ^d dyed Linnen @ 22/	2.
	To 4½ Binding @ 2/. 2 y ^{ds} @ 4/. 1 Lace 5/, Silk & thread 5/	1. 7
	To 2 Muslin @ 4	8.
	To 4 Black Cloth @ 10 for the pulpit	40.
	To 9 Black wool ⁿ Scarfs @ 8	72.
	To 9 Crape Hat bands. 13½ ells @ 32/	21.23
	To 27 prs. white wool ⁿ Gloves @ 20/ for Bearers. &c.	27.
	To 4 prs Women's Do. @ 25/, 5 prs. black @ 27/	11.15
	To 3 prs. Do. Kid Do. @ 30/	4.10
	To 1 pr. Men's black wool ⁿ Do. @ 23/. 1 pr. Buckles @ 20/	2. 3
	To 1 Black cloak	3.

French Cur^{ey} £202. 9

Recu le montant aydessus
Mag. D'auvergne.”

The French pound, or livre, originally and down to about the year A. D. 1100, representing a pound of pure silver, had been gradually lowered in weight and value, until at this period it represented but about a seventy-eighth part of a pound, or say 18 cents of our money. This mercer's bill, therefore, came to about \$37.50 in our American currency.

The will of Philip Marett was proved in Boston, Oct. 29, 1762. His wife and an only son, Philip Marett, survived him ; the latter having been born March 31st, 1737.

From some of the letters that passed soon afterwards between young Philip and his Jersey relatives, as well as from the bill of Mr. Robin, I infer that he accompanied his father on his last voyage, and revisited with him the old seat of the family.

In 1766, Miss Esther Marett, the youngest daughter of Edward Marett, then the “seigneur of La Haule,” writes her American cousin a lively account of a trip she had made to the main land, since she had seen him last.

“In July, 1763, I went to St. Malo in France (with some gentlemen and lady^s), and from thence to Rennes, the chief Town of the Province of Bretagne : it is a very agreeable place, where

there's fine buildings. They had a concert every week. Being invited, I went. Everything there was neat and decent, and great variety of musicians, and the lady's well dres'd, some of 'em painted.

In October 1764, I went to Guernsey with young M^{de} Le Cras, that had business there. We stay'd about two months. The town gentry had a concert and an assembly. I went to both, being desired to go. The commerce is not so flourishing in G. as it was some time ago, but great many of 'em have large fortune to live upon."

Philip Marett, second, like his father, followed the sea, and before many years revisited Europe as the captain of a merchantman, trading with Spain. After the Revolution, he planned a voyage to Jersey, with a cargo of New England goods, but the commercial policy of England towards her old colonies proved too unfavorable. In reply to a letter written in 1786 to his cousin Esther, she urges him warmly to come in person, if he cannot bring his vessel.

"You give up all thoughts of seeing us, as the English have lay'd such heavy duty on all American produce, but they have not yet lay'd tax upon your Dear Body, & you can transport it where you please."

The last letter from this faithful correspondent is written in 1792, during the disturbances attending the French Revolution.

"We smart in Jersey for the misfortunes of the time. God send us Peace. We lose a great deal by the unjust proceedings of our debtors, but they triumph over us, being countenanced to pay us not in wheat, as it is stipulated. Wheat is sold three £ or 3 £, 10, the cabotel, and we receive 41s., forty-three or four of our rentes, french money. Dear Sir, I cannot make a detail of our Jersey affairs, they are so numerous & it is such a confusion. It is a bottomless pit; very much like our neighbours: one thing quite different. The nobility of France is cast off, & in this Island some new gentry rise every day, and the Lawyers and Ring-leaders reap a good harvest. It is an advantage to fish in troubled waters."

Capt. Philip Marett married, in 1781, Elizabeth Cunningham of Boston, daughter of James and Elizabeth (Boylston) Cunningham. Their residence was at what was then No. 88 Newbury street, where he died July 31, 1799. The inventory of his estate amounted to about \$4,000.* Paul Revere, the second, of Revolu-

* Probate Records, Suffolk Co., Book 97, p. 467. One of the articles of parlor furniture was a clock, appraised at \$40, which is not improbably that now in the collections of this society, presented by the executors of Mrs. Ellen M. Gifford.

tionary memory, was one of the appraisers, and several pieces of silver of his workmanship descended in the family. Capt. Marett was a parishioner of Rev. Dr. Webb, pastor of the Hollis Street church.

He left a widow with two little children, a girl of ten, and boy of six. This lad, the Philip Marett who finally became a citizen of New Haven, was born Sept. 25th, 1792, and early distinguished himself at the public schools of Boston.

Among the noteworthy bequests of Dr. Franklin was the following :

“I was born in Boston, New England, and owe my first instructions in literature to the free grammar schools established there ; I therefore give one hundred pounds sterling to my executors, to be by them, the survivors or survivor of them, paid over to the managers or directors of the free schools in my native town of Boston, to be by them, or those person or persons who shall have the superintendence and management of the said schools, put out to interest, and so continued at interest forever, which interest annually shall be laid out in silver medals, and given as honorary rewards annually by the directors of the said free schools for the encouragement of scholarship in the said schools, belonging to the said town, in such manner as at the discretion of the selectmen of the said town shall seem meet.”*

One of these medals Philip Marett won at the age of 12. It bears the following inscriptions :

Adjudged by the School Committee as a Reward of Merit to Philip Marett 1804	(Reverse.) The gift of Franklin
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It was his mother's expectation at first, to fit him for Harvard College, with the view of his making the law his profession ; but circumstances prevented this, and he left school to enter into active business at an early age. When seventeen, he re-opened correspondence with his cousins in Jersey, announcing his sister's marriage, and inquiring in regard to the early history of the Marett family. A reply was received from Philip Marett, the fourth seigneur of La Haule, saying that by the deeds in his possession he could assure him that they were “sprung from an

* 1 Franklin's Works, ed. 1834, p. 193.

honest and very ancient parentage," which could be traced back for over two hundred years. A copy of the Marett coat of arms was also sent in this letter. This Philip Marett died in 1824, at the age of 82, leaving a son, Philip Marett, to inherit the manor, between whom and his American cousin of the same name friendly letters were occasionally exchanged for many years.*

During the war of 1812 with Great Britain, a few weeks after the great naval duel between the *Constitution* and the *Guerrière*, the former, bringing the prisoners she had made, came into Boston harbor, where two other of our men of war were also lying. Mr. Marett, then nineteen years old, paid the fleet a visit, with a party of ladies. He wrote so spirited an account of the incident, in a letter to a friend, that I quote it in full.

" BOSTON, Tuesday, Sept. 8th, 1812.

* * * Last Tuesday in company of friends I went to sail in a packet to view our fleet in this harbor.—On arriving below where the frigates *Pres't.* and *U. States* were riding at anchor, I being acquainted with one of the officers of the *U. States* went on board and procured an invitation for the ladies to visit that ship, and the barge was expedited for our whole party. I went throughout the vessel and was much distressed on going into the place appropriated for the lodgings of the crew, called the berth deck: there were 150 poor wretches in their hammocks laid up with the scurvy (a rotteness of the bones). They were so near each other that we had to move them in order to pass, and the effect was so unpleasant to the olfactory nerves, I was glad to beat a retreat.

After we had been on board some time the commander who had been absent returned, and invited us to his apartments. We put the ladies into his elegant little stateroom, and the gent^l. sat with him in the cabin. This frigate is commanded by the renowned Decatur, who signalized himself in the Tripolitan war. He is about 30 years of age, tall and slim, piercing black eyes and a very commanding countenance—he conversed with us two hours, and is as elegant in his manners and deportment as he is brave in action. He is a decided federalist, and a Philadelphian, married to one of the first women in the United States.

I was pleased with the magnanimity he displayed in speaking of Cap. Daeres, commander of the frigate *Guerrière*, destroyed by the *Constitution*. Commodore Decatur said he considered Daeres a first rate officer, a man of great skill, and indisputable personal courage. "I think" continued he "the result of the engagement can be attributed not to any want of ability or prowess in the British officer, but rather to the contempt in

* The late Sir Robert Pipon Marett of La Haule manor (who died in 1884), married the daughter of the last Philip Marett of La Haule, who died in 1866, two years before his New Haven cousin.

which he held his enemy : as he had been used to fighting Frenchmen, and had no experience of Americans, he conceived we were like them."

We sailed at 11 and returned at 6 o'clock, highly gratified. Commodore Decatur is a man whose modest manners engage interest, and when to those were joined the consideration of his tried firmness and courage he excites our liveliest admiration.

I was singularly struck with the appearance yesterday of Capt. Daeres and Capt. Hull:—those persons who a few days since in the heat of battle were endeavoring to take away the lives of each other, and would have exulted at success in their attempt, are now seen walking arm in arm as brothers ; it reminded me of a most elegant description of the battle of Talavera, by an English bard, when in the heat of fight the French and Spaniards together met in a stream as friends, but after bathing rushed again to arms and fought more warmly for the suspension.

Capt. Daeres is about 24 years old, small and not elegantly made; looks something like James Savage, Esquire. He is a very pleasant amusing man, full of life and anecdote, is possessed of immense wealth, married to an elegant woman in England, and fights for amusement and glory. He says this will be the last time he visits Boston in this war, unless to batter it down, and means to enjoy himself now he is here. He is treated with great distinction and though he is very haughty, as a man attaining so high a rank in the British navy naturally would be, is a perfect gentleman.

The papers will give you a full account of the dinner on Saturday. The tickets were \$5 ; one was offered me but it was inconvenient for me to attend. Decatur and Capt. Lawrence only dined with them : Commodore Rogers was indisposed.

When the *Guerrière* was fighting the *Constitution*, Daeres ordered his men to play Yankee Doodle by way of derision, and told his men to take care of the molasses in order to give the Yankees some black strap, (a drink composed of rum and molasses peculiar to N. England). He told his crew he would give them 20 minutes to take Capt. Hull, but the poor fellow in 20 minutes was taken himself.

When Daeres was in Halifax, he said he did not wish to fall in with less than two American frigates; then he might get some honour, but with one he could not get glory. Here he prophesied correctly. Admiral Sawyer told him: "Capt. Daeres, though you are a young man you deserve well of your country, you have fought well hitherto, but remember you are now to fight, not Frenchmen, but men of the same blood as yourself."

So much for all this, but I hope you'll pick some amusement out of it." * * *

Mr. Marett was of a thoughtful disposition, fond of reading books of substantial merit, and wrote with force and facility from an early age. He had a way, not uncommon among those born

in the eighteenth century, of putting his thoughts upon any subject that interested him deeply upon paper. One of his manuscripts of this kind, dated in July, 1813, when he was not quite twenty-one, begins thus :

“ When I hear a person express a wish to look into futurity, I am surprised at his want of reflection and consideration. Not only should such wishes be suppressed as a duty we owe to God to submit with alacrity to his arrangements, but because it is evidently for the happiness of man that the designs of his maker in respect to his personal condition should be inscrutable. In no instance is the wisdom of God more extensively and forcibly demonstrated than in keeping us in ignorance of the events which are to befall us. Were it not so, what stimulant should we have to enterprize and exertion ; what inducement should we possess to urge us to activity in improvement ?”

We do not need to be told that the young man whose reflections ran in this vein, had been a close reader of the *Spectator*, of *Johnson*, and of the stately moralists of the day.

Soon after coming of age he was married to a beautiful girl of seventeen, Martha (Bird) Knapp, daughter of Josiah and Mary (Fairservice) Knapp of Boston. Her miniature by Tisdale, taken in 1813, is similar in style to that of Mr. Marett by the same artist, taken probably the same year, which is in the collections of this Society. To those of us who recollect her in her old age, the charm and loveliness of expression which to the last animated her features, had the same sweetness and tender delicacy which, made her early beauty so captivating in this speaking portrait.

Mr. Knapp resided at the “ South End ” and owned a row of houses on Kneeland street, in one of which Mr. and Mrs. Marett passed their first years of married life. In another, lived Lemuel Shaw, who married the eldest daughter of Mr. Knapp, and was afterwards one of the great chief justices of Massachusetts.

Mr. Marett soon became extensively engaged in European commerce, and in 1818, was appointed the Vice-consul of Portugal for Massachusetts and New Hampshire, a position which he retained for twelve years, and which was soon made to cover also Maine and Rhode Island. Its duties put him often in charge of admiralty litigation, in which the rights of Portuguese subjects were involved, and the manner in which he conducted this business met with the warm approval of the government by which

he was accredited. The most interesting, perhaps, of these causes was that of the *Marianna Flora*.

In 1821, the U. S. schooner *Alligator*, Lieut. Stockton, commanding, was on a cruise against pirates and slave-traders, and sighted in mid-ocean a Portuguese merchantman, called the *Marianna Flora*. The *Alligator* steered towards her and was received by a cannon shot across the bows. The United States flag was then hoisted, but the *Marianna Flora* continued firing, under the apprehension, as it afterwards proved, that the *Alligator* was a pirate sailing under false colors. Lieut. Stockton, thinking that the Portuguese ship must be of the same character, returned a broadside, at which the *Marianna Flora* ran up her national flag, and surrendered. Her papers were submitted for inspection, and such apology as the case admitted of made, but Lieut. Stockton, believing that she had acted in a piratical way and insulted the authority of his government, put a prize-crew on board, and sent her to Boston. There she was libelled in admiralty, and Mr. Marett as Vice-consul for Portugal directed the management of the defence. The District Court held that the seizure was unjustifiable, and also sustained his claim in behalf of the owners for damages for breaking up the voyage, awarding them about \$20,000. This was, of course, a very serious matter for Lieut. Stockton, against whom this decree was made, and he was driven almost beside himself by anxiety. He appealed to the Circuit Court, and there upon new pleadings, the claim for damages was disallowed. Mr. Marett then appealed to the Supreme Court of the United States, where the owners of the *Marianna Flora* were represented by his brother-in-law, John Knapp of Boston, (a graduate of Harvard of the class of 1800, whose *Φ. B. K.* badge is among the collections of this Society) and Thomas Addis Emmet. Blake and Webster were the opposing counsel, and as the case was one of first impression, it was argued with great care, and after a full examination of the governing principles of international law. Judge Story pronounced the opinion of the court, and it is one of his ablest efforts. Stockton, he said, had been forced to act, on a sudden emergency, after an unprovoked attack on the flag of his country, for which but a poor excuse had been offered. No doubt the *Marianna Flora* was on a lawful voyage, and her owners were innocent of any wrong; but their agent, the master, had deliberately fired on an American ship of war. It was an indignity to

the nation, and Lieut. Stockton might well hesitate in assuming the arbitration of national wrongs. The case was one new to the courts, and of course new to him. It would be harsh now to hold him personally liable for heavy damages, because in exercising on the sea a discretion officially entrusted to him, he had come to a result different from that reached after three trials in successive courts. In view of all the evidence, it was right to release the ship, because her captain had only committed an error of judgment, but that error was no good reason for giving his owners indemnity from its natural consequences, at the expense of a gallant officer of our navy who had no other end in view than to protect the honor of his country. The decree for damages was therefore set aside, and the owners left to settle their accounts with their own captain.*

Mr. Marett's wide acquaintance with the course of foreign trade, coupled with sound judgment, gave his opinions great weight in Boston upon all questions of commercial intercourse, and he could express them with remarkable clearness and precision.

When the tariff bill of 1820 was pending in Congress, by which a considerable increase in protective duties was to be granted, and all manufactured goods were to be excluded from our ports unless coming direct from the country of their origin, Mr. Marett contributed, over the signature of "P." a vigorous attack upon the bill, to the *Boston Repertory*, a newspaper then conducted by Nathan Hale. I quote a few passages from it, to show his terse and telling style of composition.

"That it is desirable to merchants to be able to prosecute trade free from all unnecessary restrictions,—to be allowed to export whatever articles they choose, and in return to import such commodities as will be most beneficial, no one will deny; and that to enjoy such a privilege is not considered unreasonable, is shown by the efforts made on the part of our government to induce Great Britain to open her colonial ports to our commerce. But while the executive and legislative branches of government are legislating and negotiating to secure free trade and unrestricted commerce, they are called upon by the Committee of Manufactures to enact a statute which will produce greater embarrassment, and strike a more deadly blow at our commerce than could be effected by the navigation laws of all the nations of Europe together." * * *

*The Marianna Flora, 11 Wheaton's Reports, p. 1.

“It would be unjust to impeach the motives of the committee that reported this bill, but the inference is irresistible that they consider their duty to be, not to consider the claims of all classes, but to advocate and uphold those of the manufacturers,—leaving adverse interests to be protected by their appropriate guardians. In such a state of things it is a consolation to know that, although the interests of Boston may not be properly appreciated by him to whose charge they are confided, we yet have from this State many devoted to her service, and one at least who, though he may differ from us in political sentiments, has a knowledge of the interests of commerce, and who will not desert them.”

This bill passed the House, but was lost by one vote in the Senate. The opposition to it in Massachusetts culminated in a public meeting, at which Webster, then a member of Congress, made one of his first speeches on the tariff question.*

Mr. Marett was during this period of his life one of the firm of Plympton, Marett & Dorr. They conducted an extensive commercial business, and with large financial success.

He took an active interest in the political movements of the day, and was the confidential associate of such leaders as Alexander H. Everett, Abbot Lawrence and Nathan Hale, in the Tariff and Bank agitation attending the administration of President Jackson. Mr. Marett was one of the “National Republican” party, in opposition to the administration, and became an active and influential Whig, when that party rose into existence.

In 1835, he was elected President of the Common Council of the city, and held the office by re-election for several successive terms.

At the time of the great financial crisis of 1837, a convention of representatives of the principal Eastern Banks was called to consider the policy to be pursued, with reference to the suspension of specie payments.

Mr. Marett was then President of the New England Bank and took an active part in the meeting. His practical wisdom and decision of character produced a deep impression on those to whom he had been unknown before, and he was said to have been the leading spirit in determining the action of the Convention.

In 1838, he bought a lot on Summer street, near Washington, and put a handsome residence upon it, which he occupied during the rest of his life in Boston, and made the seat of a generous

* Tausig's Tariff History, 72, note.

hospitality. It was opposite the spot occupied by Trinity Church until the great fire of 1872, and stood next to that of Dr. Jacob Bigelow, who purchased and built at the same time with Mr. Marett, and in concert with him. A brief note from Dr. Bigelow, which was found among Mr. Marett's papers, indicates the relations in which they stood to each other, as well as the character of each.

“DEAR SIR :—As you are kind enough to insist on considering as a professional visit, what I had considered as merely a neighborly office, it is but fair that I should retain what may be considered a reasonable fee, and return you the balance.

Very sincerely yours,

JACOB BIGELOW.”

The enclosure, no doubt, represented the sum by which Dr. Bigelow insisted that Mr. Marett had overestimated his services.

Boston has always been famous for the number of its social organizations and public institutions of one kind and another. It has always also been famous for its dinner-parties, and it learned early that the two can be easily combined. The monthly meetings of the trustees of the Boston Library, of the wardens and vestry of King's Chapel, and of many similar bodies, took the shape of a friendly dinner or supper together at the house of one of their number. The dinner-hour fifty years ago, was still not later than half past three or four, and evening parties also broke up by the time when they now sometimes begin.

Mr. Marett was junior warden of King's Chapel, and a memorandum of one of their vestry meetings at his house, in January, 1841, has been preserved, which gives a vivid picture of their social supper-table. Both wardens and all the vestrymen were present, and also the rector of the church. The bill of fare comprised one pair of black ducks, one of tame ducks, one of blue-bills, one of widgeons, one of red-heads, half a dozen quails, a bushel of raw oysters, two dishes of mashed potato, one of macaroni, celery, currant and cranberry jellies, custards, *blanc mange*, preserved apples, calves-foot jelly, preserved peaches, two squash pies, two of apple, two of cocoanut, two of peach, fancy cake, cheese-cake, cheese, olives, and preserved prunes, and two three-pint pyramids of ice cream. Then “when the white cloth was removed,” came in on a “high glass dish” apples, oranges, pears, and grapes, flanked by dishes of walnuts and raisins. The table was also (it was before the days of Father Matthew) well fortified

with decanters of sherry and Madeira, a flagon of hock, and one of claret, and four bottles of champagne ; followed by coffee and cigars.

Mrs. Marett was a hostess whose charm of manner none who enjoyed her hospitalities could forget, and their only child, Miss Ellen Martha Marett, afterwards Mrs. Arthur N. Gifford, was a person of remarkable social attractions, coupled with high intellectual power. Her portrait by Alexander in the galleries of the Yale Art School represents her as she looked at the age of seventeen, but is more successful in depicting the beauty of her features, than in showing the animation of expression which gave them a peculiar interest to every observer. Under such auspices the spacious parlors of Mr. Marett's house on Summer street were a favorite center of social enjoyment, and we need not wonder that one of his old Boston friends,—an accomplished scholar and historian,—wrote him long after his removal to New Haven, "I have never found a substitute for your home, since you left here."

In the summer of 1840 he took his wife and daughter on an extended western tour, partly for the benefit of his own health, which had become somewhat impaired by the pressure of accumulating duties. His services were sought in various quarters, outside of his regular business engagements, and the many positions which he filled as chairman of a school committee, trustee of a library, warden of King's Chapel, and delegate to banking and political conventions, contributed to wear upon his strength.

Mr. Marett was a good friend. He had the art of conferring obligations, as if he were receiving them ; or rather it was with him, not art, but nature. His disposition was kindly, and his good offices were seldom sought in vain, by any who had the slightest reason to ask them.

In a grateful letter from the principal of the Winthrop School in Boston, on occasion of Mr. Marett's retiring from his official connection with the school-board in 1840, the writer says :

"Your steady and vigilant care of its interests, those who are acquainted with the early history of the school must always gratefully remember. The institution and all its teachers owe much to you. As for myself I can never forget my obligation to you for your uniformly friendly and considerate regard for my welfare and success as teacher. * * * When I most needed the sympathy and support of those who were observing my course, with the utmost good judgment and delicacy they were afforded me, and I

shall never cease to remember them. *Then I felt* my obligation to you: I endeavored in some measure to repay it, in silence, by renewed exertion on my part to be deserving of your approbation and confidence. Now I cannot but make this acknowledgment, poor as it may be, of your long continued friendship and kindness."

A couple of years later, one of his friends went to Louisiana to accept a Professorship in a College, and found on his arrival that the main College building had just been burned down, and that the students had scattered, and the means of the institution were sadly crippled. He wrote at once to Mr. Marett, describing his situation, and soon received a reply, suggesting another opening in the North. In the letter thanking him for this suggestion, the writer says: "If the opportunity you intimate should occur, it will not be among the least grateful circumstances, that I shall be indebted for it to one, to whom kindness is so natural, and whose manner of conferring such obligations renders them of double value."

One of those with whom he had been most intimate during his life in Boston wrote him in 1858, in acknowledgment of a kindly act of remembrance: "It is another of those acts of friendship and good will, which you have so long and so frequently shown me, and which although they cannot be repaid, will never be forgotten."

At the age of 53 Mr. Marett withdrew from active business, with a handsome fortune. He went abroad with his daughter in May, 1846. Railways at that time existed only over a few of the most traveled routes, and a large part of their trip was accomplished in the post-chaises, now almost forgotten. In England, however from the first, their railway trains, being composed of light cars, were run at rapid speed, and he notes having traveled from London to York in September, 1846, 87 miles, in two hours and a half, or at the rate of about 35 miles an hour.

At Paris, they spent a month. He read French easily, and added to his library, while there, by the purchase of a number of rare and interesting works, in that language, mainly of an historical character.

Soon after his return to this country, which was in October, 1846, he removed to Brooklyn, and after spending a few years there and in New York, or in travel in the South during the winter months, finally settled on New Haven as his place of resi-

dence. In 1852 he established himself in St. John's Place, fronting the Green, and here he spent the remainder of his life. The management of his rapidly increasing fortune occupied part of his time, and the rest was mainly spent in reading, and in the society of his wife and daughter, between whom and himself there always existed the tenderest and deepest affection. He was also bound by the strongest attachment to his sister Mrs. Baldwin of Boston. A letter which she wrote him when absent on a summer excursion a few years before her death, shows so fully their feelings to each other, that I venture to quote from it.

“To-day's mail brought us plenty of newspapers, but they did not convey any intelligence of those near and dear friends who wind more closely round my heart each succeeding year. First on the list is my beloved brother, the idol, almost, of my childhood, the companion of my youth, the friend and counselor of my mature age, and for whom I pray, as for my husband, that I may not survive. I hope it is not selfish. I did not ask it, in the case of my beloved mother.”

She had her wish, dying in 1862, the same year with her husband, and seven years before her brother. Chief-Justice Shaw, who after he had passed his eightieth year had made a pleasant visit to his kinsman's family at New Haven, died in 1861, and a list which Mr. Marett kept of his old friends who had passed away since he left Boston, tells a pathetic story of his watch of a narrowing circle, as it closed about him.

His life here was one of retirement, particularly after the marriage of his daughter to Mr. Arthur N. Gifford took her to New York in 1858. He had a small circle of warm friends in New Haven, and his house was always an attractive one to them ; but his later years were spent much at his study-table among his books. He had a well-chosen library of towards a thousand volumes furnished with the leading English and American poets, novelists, and historians, and a number of the best biographies.

He continued, also, to the last to maintain his interest in the events of the day, and in its current literature. Occasionally he sent an article to the local newspapers. When a real or fancied case of hydrophobia induced the city authorities to authorize the killing of all dogs found on the streets unmuzzled, he wrote in this way, quite an essay in their defence, urging the better example set by London where, he said, wandering dogs were taken in charge, and sold at auction, the proceeds going to a “Home

for Lost and Starving Dogs." It is not improbable that this was one of the causes which led his daughter, after his death, to endow the "Sheltering Home for Animals" in Boston, which bears her name, and also to leave by will a bequest for the foundation of a society in New Haven for the prevention of cruelty to animals.

Mr. Marett had a large correspondence of a friendly nature, and his letters were of the kind one likes to get; full of news, full of kindness, and full of the personality of the writer, himself. "I feel," wrote one of his old Boston friends to him from Paris in 1859, "that my letters are a very poor return for yours. You give me more information than all my other correspondents upon the topics that interest me the most."

Mr. Marett had all the depth of feeling and justness of observation which go to make up a poetic nature, and with these qualities he had a facility at rhyming, which might have made a less sensible man fancy himself in truth a poet. He often amused himself in writing in verse to his immediate family, when away from home, and the birthday gifts which passed between him and his daughter were often, down to his last years, accompanied by notes in rhyme, expressing on each side (for she also was almost a poet), the tenderest affection with that grace and simple force which plain prose seems often unable to compass.

He was of a thoughtful and meditative disposition, and religion was one of the chief subjects that engaged his attention, in advancing years. He was a Unitarian of the Channing school, deeply penetrated by a sense of the goodness of God; the reverent child of a loving Father. "Thus thinking of Him," he wrote to his daughter a few years before his death, "with a heart overflowing with lively gratitude for all His blessings to me, I do not dread an approach to his immediate presence, confident that He will not judge me by the inflexible principles of justice, but with an indulgent view of my weakness, my temptations, and my imperfections."

A private journal which he kept is full of reflections of a similar nature, and contains occasional entries of prayers, carefully elaborated in the style of a former generation, and breathing a spirit of trust and perfect faith in the Divine goodness and mercy.

In 1867, at the age of 74, he drew his own will, providing for the ultimate appropriation of about seven hundred thousand dol-

lars for various public and charitable objects, a life interest being reserved to his wife and daughter.

The estate was distributed in 1889, the New Haven Hospital receiving a fifth, the city for its aged and infirm poor, not paupers, a fifth, Yale College a fifth, each of our Orphan asylums a tenth, the city a tenth to buy books for the Young Men's Institute or any free public library that might from time to time exist here, and the State, a tenth, for the care or relief of imbecile or feeble-minded persons.

This provision for a free, public library in New Haven, was the first ever made by any one, and its existence was relied on as one of their strongest arguments by those whose efforts induced the city government to establish our present public library a few years ago.

His daughter, Mrs. Gifford, who died last fall,* left a fortune of

* Mrs. Gifford died September 7th, 1890. Her married life was passed in New York, and her later years at New Haven, with occasional winters spent in the south or abroad. Her health had become impaired before the family left Boston, and was never fully regained, severe neuralgic attacks often bringing her great suffering. For all who were in pain or sorrow, she felt deep sympathy, and was ready to express it both in deed and word. "*Haud ignara mali,*" she might well say, "*miseris succurrere disco.*" Among her larger gifts during her lifetime, for objects of this character, were endowments of four free beds in perpetuity in as many hospitals, and the erection and maintenance of a spacious home for lost and suffering animals in Boston. The Massachusetts Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, and the New York Society of a similar nature, both found in her a constant contributor, and occasional articles from her pen appeared in *Our Dumb Animals*, evincing her tender regard for the weakest of God's creatures. To feel that she was relieving suffering in others was her greatest enjoyment.

Rev. George E. Ellis, D.D., a friend of her childhood, who conducted the services at her funeral, at Mt. Auburn, spoke of her thus, to those assembled about the bier, in the little chapel of the cemetery :

"To some of us here gathered, there is a pathetic revival of burdened memories in the return of this mortal form, after a long removal, to its former associated scenes, to find a resting-place with kindred dust. We recall her in the years of a happy and sunny youth, an only child, tenderly nurtured in a privileged home of favored intimacies.

"The home of the fond parents have passed into the shadows. We have followed her in maturer and lengthened years, still keeping the heart of childhood with living affections, as those endeared by them, one by one, left her to solitude.

"These later years have for the most part found her withdrawn and secluded. The varied discipline of invalidism and bereavement was

over a million, which went also mainly in charity, the New Haven Hospital receiving of this in all over \$300,000.

chastening and depressing, but not uncheered. Her letters of confidence reveal her trials and her peace.

"She had a gentle spirit, with all tender feelings and keenly sensitive sympathies. She had tears for other's woes, and patience for her own. By submission, trust, and a waiting faith, there had been wrought in her that most deep and blessed of inward experiences, defined in the sacred Scriptures as 'Reconciliation to the Divine Will.'"

Under the provisions of her will, in addition to considerable legacies to relatives and friends, and other gifts to private individuals of a charitable nature, the following amounts have been bestowed on public institutions :

The Ellen M. Gifford Sheltering Home Corporation of Boston,	\$85,390.00
The General Hospital Society of Connecticut, or "Ellen M. Gifford's Home for Incurables," and connecting Chapel.	337,898.00
The New Haven Dispensary,.....	5,000.00
The American Humane Society,.....	50,000.00
The Massachusetts Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals.....	55,000.00
The Connecticut Prison Association.....	5,000.00
The New Haven Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals.....	5,000.00
The Massachusetts General Hospital Society.....	15,000.00
The Boston Port and Seamen's Aid Society.....	5,000.00
The Massachusetts Society for aiding Discharged Convicts.....	5,000.00
The New York Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children.....	5,000.00
The Society for the Relief of the Destitute Blind in the City of New York.....	5,000.00
The New York Colored Home and Hospital.....	5,000.00
The Washington Humane Society.....	5,000.00
The New Hampshire Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals.....	5,000.00
The Massachusetts Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children.....	5,000.00
The Perkins Institution for the Blind.....	15,000.00
The Children's Island Sanitarium, Boston.....	5,000.00
The West End Nursery, Boston.....	5,000.00
The Woman's Charity Club, Boston.....	30,000.00
The New England Hospital for Women and Children, Boston,	10,000.00
The Sunny Bank Home, Watertown.....	5,000.00
The Widow's Society, Boston.....	30,000.00
The Lying-in Hospital, Boston.....	5,300.00
The Associated Charities, Boston.....	5,300.00
The Adirondack Cottage Sanitarium, Saranac Lake, N. Y.,...	10,600.00
The Retreat for the Sick, Richmond, Va.....	30,000.00
The North End Diet Kitchen, Boston.....	2,600.00
The American Seamen's Friend Society, New York.....	10,000.00
The Home for Aged Colored Women, Boston.....	5,000.00
The Convalescents' Home, Boston.....	2,000.00
The Home for Children and Aged Women, Roxbury.....	1,000.00
The Retreat for the Sick, Petersburg, Va.....	5,000.00
The Massachusetts Eye and Ear Infirmary, Boston.....	5,000.00
The Home for Aged Couples, Boston.....	5,000.00
Total,.....	\$785,108.00

A clause in her (autographic) will shows so touchingly the closeness of the ties that bound father and daughter together that I give it in full.

“As my father (the late Philip Marett of New Haven, Conn’t) and I were one in heart and interest, and he bequeathed a large sum for the support of free beds in the hospital at New Haven, I desire after death that we may be, as it were, associated in one cause at last. He left one-fifth of his residuary estate to the General Hospital Society of Connecticut, in trust, the income to be applied to the support of Free Beds for the benefit of poor patients in that Institution, giving preference to the Incurably affected, if such were admissible.

“Feeling a great sympathy for Incurables and a desire his wishes shall be carried out, I therefore give to said Society Fifty Thousand (50,000) Dollars, a portion to be used as far as necessary, for the erection of a separate building on the Hospital grounds, corresponding in appearance to the buildings of late years erected, and with all necessary comforts for such Invalids.

“This building, to be known as ‘Ellen M. Gifford’s Home for *Incurables*,’ must be large enough to accommodate at least Thirty (30) patients, and any residue not thus used, to be kept as a separate fund, as ‘Ellen M. Gifford’s Fund,’ and said Society to apply the income of 30 or 40 Thousand Dollars of what it may receive under my Father’s will for the support of *poor*, indigent, *Incurables*, occupying the said ‘Home’ or elsewhere in the Hospital, if said Home is full—this not to interfere with the endowment from his Will of some Free Beds for the poor in the General Hospital, *not* *Incurables*. I further direct that the said ‘Ellen M. Gifford’s Home’ shall be opened to all poor and deserving *Incurable* patients without distinction of *race*, *religion*, or *color*; but to secure harmony in view of any possible prejudices, I direct that a separate ward or room be set apart for colored patients. If the funds should not be sufficient to establish what I desire, a further sum of Forty (40 Thousand) may be added for *general* fund for the *Incurables*.”

Mr. Marett died in New Haven, March 22d, 1869. His widow followed him in 1878, and his daughter in 1889.

The Marett name in America, in the line of descent from Philip Marett of Jersey, is extinct, but a monument more perennial than bronze will preserve their memory, as long as there are poor and sick to be relieved, as long as Colleges and libraries endure, as long as Christian charity is dear to human hearts.

RECOLLECTIONS
OF THE
APPEARANCE OF NEW HAVEN

AND OF ITS
BUSINESS ENTERPRISES AND MOVEMENTS IN REAL ESTATE
BETWEEN 1825 AND 1837.

BY COL. GARDNER MORSE.

[Read May 30th, 1887.]

My recollections of the changes and transactions in real estate, as of every thing else in New Haven, date back to the early autumn of the year 1825.

At that period there was little else than plain farm land and plain farm buildings to be seen outside the nine squares of the city bounded by George, York, Grove and State streets, except upon the territory lying east of State street as far as Olive and Academy streets, and that lying south and east of the north line of Wooster street, extending to the river and around the entire shore and harbor line, and embracing the settlements on both sides of Meadow street.

The section of the city lying east from Olive street was known and commonly spoken of only as the New Township. There were but few inhabitants upon it. I remember but two or three small dwellings on Chapel, and about the same number of like dimensions and quality on Greene street between Academy and East streets. There were a few small houses and buildings on East street near the foot of Chapel street, and a few on the west side of Franklin street, between Chapel and Greene streets. Franklin street and East street were the only open thoroughfares through the new township

land north and south from the harbor line to Grand street; and Greene street the only one open from Olive street to the Mill River.

There were no Wallace, Collis, Hamilton, Bradley, St. John, William, or Lyon streets in existence.

Grand street was hardly known by this name at that date, but only as the road to Barnesville and Dragon.

There was a respectable tavern house owned and kept by Eli Barnes on the north side of the street, at the point where the railroad crosses, but not half a dozen other houses of any kind to entitle it to a name as a village, and in all, there were not a dozen dwellings on Grand street between Olive street and the bridge at Fair Haven, then hardly known by other name than Dragon.

The road out from Grove street to Cedar Hill and North Haven was known only as Negro, or Neck Lane, or the Middletown Turnpike for many years; then, after many years more, it was changed to Hancock avenue, and then finally not many years ago to State street as far as the town line of Hamden.

Orange street was a mere lane previously known as "Mill Lane" from Grove street north to Abraham Bishop's farm house on Humphrey street, and beyond only a foot path for pedestrians to "Cold Spring." The Bishop farm covered a very large tract of the land lying east of Orange street, on both sides of Humphrey street. It extended north and east nearly or quite to the line of Neck Lane and Mill River. It was not remarkable for the crops it bore, and he made it historic only by giving me the free use of it entire as a camping and parade ground for the 2d Regiment in the year 1835.

Whitney avenue, the Hartford Turnpike, was open, and lined a long distance by Lombardy poplar trees, but by no buildings of any kind north of Grove street, except two or three dwellings near the corner of Trumbull street.

Temple street had not been opened at all, beyond Grove street.

The Hillhouse avenue was open, wide as at present, to the woodland on which the Hillhouse mansion was afterward built; the chief buildings of prominence on the avenue being

the residence of Prof. Silliman, at the corner of Trumbull street, and a large frame dwelling house in which a school for young ladies was kept by Mrs. Apthorp. This seminary building and the only two or three other frame tenements on the avenue were all removed, many years ago, to make room for the better class of new buildings occupying their sites, except the residence of President Porter which stands in greatly improved condition upon its original foundation.

Prospect street was only a rough lone thoroughfare to the town Powder House, that stood on the edge of the woods, near the site of Judge Morris' residence, and to Ball Spring, near the Hamden town line and to Mill Rock beyond. It acquired the title and name of Love Lane, and was commonly known by it for many years before the name of Prospect street was given it. It was of good highway width and had no buildings but the Powder House on its entire length, except the dwelling house and hat factory of Glover Mansfield which stood opposite the north line of the city cemetery.

Aslmmun street from Grove street, and Canal street, known now as Winchester avenue, were very indifferent town roads, leading out to the few farm houses and lands of Joseph Munson, Dr. Eli Ives, Capt. James Goodrich and others, and to large tracts of old fields, abandoned for cultivation, lying west of Winchester avenue, and extending to the Hamden Plains road, now known as Dixwell avenue or the Boulevard.

Only much the same can be said of all the land along the Hamden Plains highway, now Dixwell avenue, as far as Munson street and the Boulevard beyond, and scarcely more in the line of quality of all the territory stretching westerly to the Beaver Ponds, and southerly to Goffe street and the Poverty Square.

Broadway had at that time become a center and quite a mart of business, especially in trade with the inhabitants of the neighboring towns.

The tract of land known as Poverty Square was the gore embraced within the bounds of Broadway and Sperry street, Whalley avenue and Goffe street. It had a neighborhood of small houses of various shape and poor quality that entitled it to its name.

Whalley avenue above Broadway as far as Garden street was bounded north by the Poverty Square settlement and the like, and south by a large open tract of plain land, known as the College President's Cow Pasture.

Elm street, beyond Broadway, was only a roadway to the Town Farm and the Old Alms House buildings, that stood on the southerly side between the present crossings of Sherman and Winthrop avenues. It early acquired the appropriate name of Samaritan street, and was only known by it when only peopled by Hozea Rue, the colored auction bell ringer, and others of like grade in life and until a better class of buildings appeared, and a few maple trees were planted along its border, when the name of Maple street was given it.

The Derby Turnpike, now West Chapel street, had but few, if any more dwellings or other buildings on its entire length from York street than were to be seen on the Alms House and Hotchkisstown roads.

Neither Crown street nor George street was opened beyond York street until many years later; but then was an old "quarter" roadway leading from the corner of York and George streets, in a southwesterly direction to the junction of Howard avenue with Oak and Howe streets, and thence along the line of Oak street to West street, and beyond to the west meadows.

The quality and general appearance of nearly all the territory of the town lying south of George street, and outside of the tan-yards and creek and marsh, that are now covered by Commerce street, from Davenport avenue to West Water street, were scarcely more attractive and lively in character than the other outside surroundings I have referred to, and the nature and condition of the dwellings and out-buildings scattered over nearly all the outside territory of the city in the southwesterly, westerly, and northerly directions described, seemed to be in keeping with the unfertile state of the land they occupied.

But in the direction of the shore lines of the city, there were greater evidences of prosperity, and everything looked better and brighter than anywhere else outside of the original nine squares.

All the section lying south of the lower square of George street, and east of State street as far as Olive and Academy streets, and embracing Union, Cherry, Wooster, Fleet, Water and Meadow streets, contained as dense a settlement of inhabitants as was to be found within the central nine squares, and private dwellings of equal average quality and cost with those there situated, which were occupied, and in most cases owned by well-to-do and wealthy citizens in the various lines of shipping, mercantile, mechanical and other trades and business, so that this part of the city held apparently its due proportion of the wealth, refinement and fashion of the period. It had its places of resort for public entertainment, a Castle Garden by Gruenert on Meadow street, and Mix's Museum on Olive street, which were made the centres for curiosity shows, dancing parties, club meetings and caucuses.

Commerce had given this district its settlement, and at that time it had become the leading centre of trade and traffic in nearly all the heavier kinds of merchandise. At the head of the wharf, and down the line of it, and around the Custom House Square, and on the shore side of East Water street, were the establishments of the most active and enterprising workers and dealers, wholesale and retail, in nearly all the variety of goods and merchandise in demand for the vessel and country trade, beside lumber dealers, ship carpenters, boat builders, sail and pump makers and coopers, a stoneware pottery, a ship bread bakery, and a rum distillery.

Successful ventures in commerce in the foreign and coast-wise trade had given this salt-water front of the city a degree of life and growth that the back country, the college, and neighborhood enterprise were unable to confer in equal amount upon the surroundings of the up-town border lines; but inside these limits, and all over the city as well, there had been awakened at that time a general public interest in plans and movements to produce a change in the dull aspect of affairs; and in view of the size of the city at the time, and the misfortunes and means of the inhabitants, there has been no decade in its history more eventful in undertakings and work contributing to its growth in population, and increase in wealth, than the period of the ten or a dozen years embracing and succeeding the year 1825.

The project of connecting the water of the harbor with the Farmington River had been decided upon, the strife and discussion and division in regard to the line of the canal through the town, had been settled, and James Hillhouse held the spade in hand that was to make the first dip in this vicinity, in the ditch, through which a torrent of prosperity was to flow in from the interior towns.

Another notable movement of that period, of minor magnitude, but a private enterprise for the public good, was the union of a very large number of prominent and able citizens in a corporate association, a Tontine pool, a sort of life lottery from which the capital prizes were not to be drawn out till the investors were all or nearly all dead; the funds of the pool however to be immediately applied to the erection of a Tontine Coffee House on Church street opposite the public square.

There was at the time a good sized stage house at the corner of Church and Crown streets, and plenty of respectable taverns in the place for the convenience of the traders, teamsters, post-riders, and others that came in from a distance so great that they were compelled to lodge over night, with three or four beds in a room, and peradventure three in a bed: but there were none quite suited to the grade of guests that were expected as patrons of the new Coffee House.

The removal of the venerable structures that occupied the sites that had been selected for the Coffee House, at the corner of Court street, and for the Eagle Bank at the corner of Chapel street, and the commencement and progress of work upon the new buildings during the earlier months of this year 1825, had excited a general and common interest among the inhabitants, in the promised improvements upon the public square. These buildings however were the only ones, as I remember, of any pretension, that were in the course of construction at the date mentioned, and the view all around within the central squares of the city was apparently as quiet and undisturbed as in any meeting-house village in the back country, and the family residences on the New Haven streets appeared to stand about as remote from each other, and each with as ample an orchard or garden plantation in the rear, except on the streets especially assigned to trade. There was

but little business traffic, at the time, on any of the streets north of Chapel street.

It was in this year 1825, while the buildings named were in process of erection, with only the basement story of the Eagle Bank above ground, that the bank itself failed, suspending further work, as well as further payment of specie or much of anything else, to anybody ever after. The shock of a Charleston earthquake could hardly have startled and surprised the inhabitants more than this suspension of the Eagle Bank. I doubt if on the whole it could have caused them more financial loss and damage. It was a most depressing disaster of the time.

But the failure of the bank did not kill or seem to deaden very much, or delay the business life and enterprise that had begun to be developed. The layout of the canal through the city, proceeded by the removal of the buildings that stood in the way upon its line, the work of excavation, the bridging of the streets, and building of the locks, and basins, and wharfage conveniences that were essential to a completion of the great undertaking; and these works were undertaken and prosecuted to a successful finish, at least, during these years, without any permanent suspension, yet under many most discouraging embarrassments, reverses and serious losses in money to the city, the banks, the shareholders of its stock, and all others who made money investments in the great undertaking;—but all the losses in money by the construction of the canal were amply counterbalanced long ago by the wealth of men and muscle it brought with it into the city. The gain to the city in human life of a sort much needed for its growth and health compensated abundantly for its loss in money.

It took a long time to have the great work completed and ready for the introduction of the river water upon its bed, and when admitted finally it made such slow progress seaward that serious apprehensions were felt by many that we should never see enough of it in New Haven to start the grist mill that George Rowland had built, and had in waiting for a grind, at the lock in the rear of the Merchants' Hotel, between State and Union streets.

Mr. Rowland was a most active and enthusiastic man in the cause of the canal, and took a lead in arranging a suitable

recognition of the event of the arrival of the stream within the city. To hasten the event and help the water along in its slow progress through the sand plains of Hamden, he organized a shovel brigade of men and boys from the shops and stores of his neighborhood, to march under him to the outskirts and puddle the leaks in the sand bed of the canal with the heavier soil of the surface. I was enrolled and served under him in the campaign, and I am probably the last survivor of his grand army. I don't know whether the service of the troops was regarded as a success, but the water did flow along finally, and fill the trench and set the mill wheels in motion, amidst joyful demonstrations.

The completion of work in the construction of the canal and its opening to business gave new life also to the general trade of the town, and caused the removal of many buildings, that stood along its track through the city, to vacant lots outside, for alterations and occupancy as tenement houses and shops by mechanics and laborers that were drawn in by the increasing demands for artisans and workmen in almost every department of industry that had a following at the time.

And during these ten years, that I have referred to as the marked starting period in the new growth of the city, many new residents of ample means attracted by its advancing movements, in whole or in part no doubt, came in with their families, and their funds to settle and to stay—retired individuals, and those still in business life also, to take part and become identified with the local interests in the place.

The investments made in land and buildings and business affairs of one kind or other, during this decade by the money power of such men as Samuel St. John, Addin Lewis, Wm. E. Lee, Alexander Phoenix, Gerard Halleck, and others in like condition of means, from outside, uniting with the muscular power and force of the Cahills, Crowleys, Cogans, Healys, and Reillys from over the sea, had the beneficent effect to vitalize, and invigorate the town-born ground work of business life anew, and awaken fresh energy and zeal in private undertakings and public improvements as well. There existed a general and gradual, and apparently healthful revival in the business of the place, and large "expectations" were indulged

in by many in regard to the outside settlement and growth of the city.

Workmen in all the departments of industry, existing at the time, mechanics of all kinds, carpenters, masons, carriage-makers, and the workers in the various trades and employments in connection therewith, had plenty of profitable work in hand, and in general a ready market for their productions.

This was in these early years a marked increase and expansion in the carriage manufacturing business especially, and the enlargement of working accommodations, and removals to quarters of more ample convenience, became with them a necessity of the time.

John Cook & Sons and James Brewster on Orange street, Isaac Mix on the corner of Olive and Fair streets, Lent Bishop at the corner of State and Grove streets, and Zelotes Day on York street, were pioneers in this branch of the manufacturing business of the city, which has contributed so much, and probably more than any other, to its progress in population and wealth. I doubt if there is one of the many extensive establishments of the kind at the present time in the city that cannot trace a direct business lineage and relationship with some one or more of the five old establishments I have named.

One of the earliest and most notable ventures in real estate in the city within my recollection was that of James Brewster in the purchase about the year 1830, of the land on East street at the foot of Wooster street, on which he erected his large manufactory building and transferred his works from the buildings that stood on the ground now occupied by Bowditch & Prudden on Orange street, and in the purchase of other vacant land near East street, on which he opened Collis street, and made other investments in the vicinity of his factory to attract other settlers to the neighborhood, especially those whose business bore a relation with his own. This caused the vacant land around on East, Collis, Wallace and Wooster streets, to become settled mainly by artisans and workmen in the various lines of carriage workmanship.

But the first, perhaps the most important start for the improvement and settlement of the new township district was made by the city in the purchase and layout of the Wooster

Square in year 1825. This plot of about six acres was bought of Abraham Bishop, the owner of extensive fields of the vacant land in the easterly and northerly section of the city, and of nearly all the territory lying between Grand street and the Middletown Turnpike or Neck Lane, and between Franklin street and Mill River.

Soon after his sale of the Wooster Square land to the city, he opened the Wooster Place highway and Chestnut street from Chapel to Greene street, and erected the large brick mansion on Wooster Place opposite the center of the square for the occupancy of a young ladies' seminary to be kept by the Rev. Ethan A. Andrews, and also the large frame dwelling house standing on Chapel at the corner of Chestnut street.

These two erections and the mansion house of Wm. J. Forbes at the corner of Chapel and Brewery street, were the only fresh and healthy appearing structures remembered as standing anywhere east of Academy and Olive streets, through the entire stretch of landscape from Wooster street to Neck Bridge.

There may have been a very few questionable exceptions along the borders of Greene street and Grand street, the only two roadways running east and west that crossed the scene.

Almost the entire population east of Wooster Square, at this early time, consisted of a small, untidy, Irish neighborhood known as Slineyville, at the corner of Chapel and Chestnut streets, named from John Sliney, its father,—one of the first settlers of his race who kept a place of entertainment and resort for the laborers of his nationality, workers upon the canal and other employments; and of another small neighborhood on Franklin street, of similar grade, known as New Guinea, and tenanted chiefly by the African race. Wm. Lanson who was known as the king of the colored race of the town, and part or principal owner of the premises occupied by his color on Franklin street, was induced to dispose of his real estate interests on Franklin street, and establish a settlement on the water front, at the foot of Greene street, on the lot then occupied by a barn-like building, known as the old slaughter-house, which he converted into a house of resort and entertainment for guests of his kind, and surrounded it with

buildings and barracks for the accommodation of tenants of color of a low and unfortunate condition of life and character.

The purchase of the Wooster Square by the city and the opening of Wooster Place, and the immediate commencement of improvements by the erection of a conspicuous mansion house opposite, attracted the attention of prominent business and professional men to the place as most desirable for residences, and fine family houses were within a very few years after its opening, built around its border by Benjamin M. Sherman, Stiles and Truman French, Stephen Jewett, Theron Towner, Jonathan Nicholson, Philip S. Galpin, John B. Robertson and others, and occupied by them as permanent homesteads.

The example of James Brewster in the removal of his works from Orange to East street was, but little later, followed by others from their cramped accommodations in the central part of the city.

The earliest business concern of considerable magnitude, that appeared on the daisy fields was an axe factory, by Alexander Harrison, on Greene street, built of stone, one story, and covering a large space, in which the business was conducted by him only a few years, and afterward for a like term by Peter Alverson in the manufacture of railroad cars, about the year of the opening of the Hartford & New Haven Railroad.

Another change of business location similar to that of Mr. Brewster was made in 1832 by Isaac Mix & Sons, in the purchase of a lot of land on St. John street, covering the entire front between Hamilton and Wallace street, on which they erected a large factory building and removed their works from the old stand at the corner of Olive and Fair streets. They prosecuted a successful business in these new quarters until the grand collapse of 1837, that prostrated for a time a considerable majority of all the parties engaged in the carriage business, as well as those of all other trades holding business relations with them. Upon their withdrawal from the business a few years later, the factory was purchased by Chamecy Jerome, a clock manufacturer from Bristol, who transferred his business to his new quarters in St. John street, and prosecuted it in the employment of a large number of workmen in

the trade, the most of whom came with him or followed to find employment in his establishment, and many of these established a permanent home in the neighborhood.

Alfred Walker and Walter Osborn, cabinet-makers doing business under the firm of Walker & Osborn, in crowded quarters on Church street, in the year 1832 purchased the land and built the large building on Chapel street, now occupied by Demorest, between Franklin and Hamilton streets, to which they transferred their works and in which they continued their cabinet manufacture for several years.

At nearly the same early date the carpet manufactory of Galpin & Robertson sprouted out on East street at the foot of St. John street, by which a new business and a neighborhood settlement for the most part of a new and most worthy class of artisans of Scotch nationality to work upon their looms were established in the neighborhood.

It was in these years that the earliest manufacture of mineral door knobs and locks was commenced and pursued by Asahel Pierpont and Burton Mallory, in a frame building on Greene street, near Franklin street. The life labors of these men are ended, but the inheritance of their skill and enterprise still lives in the vigorous works of the establishment of the Davenport, Mallory & Wheeler Company, their successors, which covers the entire site of King Lanson's "New Liberia" and the surrounding land at the foot of the street.

The early business concerns I have named, were the plants from which sprung the life and growth of the entire new township district from Chapel street, and from the harbor even, to Neck Bridge, and led to the sale and division of the large tracts of land in the previous ownership of Abraham Bishop, William Leffingwell, Abraham Bradley, Isaac Townsend, Nathaniel Bacon, and Nathaniel Lyon, the leading land fathers of the district, into smaller parcels and lots for sale to new settlers, or for the erection of tenement houses for occupancy of the artisans and laborers, native and foreign, attracted hither by demands of the new business concerns that were starting up at different points upon their lands.

Nathaniel and Simeon Jocelyn, brothers and partners were the largest and boldest adventurers at first in the purchase of

the unimproved land lying around and nearest the occupied parts of the city. One of their principal ventures was the purchase and layout of almost the entire surface between Grand street and Neck Lane, and between Franklin street and Mill River, through which they extended Hamilton, Wallace and East streets, the entire distance north from Grand street, and opened the several streets east and west across the plot, and had it handsomely mapped off into "400 valuable building lots in the eastern section of the city of New Haven, and advertised for sale by Franklin & Jenkins at their auction room in New York, on the 24th day of September, 1835." They chartered a steamboat in New York, and gave free passage to all who would come up and view the Jocelyn Square landscape and mark on their maps the favorite points on which to make their bids at the auction sale. I believe the sale was considered a success, though the enterprise, classed with others in which they were interested, proved a financial failure on the part of the Jocelyns.

Bradley street, leading north from Grand street to State street, and William street from Olive to Franklin street, were opened by William Leffingwell and Abraham Bradley about the year 1830 for the benefit and betterment of the adjoining pastures previously owned by them; and a few years later, Sidney M. Stone made a fortunate trade in the purchase of the pasture lot through the center of which he opened Lyon street from Olive to Bradley street, securing a tier of building lots on either side.

Nelson H. Gaston performed a somewhat similar service in his own behalf, and collaterally in behalf of the city by the purchase of the Stephen Hotchkiss rope-walk lot, that ran a great way east from Olive street, and by splitting it open with St. John street from Olive to Franklin street. The opening of the street left him but a narrow strip of land a good deal of the distance on the southerly side, but he knew he had the right to fence it, and if any accident should happen to the fence, the title to the land would continue in his name.

As the new cross roads were being opened, and the new business enterprises referred to began to develop and make a show upon the fields of the eastern district of the city, quite a num-

ber of merchants and traders began to become interested and influenced to make investments and purchases of lots and parcels of the lands for the erection of tenement houses for sale, or rent, or a rise in value.

Matthew G. Elliott and Hervey Sanford made an early movement in the purchase of the entire easterly front of Chestnut street, between Chapel and Greene streets. Mr. Elliott also acquired a title to the adjoining property on Franklin street, known as "New Guinea," and owned previously by the colored King Lanson and others, besides other parcels upon Hamilton, Wallace and East streets, upon which he built a good many houses for sale, or rent, to the mechanics and workmen needing such conveniences in the neighborhood of the factories.

Francis Donnelly also with the rest, some time later, made his first deal in real estate in the new township, by the purchase of Nathaniel Bacon's pasture lot on the southerly side of Grand street near the site of St. Patrick's Church, for sale and division into house lots on Wallace and East streets—and neither Donnelly nor Elliott have ever since become tired of an interest in this sort of work, in addition to their more regular employments as merchants and bankers, or quarrymen, as the land records of the town will certify. Donnelly by his enterprise alone, or in company with others, has contributed largely to the settlement of the district lying east of Mill River and north of Grand street, by the opening of Fillmore, Clay, Lombard and other streets between Grand and Middletown avenue, and by investments and improvements on Ferry street, and on territory that had been previously bought up by outside dealers, and mapped off to the Quinmpiac River and sold by Franklin & Jenkins at auction or private sale in New York.

And so Mr. Elliott in his quiet way has indulged the habit of buying, and building, and selling, and keeping in different parts of the city parcels of unoccupied land on the opened streets, and making improvements thereon, with advantage to his own and to the public interest as well. I venture to say that, first to last, he has built more than 100 private houses, if not twice the number, in different streets of the city.

The 400-building-lot enterprise of the Jocelyns was not the first or only one of the kind, in which they had enlisted alone, or in connection with others, in securing the title and control of large parcels of the lands lying uncultivated and uncared for around the inhabited bounds of the city, particularly in the west and southerly lines of the original layout. They had availed themselves of facilities, which their social and business relations and intercourse with various non-resident parties of wealth afforded, to induce them to unite with them or to invest alone in the purchases and land improvements they had undertaken and had in view. Sidney Hull, a resident retired merchant tailor, and Isaac Thomson a resident master builder became united with them to a considerable extent in their transactions, and Hull alone had acquired possession of the vacant land lying west of York street through which he opened Crown street and George street in direct lines to Park and Howe streets, and closed up and discontinued the old roadway that had previously led diagonally from the corner of George and York streets to the junction of Howe with Oak and Morocco streets at the point where Howe street connects with Howard avenue at present.

These men, the Jocelyns, Sidney Hull and Isaac Thomson, true hearted, public spirited philanthropists, every one, united in the endeavor to remove a plague spot from Mount Pleasant by the purchase of the land and the layout of the Spireworth Park, between Portsea and Carlisle streets, in the immediate neighborhood of the fine family residence which the elder Jocelyn had built for himself on the desert at the corner of Howard avenue and Putnam street, and that of Mr. Thomson that stood in like loneliness on the avenue near Columbus street,—the only two dwellings of any respectable appearance that could be seen in that part of the town beyond Columbus street for long years afterwards.

But there was no mere moonshine in the undertakings of these men, however unfortunate was the result to them financially. Every thing they did in opening and extending the lines of the streets and dividing of the land into parks and building lots was done on a liberal plan, and done well.

But previous to the year 1836, a considerable number of non-resident traders who had probably no intention of ever becoming settled residents, encouraged by resident visionaries conversant with the limits of the place and the lay of the land, became the purchasers of the old fields on the outside borders, on Oyster Point and Grape Vine Point, in the Fair Haven district to Cedar Hill and the Quinnipiac River, and to the Beaver Hills and Hotchkisstown, which were planted immediately with valuable building lots on paper, and sold at wholesale and retail at public or private sale in New York and elsewhere.

William P. Greene, a wealthy resident of Norwich, in the years 1833 to 1836, became the owner of several large parcels of real estate on the outside lines of the city; of a large tract on the Oyster Point shore; of fifty and more acres extending from West, now Norton street, to the West River, and bounded by the Derby Turnpike on the south, and by Chapel street as now extended on the north; of between fifty and sixty acres in the Fair Haven district, in the vicinity of the Lewis Bridge; of thirty odd acres on the Beaver Hills, bounded by Crescent and Goffe streets, and finally by the purchase of almost, if not quite all, the real estate of the Jocelyns on Park, Spruce, Morocco, South, Howe and George streets.

Gerard Halleck, the editor of the *New York Journal of Commerce*, was one of the most extensive and aggressive dealers in 1834, '35 and '36 in the vacant land on Oyster Point and elsewhere around the city. He built the fine mansion for his family residence on the shore of the harbor, near Lamberton street, and was a most prompt and earnest man in his business dealings. His tax list of 1836 showed a real estate assessment of \$60,000, one of the largest on the books. There were other non-residents, and residents also, that make a show upon the records as active parties to the achievements in real estate trade anterior to the renowned collapse of 1837.

Soon after the opening of George and Crown streets westerly from York street by Sidney Hull in 1831, the building lots began to be taken and improved by new settlers, and a gradual increase of population followed on the new openings out from the center, and on the nearest cross streets around.

York Square soon appeared on the old apple orchards between Broadway and the burying ground, with the fine family residences of Alexander Phoenix, Abijah Fisher, Micah Baldwin, and others surrounding its border.

A mention of some of the appraisals made, and prices at which building sites were sold, during the early years considered, will impress some estimate of the value and importance of the enterprise and bold movements referred to, whether fortunate or otherwise to the parties themselves, that have contributed to enhance the value of the real estate of the city to the standard it has attained.

When James Brewster and other men with some business bottom to them made their first start to turn the new townshipp into a district for manufactories, and homes of mechanics and working men, the money value of the entire vacant tract between Wooster street and the Neck Bridge was not more than \$100 an acre.

The house lots of the first settlers on the Wooster Place and on Greene street, fronting the square, were purchased by Stiles French, Benj. M. Sherman, Stephen Jewett, John B. Robertson, Jonathan Nicholson, and Theron Towner, at prices ranging from \$10 to \$20 a front foot.

The entire front of about 650 feet on Chestnut, the next street below, with a front of about 130 feet each on Chapel and Greene street, was bought by Matthew G. Elliott and Hervey Sanford, at the rate of \$6 per front foot on Chestnut, and \$10 on Chapel and Greene streets. Mr. Elliott built several of the first houses that appeared on Chestnut street.

Isaac Mix & Sons in 1832, paid \$4 a front foot on St. John street, for the lot on which their carriage factory, the site of the present clock factory, was built; and the same year Walker & Osborn bought of Smith & Sherman, at second hand, the lot on Chapel street, on which they built their factory now occupied by the Demorest concern for \$11 a front foot. These prices seem to us to have been reasonable enough, and they were for the uses to which the land was applied, but many times too high in money value to remain long unused for occupancy of some kind.

As the streets were opened and turnpiked, and the side walks properly graded upon the land lying all around the nearest settled neighborhoods, eligible house-lots were held and sold generally at prices varying from \$5 to \$10 a foot on the street.

When George street and Crown street had been opened west from York street in 1831, Charles Thompson bought a lot, fronting 60 feet on York and 150 feet on Crown street, for \$6 a foot on York street. Wilson Booth had previously bought a house lot on Crown near High street for \$7 a foot on the street. Each built homes for themselves upon these lots, and have lived upon them ever since in apparent comfort, while each have spent a lengthened life in building homes for the comfort of others.

Caleb Mix acting as the agent of Wm. P. Greene, sold nearly all his lots on George, Park, Howe, and other streets as they were wanted for investment or building improvements from time to time, at prices varying from \$5 to \$10 a foot.

The last remnant of Mr. Greene's land on Morocco, South, and Park streets was purchased of him in the year 1854, by Jeremiah Barnett, John W. Mansfield and myself to enable us to open Sylvan avenue westerly from Park street toward the Evergreen Cemetery, and extend Howard avenue northerly to its junction with Oak and Howe Streets.

On the opposite border lines of the original city layout, the values put upon the real estate from time to time do not appear to have varied very much, but on the easterly and northerly lines, the upward jump seems to have been the highest, as the improvements upon the surface have been the most elaborate and expensive.

There was scarcely any visible improvement upon the north-west block of the original squares,—no buildings upon its border worthy of much consideration except upon Elm and College streets; and upon these but a very few, until about the year 1840, at the time High street was opened through it from Elm street to Grove street, opposite the gateway of the City Burying Ground. Soon after the opening of High street, the substantial residences of Prof. Gibbs and others, with the Grammar School House, begun to line the street on either side.

At the earliest dates in review a very large portion of the section surrounded by Elm, Church, Grove and Orange streets was composed of vacant land in the ownership severally of Titus Street, Judge Simeon Baldwin, and the estate of Eli Whitney.

About the year 1825 or 1826, Mr. Street made the school district a present of the High Schoolhouse lot at the corner of Orange and Wall streets. In 1825, Judge Baldwin sold Philip Saunders, for about \$10 a front foot, a lot from his land on Wall street, adjoining the Whitney land, on which his family residence was built; and in 1834, nine years later, Mr. Street sold Mrs. Salisbury, the corner lot 150 feet on Wall and 150 feet on Church street for \$4,000, about \$26 a front foot on Church street. In 1826, eight years earlier, John Durrie of the book firm of Durrie & Peck bought his home lot, on the land previously occupied by Isaac Bradley's blacksmith shop opposite the lot sold to Mrs. Salisbury by Mr. Street, for \$11 a foot on Church street.

Orange street above Grove street, and through its entire length in fact, appears to have been as successful in growth and progress as any during the last sixty years. On the Mill Lane section beyond Grove street, it had as uninviting an appearance as any, with only the one-story cottage of Marcus Merriman, Junior, now the residence of his son Elias P. Merriman, until John H. Coley of the hardware firm of Coley & Smith, built and settled in 1825 or '26, upon the lot adjoining and became owner of the tract of nearly two acres extending southerly to the Grove street corner, and easterly on Grove street about half the distance to State street. He also became the owner of a large parcel of land on the west side of the street, on which he drilled his company of Grays on moonlight evenings in 1828, and from which he sold Henry Peck and Philos Blake each their homestead lots, each 100 feet front on Orange, and 200 feet on the new street known now as Audubon street. Each paid \$450 for their land or \$4.50 a foot on Orange street, more than double the cost to the seller. Mr. Warren who has recently purchased the unoccupied half of the Blake homestead lot, considers himself fortunate in having secured it at a cost of \$150 a foot on the front, which is,

I believe, below the market price at present for lots in that part of the street.

In the year 1835, the date to which I have endeavored to limit these rambling recollections, a half dozen level-headed business men of the city, with a good lawyer among them, united in a syndicate and bought the venerable residence and garden of Titus Street, about one and half acres fronting about 142 feet each on Elm and Court, and 435 feet on Orange street for \$25,500, and mortgaged it back to him for \$19,000, and let the old gentleman out, to live with his son on the corner of Chapel and Temple street. The investment gave the syndicate a beautiful building front on three streets in the heart of the city and did not seem to be an unwise or hazardous business adventure. But the events of 1837, in New Haven and all over the country besides, cast a very dark shadow upon the enterprise. The story was current, that in the days of gloom that followed their purchase so soon, they appealed to Mr. Street to take back his garden spot and give them back their mortgage note as an equivalent, and that his reply to William H. Elliot, who acted finally as their intercessor, was, that he didn't like to be pestered any more by their solicitations.

Orange street has been one of the most fortunate and successful of any, not only in its real estate appointments and improvements in fine family residences all along its borders, but alike, and more, in the quality and private and public character of its inhabitants. It has, of late years been exceptionally famous for its product of public men, a breeding ground for official dignitaries of all kinds, from Governors down, and up. Senators and Sheriffs, Councilmen and Congressmen, State Attorneys and Selectmen, Postmasters, Mayors and Aldermen, all of the very best kind have been and are being bred and born in Orange street, and I have heard it said, and there can't be much doubt of the truth of the remark, that the egg has been laid there and is in process of incubation that is going to hatch out next the best Postmaster General the country ever had.



Eli Whitney

SKETCH
OF THE
LIFE OF ELI WHITNEY,
THE INVENTOR OF THE COTTON GIN.

BY WILLIAM P. BLAKE, M.A.

[Abstract of a paper read November 28th. 1887.]*

THE City of New Haven, and the whole country, are more indebted to Eli Whitney than to any other man for their marvellous growth in the manufacturing industries, for it was Whitney who after giving the precious boon of the Cotton Gin to the cotton-producing States, at the commencement of this century, returned to New Haven to introduce here novel systems and methods of manufacturing, and to found an industrial establishment which besides its local importance became a model and a school for the mechanics of the nation.

* NOTE:—Professor Denison Olmsted prepared a “*Memoir of the Life of Eli Whitney, Esq.*,” in 1831, and it was published in the *American Journal of Science and Arts*, vol. xxi, No. 2, Art. I, January, 1832, pages 201–254, and is accompanied by a steel-engraved portrait.

Professor Benjamin Silliman contributed Art. II in the same number of the *Journal*, entitled “*Reminiscences of the late Mr. Whitney, Inventor of the Cotton Gin*,” pages 255–264, with an illustration of the tombstone erected to the memory of Mr. Whitney in Grove Street Cemetery, New Haven.

These two memoirs were reprinted, with additions, and were published together in one octavo volume in 1846, pp. 80. New Haven: Durrie & Peck.

In compiling the present notice these two articles have been freely used, in addition to other and original papers in the possession of Eli Whitney, Esq., 3d. Since this memoir was read considerable portions of it were printed in the *Centennial History of Hamden*, where the full text may be found: consequently it is here presented in an abridged form. A condensed notice of Mr. Whitney’s life may also be found in Atwater’s *History of New Haven*, 1887.

Having by the originality of his mind, and the peculiar force of his genius, made such a marked impression upon the growth and prosperity of this city and State, it is fitting that this Society should take special note of his career so thoroughly linked in with the history of New Haven in the first quarter of this century.

Mr. Whitney first came to New Haven in the year 1789, seeking the advantages of the best advanced education which this country could give, and presented himself as a candidate for admission to the freshman class of Yale College.

He was born at Westborough, Worcester County, Massachusetts, December 8th, 1765, and spent his earliest years with his parents upon their large and well appointed farm, one of the finest in Worcester County. His father, Eli Whitney, and his mother, Elizabeth Fay Whitney, were descended from English ancestors, who early emigrated to the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, and were influential and much respected.

In his boyhood Whitney attended the district school during the winter months and assisted his father in the summers. At an early age he showed a decided inclination and aptitude for mechanical pursuits and invention. His father was similarly inclined, for he had in addition to the many farm buildings, a special building for a work-shop fitted up with a variety of tools and a turning-lathe, where in the long winter months he could be usefully and agreeably employed. In those days such a shop was almost a necessity upon every large farm. Young Whitney delighted in spending most of his time there, and to be making something was to him the greatest pleasure.

At the age of twelve years his father had proposed to him to prepare for a collegiate education, but the boy not then fully appreciating its importance, and being absorbed by his more agreeable mechanical occupations and manufacturing schemes, did not favor the proposition, but six years later, in the autumn of 1783, he had so far changed his views as to consider such an education as very desirable and he resolved to prepare for college. His father thought him then too old to begin the preparatory studies and to give the required time to them which with the college course would require about six

years. There was grave doubt about the expediency of the undertaking, and the way was not clear to father or son when an advertisement for a school-master for the neighboring town of Grafton fell under young Whitney's eye, and he resolved to offer himself for the place. He was accepted by the Selectmen, and engaged to teach the school for seven dollars a month and his board, all that they could offer him. Young Whitney immediately renewed his studies, and at the appointed time took charge of the school and gave such entire satisfaction that he was re-engaged for the next winter. At the same time he was actively progressing with his own education. With the money earned by teaching he was enabled to go to Leicester Academy during the summer terms. In this way he taught school at Grafton, Northboro, Westboro, and Paxton, five winters in succession, and attended the academy in the summer where he prepared himself for college. Both parents and friends at home were anxious about this great expenditure of time and money. It was discussed at the fireside, and the neighbors who admired Eli's practical abilities, shook their heads and said: "It is a pity such a fine mechanical genius as his should be wasted." College men in those days were not supposed to have any practical ability in every day life. But the boy's preferences and determination prevailed and at the age of twenty-three he matriculated at Yale.

His father managed to aid him to the extent of one thousand dollars during his college course—a large sum in those days—and young Whitney was able by industry and the exercise of his mechanical skill to add a few dollars to this. As an evidence of this skill, it may be mentioned that a piece of costly apparatus belonging to the college had broken down and could not be used for the usual experimental illustrations. It was supposed to be necessary to send the apparatus abroad to the maker for the repairs, but when the difficulty was mentioned to Whitney he at once undertook to repair the mechanism and he succeeded to the great satisfaction of the professors. At another time, having occasion to use some tools reluctantly lent to him by a carpenter, the carpenter was astonished at his dexterity and exclaimed, "there was one good mechanic spoiled when you went to college."

He was graduated in the year 1792, in a class of thirty-four. Among several of his classmates who became distinguished later in life we mention Judge William Botsford of New Brunswick; Judge Asa Chapman of Connecticut; Judge Esten of Bermuda, and Hon. Roger Minott Sherman of Connecticut. Whitney decided to adopt the law as his profession and accepted an offer of eighty guineas a year to go to South Carolina as a tutor in a gentleman's family where he could at the same time prosecute his study of law.

About the time of his leaving New Haven for the South he was introduced to the widow and family of the late General Greene, and to Phineas Miller, Esq., who was traveling with them to their plantation in Georgia. Mr. Miller was a native of Connecticut and a Yale graduate, and later became the husband of Mrs. Greene. Mr. Whitney sailed in the same vessel with them to Savannah. On their arrival there he was invited to go with the family to Mrs. Greene's plantation at Mulberry Grove beyond Savannah. Mrs. Greene being a brilliant and attractive woman of extended and influential social connections, Mr. Whitney had the opportunity of meeting some of the prominent cotton planters of that region. In the conversations upon the condition and prosperity of the South there was a general lament that no method existed of separating the cotton staple from the seed of the upland green-seed variety other than the slow and tedious method of picking it by hand. To separate one pound of fibre from the seed was considered a day's work for one woman. This work was usually done in the evening after the labor of the day in the field. It was usual after supper to place the slaves, men, women and children in circles about an overseer and make them pick the seed out of the cotton. This was a very tedious and slow operation which at once arrested the attention and aroused the sympathy of Mr. Whitney. He saw the pressing need of a machine with less soul than the slaves and more energy than such poor creatures could supply, and he originated in his mind the essential features of the cotton gin, an invention destined to not only enrich all cotton-growing regions but to ameliorate the condition of both slaves and freemen throughout the world.

Whitney was satisfied that he could construct a machine that would do the work much faster and better, and communicated this conviction to his friend Mr. Miller, and consulted with him how to procure the tools and materials with which to construct one, a trial machine.

His engagement to teach was in the way of an immediate devotion to this work, but happily this engagement was terminated to the satisfaction of both parties and Mr. Whitney was invited to spend the winter at Mulberry Grove and devote himself to the realization of his invention. A room was assigned to him in the basement of the house, and with such crude implements and materials as a Georgia plantation afforded he began his task. Mrs. Greene and Mr. Miller were the only persons ever admitted to this work-room and were the only persons who knew upon what he was engaged. Strong in his perception of the result shortly to be attained, and cheered by the faith and confidence of his two friends he toiled on, and toward the end of the winter the machine was so far completed and operated as not to leave any doubt of its successful operation.

Mrs. Greene then invited a few gentlemen to witness a trial of the new machine in a building specially constructed for it, and they were astonished and delighted. It was not thought prudent, however, to exhibit the machine to the public generally until a patent could be secured from the United States. Application for a patent was made on the 20th of June, 1793, to Thomas Jefferson, the Secretary of State at Philadelphia, but the prevalence of the yellow fever there caused a delay of several months. On the 28th of October, in the same year, Mr. Whitney lodged an announcement of his invention under oath before the Notary Public of the city of New Haven. He also sent a drawing of the cotton gin to Mr. Jefferson and shortly after received an interesting letter from this statesman, of which the following is a copy :

“GERMANTOWN, NOV. 16, 1793.

“SIR: Your favor of October 15, inclosing a drawing of your cotton gin was received on the 6th inst. The only requisite of the law now uncomplied with is the forwarding of a model, which, being received, your patent may be made out and delivered to your order immediately.

“As the State of Virginia, of which I am, carries on household manufacture of cotton to a great extent, as I also do myself, and one of our great embarrassments is the cleaning the cotton of the seeds, I feel a considerable interest in the success of your invention for family use. Permit me, therefore, to ask information from you on these points : Has the machine been thoroughly tried in the ginning of cotton, or is it as yet but a machine of theory? What quantity of cotton has it cleaned on an average of several days, and worked by hand, and by how many hands? What will be the cost of one of them made to be worked by hand? Favorable answers to those questions would induce me to engage one of them to be forwarded to Richmond for me. Wishing to hear from you on the subject, I am, sir,

Your most obed't servant,

“TH: JEFFERSON.”

Mr. Whitney wrote Mr. Jefferson Nov. 24, 1793, as follows :

“It is about a year since I first turned my attention to constructing this machine, at which time I was in the State of Georgia. Within about ten days after my first conception of the plan, I made a small, though imperfect, model. Experiments with this encouraged me to make one on a larger scale : but the extreme difficulty of procuring workmen and proper materials in Georgia prevented my completing the larger one until some time in April last. This, though much larger than my first attempt, is about one-third as large as the machines may be made with convenience. The cylinder is only two feet two inches in length and six inches in diameter. It is turned *by hand*, and requires the strength of one man to keep it in constant motion. It is the stated task of one negro to clean fifty weight (I mean fifty pounds after it is separated from the seed), of the green seed cotton per day.”

Mr. Whitney had already (May 27, 1793) formed a partnership with his friend and partner, Mr. Miller, generously sharing with him all the profits and benefits of the invention, Mr. Miller agreeing to supply the money needed to perfect and manufacture the gins. It was decided to begin the manufacture in New Haven, and Mr. Whitney returned to this city for the purpose. From this time onward the history of this great and promising invention is, with few exceptions, a record of wrongs, disappointment and disaster to the inventor and his partner.

The evident importance of the invention to the cotton interest of the South, and indeed to humanity, justified Mr. Whitney in abandoning his intention to devote himself to the

profession of law, and in giving his time and energies to the construction and introduction of the machines. Mr. Whitney secured a place in Wooster street, this city, where the first machines were made, the intention of the partners being to take the machines to the South and operate them there. Mr. Miller remained in Georgia to attend to this branch of the work.

Notwithstanding every precaution to keep the construction of the machine secret until a patent could be secured from the United States, the existence of such a machine and the fact that cotton could be cleaned from the seed rapidly and cheaply by machinery became known, and the importance of such an invention was greatly appreciated by the cotton planters, not only of Georgia but of the neighboring States. Multitudes of people came to see the machine and were vexed that its construction was not made known to them. All precautions to keep this knowledge from the public were unavailing; the building in which the machine was kept was broken open at night and the first "cotton gin" was stolen and copied. Other gins were made and used in spite of the protests of the owners.

On the 4th of March, 1794, the patent for the cotton gin was issued. Infringements of the rights of the inventor had become numerous and formidable, and it was necessary to appeal to the courts for protection and redress. It was found to be extremely difficult to obtain the capital necessary for the manufacture of the cotton gins, and enormous discounts and interest had to be paid. In 1795 a rival machine under the name of *saw gin* made its appearance. This was an attempt to evade the patent by cutting the teeth like saw-teeth upon the edge of circular plates instead of using wire teeth as preferred by the inventor.

In March, 1795, Mr. Whitney went from New Haven to New York, and was detained there three weeks by fever and ague contracted in Georgia. On returning to New Haven by packet he found that his factory on Wooster street, with its contents, had been destroyed by fire.

In 1796 Miller and Whitney had thirty gins in Georgia, some standing idle for want of cotton; the report coming from England that the staple of the cotton was greatly injured by ginning. On May 11, 1797, Mr. Whitney wrote that the first

patent suit had gone against them, although the judge had charged the jury pointedly in their favor, and again in 1799: "The prospect of making anything by ginning in this State is at an end. Surreptitious gins are erected in every part of the country, and the jurymen at Augusta have come to an understanding among themselves that they will never give a verdict in our favor, let the merits of the case be as they may."

Efforts were then made to sell patent rights. A favorable contract with the State of South Carolina for the use of the gins was shortly after rescinded. With the State of North Carolina the owners were more successful and a fair return was received from that State for the use of the cotton gin.

While still involved in litigation, disappointments and disaster, Mr. Miller died Dec. 7, 1803, and left Mr. Whitney to contend alone with the difficulties which his invention had brought upon him.

Favorable decisions rendered by Judge Johnson of the United States Court in Georgia, in 1807, while exceedingly gratifying were of little value to the inventor, for thirteen years of the life of the patent had expired and the income from the State of North Carolina had been consumed in the costs of more than sixty suits. One of Mr. Whitney's legal advisers, Hon. S. M. Hopkins, in a letter to Prof. Denison Olmsted wrote of him:

"In all my experience in the thorny profession of the law I have never seen such a case of perseverance under such persecution, nor do I believe that I ever knew any other man who would have met them with equal coolness and firmness or who would finally have obtained even the partial success which he had. He always called on me in New York on his way south when going to attend his endless trials and to meet the mischievous contrivances of men who seemed inexhaustible in their resources of evil. Even now, after thirty years, my head aches to recollect his narratives of new trials, fresh disappointments and accumulated wrongs."*

The futility of the efforts to derive any pecuniary advantage from the cotton gin had impressed Mr. Whitney as early as the year 1798 and he formed a plan to engage in the manufacture of fire-arms for the United States, as shown by the follow-

*Olmsted's Memoir of Whitney, p. 46.

ing letter addressed to the Hon. Oliver Wolcott, Secretary of the Treasury, under date of May 1, 1798 :

SIR :—By the debates in Congress I observe that they are about making some appropriations for procuring arms, etc., for the United States.

“Should an actual war take place or the communication between the United States and the West India Islands *continue* to be as hazardous and precarious as it now is, my business of making the Patent Machines for cleansing Cotton must, in the meantime, be postponed. I have a number of workmen and apprentices whom I have instructed in working in wood and metals, and whom I wish to keep employed. These circumstances induced me to address you and ask the privilege of having an opportunity of contracting for the supply of some of the articles which the United States may want. I should like to undertake to manufacture ten or fifteen thousand stand of arms.

“I am persuaded that machinery moved by water, adapted to this business, would greatly diminish the labor and facilitate the manufacture of this article. Machines for forging, rolling, floating, boring, grinding, polishing, etc., may all be made use of to advantage.

“Cartridge, or cartouche box, is an article which I can manufacture. I have a machine for boring wood of my own invention, which is admirably adapted for this purpose.

“The making of swords, hangers, pistols, etc., I could perform.

“There is a good fall of water in the vicinity of this town [New Haven] which I can procure, and could have works erected in a short time. It would not answer, however, to go to the expense of erecting works for this purpose unless I could contract to make a considerable number.

“The contracting for the above articles will not, I suppose, belong to the Department of the Treasury ; but if you will take the trouble to mention me to the Secretary of War, I shall consider it as a particular favor.

“I shall be able to procure sufficient bonds for the fulfillment of a contract of the kind above mentioned, and will come forward to Philadelphia, immediately, in case there is an opportunity for me to make proposals.

“With the highest respect, I am, sir,

“Your obedient servant,

“ELI WHITNEY.”

The result of this application was a contract by the government for ten thousand muskets at thirteen dollars and forty cents each, and Mr. Whitney was required to give a bond to the extent of thirty thousand dollars for the completion of his undertaking in two years. Ten of the most responsible citizens of New Haven gave security to the Bank of New Haven

for a loan of ten thousand dollars to begin the work. Their names were Simeon Baldwin, David Daggett, Pierpont Edwards, Eneas Monson, Jr., Jeremiah Atwater, James Hillhouse, Elias Shipman, Timo. Phelps, Peleg Sandford, Elizur Goodrich.

Mr. Whitney purchased the ancient mill-site on Mill River between Mill Rock and East Rock* and there erected the first armory for the manufacture of fire arms in the United States. The water at that time (1798), was held back by a dam six feet high built of logs. Mr. Whitney added to it, improved the site and later built the row of stucco-covered stone dwellings for his superintendent and workmen at the base of Mill Rock,† then and since known as Whitneyville.

It was apparently Mr. Whitney's expectation, at first, to use imported barrels, which could be had in the rough at Philadelphia, but in August of the same year, 1798, in a letter to Hon. Oliver Wolcott, he states that he had a project for procuring iron in Connecticut, obviating the need of sending to Philadelphia for it; the prevalence of yellow fever there interfering with business.

Parties at Salisbury, Conn., had also offered to supply barrels, forged out, ready to bore and turn.

On May 31st, 1799, Mr. Whitney addressed the Secretary of the Treasury, Hon. Oliver Wolcott, at considerable length, explaining the various hindrances that had prevented his completing the arms as soon as had been expected.

“SIR:—I do not make that progress in the execution of my contract for fabricating muskets which I expected at the time I contracted. I have met with many unexpected and unavoidable delays and disappointments, which could not have been foreseen and guarded against. I was also myself mistaken in some of my calculations at the time I entered into the contract.

“The greatest and principal cause of delay has been the uncommon length and severity of the past winter. Its early commencement pre-

* A grist mill was early erected at this place by the town of New Haven and was first hired and then bought by Christopher Todd, about 1630, and was for a long time known as Todd's Mill.—*Vide* “*The Tuttle Family, by Geo. F. Tuttle,*” p. 698.

† Some of these stone dwellings were torn down to make room for the change in the position of the turnpike when the dam was raised for the New Haven Water Company.

vented the completion of many things appertaining to my water works, such as dams, flumes, etc., which, had the winter held off as usual, would have been accomplished in a short time: the earth and water once sealed up with frost, these things must of necessity be postponed, not only to the opening of the spring, but till the spring floods are over. Its long continuance produced a great scarcity of forage for cattle, and until within these few days it has been extremely difficult to procure any team work even at double the usual prices. These circumstances have not only delayed the progress of that part of the business which must be done under my own immediate direction, but rendered it impossible for others to supply me with materials as they had agreed and fulfil their engagements with me.

“ In the month of February I contracted with Messrs. Forbes & Adam of Canaan, who are unquestionably among the most able and punctual dealers in and manufacturers of iron in this country, to make me a number of tools, mill irons, and other heavy iron work, for all of which I carried them patterns at the time, and to supply me with rolled iron rods, etc., of a particular description: all these things they were to send to me in a fortnight. At the time I was there their works were frozen up and had been somewhat injured by a late flood. They, however, attempted to cut out their wheels and go to work the day I left them, but it was so extremely cold that they were obliged to give it up for that day, and said ‘after one moderate day their works would be going and I should have my articles immediately.’ But with all their resources and exertions their works are not yet in motion. I had a letter from them a few days since saying that ‘their works were much more injured than they imagined, that they had been for a time repairing them and expected to have them in motion the next week.’

“ I have been all the more particular in relating these circumstances because much of my work has been delayed by this disappointment, and to show that the best, ablest and most experienced men meet with impediments which they can neither foresee nor remove.

“ At the same time I contracted with another man in the same neighborhood, a man of property and reputed to be one of the most punctual, to supply me with several tons of iron, all to be delivered in the month of April. The season proved such that neither ore could be dug nor coal burned till all the fodder for cattle was expended, then neither iron nor wood could be transported for the want of team work, and I have not received a single pound of iron from that quarter.

“ The man with whom I contracted to with my barrels failed: this would have been a great disappointment if I had met with no other; as it is, however, I think I shall do as well as if he had fulfilled his engagements. It would be too tedious to mention all the disappointments which I have met with.

“ At the time I entered into the contract to manufacture the arms my mind was much occupied in devising the best and most expeditious mode of doing the work and contemplated the dispatch and facility with which I could work after all my apparatus was complete and in motion and did not sufficiently compute the time that must necessarily

be taken up in constructing and making the apparatus. I also at that time intended to have done a considerable part of the work in the town of New Haven, in the buildings which I own and then occupied there, but after viewing the works at Springfield, where their water works are at some distance from the principal armory, I relinquished the idea of doing any work in town and determined to do all my work on one spot. The superintendent at Springfield said to me that it would cost me four thousand dollars a year more to do the same in two places at two miles distant from each other than if it were all concentrated into one place. I now perceive that it would have been a very injudicious arrangement to have attempted to carry on the work in two places. I find that my personal attention is more constantly and essentially necessary to every branch of the work than I apprehended. Mankind generally are not to depend on, and the best workmen I can find are incapable of directing. Indeed there is no branch of the work that can proceed well, scarcely for a single hour, unless I am present. In consequence of this miscalculation I shall lose more time and be subject to a greater expense in erecting the necessary building than I expected.

* * * * *

“I have reason to believe that my general plan of arrangements is good—my confidence in it increases in proportion as the execution advances—my water works are not yet in motion, but are in forwardness. My arrangements for forging, filing, etc., are nearly completed. I have about sixty good men engaged and a prospect of being able to procure such numbers as I may want. I am persuaded that I can do the work well, and that when I can bring all my works fairly into application I can do it with dispatch and to a profit to myself, provided I can be indulged as to time, and avoid pecuniary embarrassment in an early stage of the business.

* * * * *

“It appears to me that many who have undertaken to make muskets will make but indifferent ones: that their system is such that they will not improve much by practice, and that their arrangements are in no way calculated for permanence or increasing progression.

“I wish I had an opportunity of laying before you my whole plan and manner of executing the different branches of the work, and you had leisure to examine and compare them with the mode practiced in this and other countries.”

* * * * *

The writer has been permitted to examine the numerous papers and letters by Mr. Whitney, some of which are extremely interesting for the light they throw upon the condition of manufacturing industry in the first part of the century. In regard to the fabrication of firearms, for example, a memoir upon the subject, written by Mr. Whitney, at Washington, in 1812, is so important that it is given here entire. The paper

appears to have been prepared to submit to the War Department in support of an application for another contract to make arms for the United States at the Whitneyville armory.

THE MANUFACTURE OF FIREARMS.

“The following remarks are the result of twelve years’ attention to the subject of manufacturing Firearms. The writer believes himself to have possessed greater advantages for obtaining information on this subject than any other individual in the United States, and his attention to it has been stimulated by considerations of private interest and personal reputation as well as by a sincere wish to see his country excel in an art so indispensable to its safety and independence.

1. A good musket is a complicated engine and difficult to make—difficult of execution because the conformation of most of its parts correspond with no regular geometrical figure. Being familiarized to the musket from our earliest childhood we are not aware of its complexity, though each musket, with the bayonet, consists of fifty distinct parts.

2. Since the invention of firearms nations have been powerful in proportion to the number of their citizens skilled in the fabrication of these weapons.

3. None of the nations of Europe have made good military guns, except the French and English.

4. In Asia, Africa and South America the art of making firearms is either wholly unknown or but very imperfectly understood—hence the superiority of well-armed European troops over the forces of those countries.

5. In civilized countries the principal object of firearms being the national defense, this species of manufacture cannot flourish unless aided by the protection and fostering hand of government. The government of France through all its changes for the last hundred years, have made it a constant and primary object to encourage and extend its manufactories of muskets: hence the excellence of their arms, and hence the means indispensable to the acquisition of that power which she now possesses. The government of Great Britain, next to France, has given the greatest encouragement to this species of manufacture.

6. The fabrication of firearms as conducted in Europe is a business which cannot be readily performed by workmen bred to other occupations.

About the year 1796, the government of Great Britain raised the price of arms, and engaged all the workmen in the kingdom to deliver to the government *all* they could make in fourteen years: and about the same time they imported into England 50,000 muskets from Germany. Since that period the term has been extended with the manufacturers, and a premium is constantly offered by the government to any subject who will leave the occupation to which he was bred and work at cer-

tain branches of this manufacture. So great is the difficulty in fabricating good Musket Locks that, even in Great Britain, where there are the greatest number of workmen whose occupation is most nearly connected with this branch, the government finds it impossible to extend the manufacture to meet their demands. Twelve months ago, the British government had on hand 200,000 musket barrels, which could not be made up for want of locks, etc.

7. The manufacture of muskets cannot be carried on in this country without the aid of a variety of very heavy and expensive machinery moved by water. As water works are expensive and soon go to decay, the machinery should be so proportioned, and the extent of each establishment should be such as to keep *all* the machinery constantly employed.

8. Any attempt to carry on such a manufactory without a solid, fixed and sufficient capital must be abortive. The amount of the capital must be at least equal to double the value of the arms delivered in one year, and this amount will not be sufficient unless the finished work be turned in and payment for the same received every ninety days.

9. The establishment of such a machinery is, from the very nature of things, a progressive operation, and can in no case be accomplished in less than two years, and should be continued at least twenty years to warrant such an investment of capital.

The subscriber begs leave further to remark that he has for the last twelve years been engaged in manufacturing muskets; that he now has the most respectable private establishment in the United States for carrying on this important branch of business. That this establishment was commenced and has been carried on upon a plan which is unknown in Europe, and the great leading object of which is to substitute correct and effective operations of machinery for that skill of the artist which is acquired only by long practice and experience; a species of skill which is not possessed in this country to any considerable extent.

Having actually made about 15,000 muskets, at least equal in quality to any that have been manufactured in this country (which is more than has been accomplished by any other individual in the United States), he feels himself warranted by his own experience and success in believing that the New Methods which he has invented of working metals and forming the several parts of a musket, are practically useful and highly important to his country.

He would further state that the principal part of his property is invested in buildings, machinery, etc., suitable for carrying on the manufacture of muskets, which buildings, etc., cannot be converted into any other use without a great sacrifice, and he therefore wishes to continue in the business, and begs respectfully to submit to the consideration of the Government whether it be for the interest of the United States to give employment for such length of time, and upon such terms, as to afford a fair prospect of a reasonable profit for his labour.

E. WHITNEY.

WASHINGTON, 29th June, 1812."

As in regard to the originality of the invention of the cotton gin an effort was made to show that it was not new, so, even in these later days, there have not been wanting persons who have endeavored to take from Mr. Whitney the credit of originating the uniformity system and making it a great practical success at the beginning of this century, thus leading in the van of the progress of the mechanic arts, and laying the foundations for the enormous industrial development of the nineteenth century. The letter to Mr. Wolcott, May, 1798, (page 117, of this Memoir), contains the important paragraph, "I am persuaded that the machinery moved by water adapted to this business would greatly diminish the labor and facilitate the manufacture of this article [muskets]. Machines for forging, rolling, floating, boring, grinding, polishing, etc., may all be made use of to advantage." This alone gives us, by inference, a picture of the condition of the art of making arms at that time. It was strictly a *manufacture* by gunsmiths in their little shops. It was hand work; lock, stock and barrel were made by the smiths, working first on one part and then on another, building up a musket each by itself; and consequently no two pieces were alike or could be interchanged. By this slow and unsystematic method, the government, obviously, could not be supplied with arms in large numbers at short notice. It was Whitney's mission to solve the problem, and give to the country, not only arms in quantity, but arms of superior mechanism, workmanship and low cost, having, also, the important principle of interchangeability of parts.

Eli Whitney started the manufacture of firearms under peculiar difficulties, and it is safe to assert that if he had not already formulated in his mind a new method and system of manufacturing, he would never have had the courage to undertake to make ten thousand muskets for the United States. Although this number may appear small and even insignificant beside the large numbers now turned out from the armory, and from the immense establishments of the government, it was a large number at that period, and it is surprising that anyone should have been found to take such a risk and responsibility. The manufacture of military firearms in quantity had not been undertaken in this country. The arms used in the Revo-

lutionary War had been obtained from France or other countries by running the blockade. A few gun barrels were imported. There were some gunsmiths, like other mechanics, in the country, repairing and perhaps now and then making a gun or two in the old way, one at a time. There were no skilled workmen in the country whom Mr. Whitney could call about him to undertake such a giant task. Neither were there, at that early date, the machine tools which now so simplify and cheapen, while ensuring accurate mechanical operations. There were no engine lathes, no planers, no milling, slotting or drilling machines; all these were yet to be evolved, but we may believe existed in an embryotic form in the mind of Whitney. To an ordinary mechanic of that day, the production of ten thousand complete muskets seemed an almost endless and impossible task. But to the young inventor, who had already had great experience in mechanical matters, and who, by his cotton gin, had revolutionized, as we may say, created, the cotton industry for the United States and the world, the way was clear. He had projected the new system destined to replace all the old methods, and to inaugurate a new era of industrial life, not only in the making of firearms, but in the production of any article or machine required in great numbers. This new system is that now known as the Uniformity System, under which our great manufacturing establishments are now conducted, especially those for the fabrication of arms, watches, clocks, sewing machines and all other complicated pieces of mechanism required in great numbers. The system consists in making each separate part of a machine independently of the particular machine it is to form a portion of. The parts are made so nearly alike in form and finish that any one of them may be taken to fill the place for which it was designed, and if one piece becomes injured or broken another piece can be substituted without the necessity of being changed in form or specially fitted. In other words, parts having the same function, in each different piece of mechanism of the same kind, being made exactly alike, may be substituted or interchanged one with another. This may be said to constitute the uniformity or Whitney system. This uniformity of parts was secured by Mr. Whitney in various ways, but as far as possible by machine

work, so that the form and finish of the pieces were not dependent directly upon the variable and uncertain movements of the hands, the accuracy of the human eye, or the skill and intelligence of the workman. Whitney secured it at first by means of patterns, guides, templets, gauges and jigs.

With these accessories the operations on each part became simple and direct. Any ordinary unskilled mechanic, without previous training, could soon learn to make one of the parts to perfection, acquiring special dexterity and rapidity of execution of the manual work required in guiding the machine, or following the guides provided for him. Such a workman, though ignorant of the operations required of others, or perhaps of the machine upon a part of which he is working, becomes specially expert in the work assigned to him, and he soon prefers to work by the piece rather than by the hour. While the system secures all the advantages of the division of labor and of great skill in the fabrication of the parts separately, it does not tend to make first-class skilled workmen in a general way. The workman becomes to a great degree merely the adjunct of a machine, and the inventive faculties are not aroused. We should also remember that all workmen are not born to be inventors and originators, and that the machines make places for many men who would never attain sufficient manual skill to enable them to succeed as general artisans. But while the system of division of labor, and making parts of machines with approximate uniformity, may be in one way destructive to the artistic development of the workman, it brings in the new beauties of uniformity, and precision of workmanship in the finished product, and so far cheapens production, and stimulates other manufactures, that thousands of men may enjoy many of the conveniences and luxuries of life, which, under the old methods of production, would be possible only to the wealthy few. By thus promoting the general prosperity, and rendering the rapid advance of civilization possible, the true interests of art and artists are promoted rather than repressed or restricted.

Mr. Whitney's determination to introduce this new system of manufacturing, by making all the parts separately and independently one of the other, and afterwards assembling them to

make the complete piece, was ridiculed and laughed at by the French and English ordnance officers to whom it was explained. It was said that by his system every arm would be a model, and that arms so made would cost enormously. Even at Washington the system could not be at first understood. After advancing so much money there was surprise and uneasiness that not a single gun had been completed, and it became necessary for Mr. Whitney to go on to Washington and explain the whole plan and system in detail. Taking with him ten pieces of each part of a musket, he exhibited them to the Secretary of War and a few army officers invited to be present. Not a single arm was presented to their view, but a succession of piles of the different parts.

Mr. Whitney, selecting one part indiscriminately from each of the piles, rapidly put the parts together and produced a musket, then another, and another musket, until the ten complete muskets had been set up. The old idea was that each musket had to be built up by making each part as needed, one part being fitted to another part, but not necessarily with exact uniformity of the similar parts of different muskets.

Amongst other minor improvements in the construction of muskets, the bronze, or brass pan, for the flint lock musket was introduced by Mr. Whitney. The ordinary iron pan became rapidly corroded by the burning powder, and the substitution of bronze was a simple but important change. He also was the first to introduce and use milling machines in the fabrication of arms. Many of the machines and machine tools in use to-day at the government armories had their germs in the machines constructed here by Mr. Whitney.

As the success of Mr. Whitney's methods became known and appreciated he was called upon for advice in several directions. Amongst others, the government armory at Springfield sought his aid, and he parted with some of his best workmen of general knowledge, whom he had familiarized with his system and plans, to go to Springfield and introduce his system there. It was a long time, however, before Mr. Whitney's uniformity system was generally adopted. Even so late as the World's Exhibition of 1851, the exhibition of a number of American rifles, made upon the Whitney interchangeable system, excited

so much attention amongst military men that the British government sent a commission of officers to this country to examine the methods of manufacture; and American gun-making machines, especially milling machines, were extensively ordered. Russia, Prussia, Spain, Turkey, Sweden, Denmark and other countries, have been supplied with American machinery for the manufacture of arms.

In 1802 the State of Connecticut, through a resolution of the General Assembly, communicated by letter from Governor Jonathan Trumbull, made application to Mr. Whitney regarding the expense of 2,000 stand of small arms for the State.

In the year 1812 the United States made a second contract with Mr. Whitney for the manufacture of 15,000 stand of arms. He also had contracts with the State of New York.

Governor Tompkins in May, 1814, wrote as follows to the Secretary of War:

“I have visited Mr. Whitney’s establishment at New Haven, and have no hesitation in saying that I consider it the most perfect I have ever seen; and I believe it is well understood, that few persons in this country surpass Mr. Whitney in talents as a mechanic, or in experience as a manufacturer of muskets. Those which he has made for us, are generally supposed to exceed in form and quality, all the muskets either of foreign or domestic fabrication, belonging to the state, and are universally preferred and selected by the most competent judges.

“It is perhaps proper for me to observe further, that all Mr. Whitney’s contracts with the State of New York have been performed with integrity, and to the entire satisfaction of the several military commissaries of the State.”

In addition to Mr. Whitney’s engrossing labor at the Armory he found time to discharge his duty in public affairs in other matters. During the war of 1812 he took an active part in the defense of New Haven. In the town meetings of Hamden he frequently took an active part and was several times called upon to preside as moderator and to act as auditor of the accounts of the town. He was “justice of the peace,” and by the people of Hamden was generally known as “Squire Whitney.”

The business of making cotton gins was also carried on for a time at the Armory.

With Robert Fulton he had considerable correspondence. Mr. Fulton having in 1810 sought Mr. Whitney’s advice in re-

gard to the defense of his rights under the patent for steam-boats. Under date of April 4th, 1811, Mr. Fulton wrote :

“I return you my thanks for your kind and satisfactory letter. It will give me great pleasure to see you on your arrival in New York.

You justly remark that in proportion to an invention being beneficial to the public, unprincipled individuals feel interested in depriving the inventor of his mental property : of this you, Sir Richard Arkwright and Mr. Watt have had more experience than any other men and you have done more for mankind. Our courts are beginning to see the importance of holding out encouragement to men of inventive powers by guarding their rights, but to this end inventors and patentees must combine to defend themselves against the many. After taking up and laboring through the difficulties of steamboats—a subject which was universally ridiculed as impracticable—after proving their practicability and utility to the world and accommodating the public with a conveyance from New York to Albany, which for elegance, convenience and rapidity is superior to any conveyance on this globe, and which should be considered an ornament to the arts in our country, a company of speculators at Albany, without the least mechanical knowledge, without the least pretence to invention have built two boats in which they have copied me exact with a hope that the imperfection of the law will permit them to run and earn money to contend with us in law until the suit be decided, to prevent which I am about to apply for an injunction and sought your case as one in point.” . . .

At the age of fifty-one, in the year 1817, Mr. Whitney married Miss Henrietta F. Edwards, youngest daughter of the Hon. Pierpont Edwards, and grand-daughter of the Rev. Jonathan Edwards.

In 1822 he was seized with the severe malady which terminated his life in 1825.

Mr. Whitney had in an eminent degree a creative organizing mind; god-like attributes which he delighted to exercise. Original and independent in his conceptions, he devised the shortest and most direct methods to accomplish any end. Traditions, precedents and prejudices which eluded the vision of most men seemed to vanish before him. He was singularly free from prejudices and was above the thralldom of precedents. With him when an end was to be attained or a machine to be made the question was, not how do others do this, but what is the best way to do it. There seemed little or no barrier to his power of shaping and moulding materials to his ends. Having been brought on the cotton plantation to face a problem which to those most deeply interested seemed insoluble he

quickly solved it, and by the simplest and most direct combination produced the desired results. His device, like that of the Morse recording instrument or the rock-breaker of his nephew, Eli Whitney Blake, remains essentially the same to the present day. The cotton gin as an invention has been in use for a century, and although we have passed through a period of wonderful inventive activity it remains substantially unchanged in the essential features of its construction. The revolving toothed cylinder, the screen, and the brush, still constitute the chief necessary parts of the machine.

We may believe that the practical success of the cotton gin, so clearly to Whitney the result of his own mental operations, strengthened and emboldened him and gave him new courage for other undertakings. It required not only inventive originality but great boldness and self-reliance to step out so far beyond the boundaries of experience and precedent at that time and undertake the manufacture of ten thousand muskets for the United States.

Of the value to the world of Whitney's invention of the cotton gin, and of his introduction of machine work in manufacturing,—the uniformity or Whitney system—it is impossible to form any just estimate. Lord Macaulay is quoted as saying:*

“What Peter the Great did to make Russia dominant, Eli Whitney's invention of the cotton gin has more than equalled in its relation to the progress and power of the United States.”

Charles Barnard, in his chapter of American Industrial History, says:

“In the great company of American inventors, Eli Whitney stands on a plane with Jacquard. Like him, he created a wholly novel invention that changed the industrial history of a nation.”†

The portrait before us, painted by C. B. King of Washington and kindly lent for this occasion by Mr. Whitney's son, gives us a better idea of Mr. Whitney's personal appearance than any description.‡ Prof. Olmsted says:

* Our First Century, Devens, p. 153.

† *Magazine of American History*, xii, 291.

‡ There are several other portraits of Eli Whitney extant. Two of them by Munson are in the possession of the families of his deceased

“ He was considerably above the ordinary size ; of a dignified carriage, and of an open, manly, and agreeable countenance. His manners were conciliatory, and his whole appearance such as to inspire universal respect. Among his particular friends no man was more esteemed. Some of the earliest of his intimate associates were also among the latest. With one or two of the bosom friends of his youth, he kept up a correspondence by letter for thirty years, with marks of continually increasing regard. His sense of honor was high and his feelings of resentment and indignation occasionally strong.”

Professor Silliman, Senior, bore the following testimony :

“ With all his contemplative ingenuity and habitual attention to mechanical details Mr. Whitney did not allow his mind to be narrowed down to a limited horizon. His views of men and things were on the most enlarged scale. The interests of mankind and especially of his native country as connected with government, liberty, order, science, arts, literature, morals and religion were familiar to his mind and he delighted in conversing with men of a similar character.

His amiable and generous disposition also prompted him strongly to social intercourse. His countenance and person were so prepossessing as to excite an active interest especially whenever he spoke ; his gentlemanly manners marked by a calm but dignified modesty were still those of a man not unconscious of his own mental powers ; he was therefore self-possessed, while a winning affability and an agreeable voice made his conversation as attractive as it was instructive. He abounded in information and in original thoughts ; he was always welcome in the best society both at home and when he traveled ; the first men of the country and from almost every State in the Union called on him and much of his time was necessarily passed in society.”*

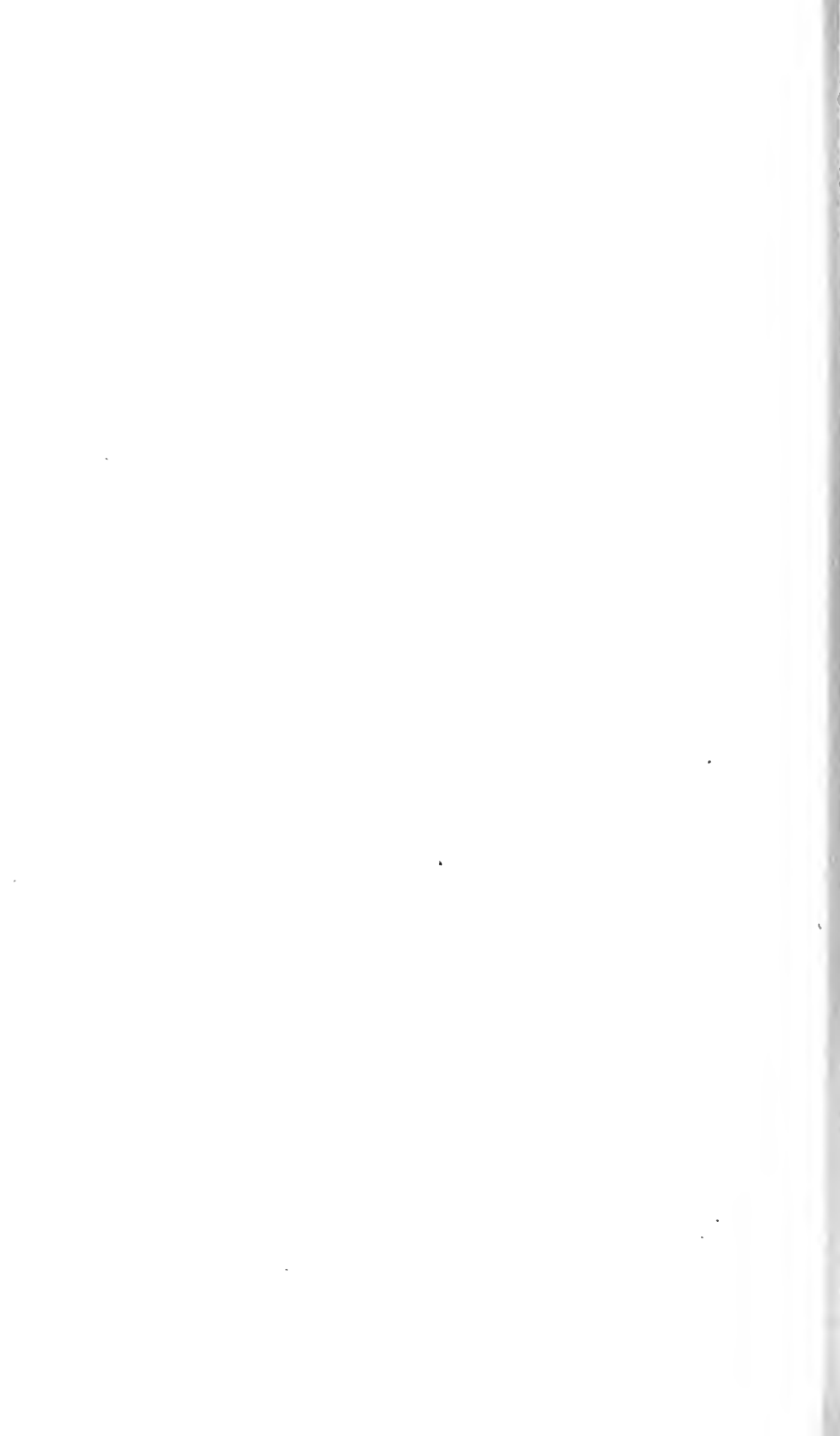
At the grave of Whitney, the accomplished scholar Jeremiah Day, President of Yale College, said :

“ How frequent and how striking are the monitions to us that this world is not the place of our rest ! It is not often the case that a man has laid his plans for the business and the enjoyment of life with a deeper sagacity than the friend whose remains we have now committed to the dust. He had received as the gift of heaven, a mind of a superior order. Early habits of thinking gave to it a character of indepen-

nephews Eli W. and Elihu Blake. The steel engraved portrait by Hinman accompanying the memoir of Olmsted, 1846, and also in the Hamden Centennial History, is from the King portrait, and is regarded as an excellent likeness. The engraving accompanying the first publication of the Olmsted memoir in the *Am. Jour. Sci.*, 1832, is by Wm. Hoogland, N. Y.

* Memoir of Whitney—Olmsted's, p. 74.

dence and originality. He was accustomed to form his decision not after the model of common opinion, but by his own nicely balanced judgment. His mind was enriched with the treasures which are furnished by a liberal education. He had a rare fertility of invention in the arts; an exactness of execution almost unequalled. By a single exercise of his powers he changed the state of cultivation and multiplied the wealth of a large portion of our country. He set an example of system and precision in our mechanical operations which others had not thought of even attempting."



MRS. EATON'S TRIAL (IN 1644);

AS IT APPEARS UPON THE RECORDS OF THE FIRST CHURCH
OF NEW HAVEN.

BY REV. NEWMAN SMYTH, D.D.

[Read Oct. 15th, 1888.]

NOTE. Mrs. Anne Eaton was the second wife of Gov. Theophilus Eaton, whom she married in England, about the year 1625. This was also a second marriage for her. Her first husband was David Yale of Denbighshire, North Wales. She was the daughter of an English Bishop, probably George Lloyd, Bishop of Chester.*

The Governor lived in a large house on the north side of Elm street, between Church and State, his home lot extending over what is now Orange street. His family at this time was a large one, and comprised his mother, the widow of Rev. Richard Eaton, B.D. a canon of Lichfield cathedral, and several children by each of his marriages. One of these, his daughter by his first wife, now probably a woman of thirty or more, and unmarried, was the person referred to in the church records as "Mrs. Mary Eaton." She afterwards married Valentine Hill of Boston. A portrait painted about 1635, which is in the collections of this Society, is supposed to represent either her or Mrs. Hopkins, a daughter of Mrs. Eaton.

It is certain that Gov. Eaton did not live happily with his wife, after her trial and excommunication,† and it is probable that there had been more or less of estrangement before that time. Soon after his death which occurred in 1657, she returned to the mother country with her children. From the narrative which follows, it is evident that she was of a high-strung, nervous temperament, which sometimes threw her into a state bordering on that which clouded the life of her daughter by her first marriage, above mentioned, Mrs. Ann Hopkins, the wife of Governor Edward Hopkins of Hartford.

The greater part of the record of this trial was printed in 1839, with valuable annotations, in the appendix to Bacon's Historical Discourses (page 296).

A few explanations may be of service as to some of the other persons mentioned in the proceedings.

* New Haven Hist. Soc. Papers, III. 227.

† I New Haven Col. Rec., 268-270.

“The Lady Moodey” had been excommunicated in the preceding year from the church in Salem, Massachusetts. “Mary Launce” became the (second) wife of Rev. John Sherman of Watertown. “Mr. Gregson” was Thomas Gregson, one of the magistrates of the Colony, and of the commissioners representing it in the annual Congresses of the United Colonies of New England. He was lost on the “phantom ship,” while on a voyage to London to procure a patent for the Colony of New Haven. “Mr. Hooke” was the Rev. William Hooke, M.A., who had been vicar of Axmouth in Devonshire, and now was Teacher of the New Haven Church. In 1656, he returned to England, became Cromwell’s domestic chaplain, and was made Master of the Savoy Hospital. “Brother Lupton” was, doubtless, Thomas Lupton, who was admitted a member of the General Court during this year.

The trial of Mrs. Eaton was naturally the subject of much talk among the inhabitants of the town. In 1646 Mrs. Brewster was charged before the Court with having said “if Mrs. Eaton had seene her light before she came into the church, she had not come in.” She made answer that she did not recollect such a remark, but that she had “heard that Mrs. Eaton came into the church in a hurry, and went out in a hurry.”*

“A brief story of Church proceedings with Mrs. Eaton, the Governor’s wife, for divers scandalous offences, which she gave to sundry out of the Church.

Matters being prepared, they were propounded to the Church by the ruling Elder, in the Public Assembly, the fourteenth day of the sixth month, 1644, after the contribution on the Lord’s day as followeth :

The Elders have understood by divers of the brethren that they do wait for and expect to hear what issue the business that concerns Mrs. Eaton is brought to. The Elders have not neglected the looking after it, but have now prepared matters for the hearing of the Church. If the brethren be willing that she shall be now called forth, they have the particulars to read unto you, and if they said nothing against it, they should take silence for their consent.

And after a little pause, the brethren being silent, the ruling Elder called Mrs. Eaton forth. Then our Pastor, Mr. Davenport, stood up and spoke as followeth :

Brethren, you do, I suppose, expect some account from the Elders of the issue of all the pains and patience which hath

* I New Haven Col. Rec., 243.

been exercised by the Church towards our Sister, Mrs. Eaton. I am sorry that we cannot give in such a return as might answer all our desires. The public offence, which she knows is grievous to us, she still continueth in, departing from the Assembly whensoever baptism is administered or else absenting herself from the sermon and from all public worship in the congregation, though she knoweth that it is an offense to the whole Church. How she fell into the error, you partly know. Her will was gained to it before her judgment, and therefore she sought some arguments or other against the baptising of infants, and to that end spake with Lady Moodey and importuned her to lend her a book made by A. R. which having gotten into her hands she read secretly, and as secretly engaged her spirit in that way. For she neither asked her husband at home according to the rule 1 Cor. xiv, 35 (whose faithfulness and sufficiency to have held forth light to her according to God, we all know) nor did she seek for any light or help from her pastor according to the rule, Mala. ii, 7, though in other cases she has come freely to him, and departed from him not without fruit; nor did she seek help from the body whereof she is a member, nor from any Member of this body, save that she showed her book with the charge of secrecy to one or two whom she hoped to gain to her party, and so to have made way for a further spread of her infection in the body. The first discovery of her peremptory engagement was by her departing from the Assembly, after the morning sermon, when the Lord's Supper was administered, and the same afternoon, after sermon when baptism was administered judging herself to be not baptized, nor durst she be present at this latter, imagining that predo baptism is unlawful.

In a Meeting of the Church among themselves on the third day following, some of the brethren desired that Mrs. Eaton would declare her reasons, whereupon she thus did and held. She professed her inability to speak, but told us of a book she had, which had taken her off from the grounds of her former practice; for she formerly thought that baptism had come in the room of circumcision and therefore might lawfully be administered unto infants as that was. Hereupon I asked her whether if that point were cleared she would be satisfied. She

seemed to assent. Then I understood (with the help of Christ) to examine her book, and the next third day to begin to speak to the first part of it in the Meeting of the Church among themselves; and the next Lord's day to begin to preach out of Col. ii, 11-12, thence to prove that baptism is come in the place of circumcision and is to be administered unto infants, and so to answer the second part of the book; which as you know hath been done, with a blessing from God for the recovery of some from this error; and for the establishment of others in truth. Only Mrs. Eaton (received) no benefit by all, but continued as before. Which when I perceived, thinking there might be some defect in her understanding what was spoken, or in her memory, I put myself voluntarily to a further task for her good, and wrote out what I spoke in the Church, alone in answer to the former part of the book, and what I preached in public to the next Assembly on the Lord's day, and got them to be wrote out in a fair hand, and sent them to her husband for her use with this request, that it would please him to join with himself Mr. Gregson and Mr. Hooke to whom probably she would give ear sooner than to others, and let one read A. R., and the other read my answers by several portions that she might understand what was read and have liberty to object for her satisfaction while things were in her mind. This they did, though she showed much backwardness and unwillingness thereunto; and when they had read to a period and prayed her to speak if she had anything to say, she neither would object nor yield to the truth, but behaved herself with such contemptuous carriage that they were discouraged in the beginning. But at my desire they returned to it again, and continued thus reading till they had gone through the book, and then left her with her both A. R. and the answers. After that I waited to see if her own private reading would have any better success. When I saw that she continued still as she was nor did propound any question, I marvelled at the hand of God herein, which to me seemed dreadful, fearing that, as before she would not seek light so now God would not give her an heart to receive light. Whilst I was thus sadly exercised, divers rumors were spread up and down the town of her scandalous walking in her family, which

were in the mouths of many before they came to my knowledge, being almost continually in my study and family except some public work or private duty called me forth. At last with two or three of the brethren who had also heard of this common fame, considered what we were called to do, and concluded that it being a thing commonly and scandalously reported, the rule requireth that we should inquire, make search and diligently ask whether it were true, Deut. xvii, 13, 14 by proposition. Accordingly Mr. Gregson, Mr. Hooke and myself went to Mr. Eaton, told him what we heard commonly reported, and prayed him to certify us whether the things were so or not. He desired me to speak with his wife, which accordingly we did, she desired us to ask her mother and daughter and servants, they both being present, and calling the forenamed into the room where we all were. Upon inquiry it appeared the reports were true, and more evils were discovered than we had heard of. We now began to see that God took us off from treating with her any further about the error of her judgment, till we might help forward by the Will of God her repentance for these evils in life believing that else these evils would by the just judgment of God hinder (her) from receiving light, and that repentance for these would further light and receiving the truth, according to John vii, 17. We therefore agreed to deal with her in a private way. To that end because the matter was past the first step or degree of one with one being known to us all. We went together to speak with Mrs. Eaton and held forth the particulars and the rules broken by them and left it with her exhorting her to repent. And having waited a convenient time, but without any fruit saving a discovery of her hardness of heart and impenitency, we told her we must acquaint the Church with this matter, and labored with her to prevent it in part at least, by taking up the matter in private, by holding forth her repentance privately for such particulars as were not commonly reported; for we were unwilling to bring forth such things into public, and some of them were of a smaller kind or degree of evil than some other evils, and therefore might more easily be ended if it pleased her, and began to read some of them to her. She refused to give any private satisfaction for any. Told us that

these also were common talk, and that she herself had met with reports of them in other houses. We answered that, nevertheless, seeing that we had not heard of them we were not bound to take notice of them in public, nor would, if the Lord would help her to see the evil of them, and to hold it forth in private. She utterly refused and told us we labored with her in vain and should have no other answer, and wondered that the Church did not proceed. Thus we are compelled to bring sundry particulars of which she was privately admonished into the public notice of the Church, because she refused to hear us in a private way, according to the rule in Matt. xviii, 17. There were almost as many more which we leave out (nor did privately admonish her of) because they are not sufficiently proved by two witnesses as these are, and these such witnesses as herself hath not excepted against their testimony, though she has been often desired to object or answer, what she pleased. The Elders will now read the particulars to you.

THE SEVERAL FACTS FOR WHICH THE CHURCH CENSURED
MRS. EATON.

1. That Mrs. Eaton sitting at dinner with Mr. Eaton and old Mrs. Eaton, Mrs. Eaton struck old Mrs. Eaton twice on the face with the back of her hand, which Mrs. Eaton saith she felt three days after; and Mr. Eaton sitting at table held his wife's hands, and whilst Mr. Eaton held his wife's hands, she cried out with such vehemency of spirit "I am afflicted," "I am afflicted," as her mother saith she thought she might be heard over to Mr. Davenport's. Witness old Mrs. Eaton and herein is broken the Fifth Commandment, in breaking the rules of her relation to her mother; and also the Sixth Commandment is broken in her sinful rage and passion and in her striking her mother.

2. Mrs. Mary Eaton being knitting a pair of gloves and when she knit a piece of a glove, her mother said she had knit a glove and a piece, which Mrs. Mary denied, and said she had not knit so much. Her mother upon this grew outrageous, struck her, pinched her, so that the signs of it appeared upon her, and knocked her head against the dresser, which

made her nose bleed much. Besides others who were present, this was done before four Indians, who were then in the Kitchen. Witnessed by old Mrs. Eaton, and Mrs. Mary and Elizabeth Browning, who saith though she was not in the kitchen when this was done, yet she was above in the chamber and heard Mrs. Mary cry and heard the blows up into the chamber, and when she came down she saw Mrs. Mary's nose bleed very much, she asked what was the matter, and they told her Mrs. Eaton had beat Mrs. Mary. This is a breach of the Fifth Commandment in breaking the rules of her relation and so contrary to the rule of the Apostle, Eph. vi, 4; Col. iii, 21. And likewise she hath herein broken the Sixth Commandment, contrary to Matt. v, 21, contrary to the rule of the Apostle, Eph. iv, 31. Likewise it is a breach of the Sixth Commandment, as it is a just offense to the Indians and so a means of the murder of their souls, and so contrary to the rule of the Apostle, 1 Cor. x, 32.

3. That Mrs. Eaton hath unjustly charged Mrs. Mary, saying her belly was great and her breasts big almost to meet, and she looked blue under the eyes, and that she vomited, and that she looked very ill, and she feared her sickness would prove an ill sickness. Mrs. Mary saith she never vomited, and Mary Launce saith she knew she never vomited since she came into the house. Sister Maudline saith that she living in the house about half a year, never saw any light carriage in her that might give any suspicions to ground any just charge, and she took the more notice of her carriage because old Mrs. Eaton had often asked her about Mrs. Mary's carriage, because she had heard her mother had spoken many suspicious words concerning Mrs. Mary. Brother Lupton saith he never saw anything in Mrs. Mary but comely and well. Brother Bradley saith for light carriage in Mrs. Mary with any man he never saw any in the least, nor had cause for any such thought. And Brother Lupton saith the same. Mrs. Eaton being demanded by Mr. Gregson, Mr. Davenport and Mr. Hooke why she charged Mrs. Mary with such things, she answered that she said it to set more upon her to prevent it, because she observed her temper and carriage (saying her carriage was wanton). Being earnestly pressed to give an instance of any

of these charges upon her, she then could give none. This charge is confessed in the answer Mrs. Eaton gives. This is a breach of the Ninth Commandment, as it is a slander and that of a high nature; and concerning the reason she gives why she laid this charge upon her daughter, it is contrary to Rom. iii, 8.

4. Mrs. Eaton charged Mrs. Mary to be the cause of the ruin of the souls of many that came into the house, especially of Mary Launce, but shewed not wherein; this is a sin against the Ninth Commandment and contrary to Psla. xv, 3. Witness Mrs. Mary and Mary Launce.

5. Mrs. Eaton boiling some milk, it was thrown down and Mrs. Eaton spoke as if Mrs. Mary had done it, the which Mrs. Mary denied and said she did not. Her mother prayed her for the Lord Jesus Christ's sake to hold her peace. Confessed by Mrs. Eaton; this is a sin against the Third Commandment as it is a taking God's name in vain, and against the Ninth Commandment as she would not let her daughter clear herself.

6. Mrs. Eaton falsely charged Mrs. Mary, saying she wrought with the devil. Witnessed by Mrs. Mary and Ann Stuart; this is against the Ninth Commandment, a false accusation of a high nature.

7. Mrs. Eaton (about) to brew asked Mary Launce for a tap, the which she had given to Mary Breck; Mrs. Eaton came into the kitchen and asked Mary Breck for it. Mary Breck had given it to Mary Launce, who going to fetch it, and coming by Mrs. Eaton, she pinched her, saying she had too much blood in her face, and struck her with the tap in the eye and made it swell, and made it black and pinched her by the arms, and pulled her by the nose, so that she made her nose bleed. Mary Launce demanded of her what cause she had to use her so; she answered wherein, my dear, my dear, near twenty times, but yet she continued pinching her, but gave no reason why she pinched her, but followed her into the Buttery and there pinched her also. Witness Mary Launce and Mary Breck, who saith she saw Mrs. Eaton pinch Mary Launce by the arms and by the nose very grievously, and made her nose bleed, only she did not see her strike Mary Launce with the tap, yet this she saith that before Mary Launce went into the

cellar her eye was well, but presently after she came up again it was swelled, and Mary Breck being in the kitchen, she heard Mrs. Eaton and Mary Launce in the entry making an noise as if Mrs. Eaton was fighting with Mary Launce, and presently after she saw her face swelled; this is a breach of the Fifth Commandment in violation of the rules of her relation, contrary to the rule of the Apostle, Colo. iv, 1. Likewise it is a sin against the Sixth Commandment in her bitterness and frowardness of spirit, contrary to Eph. iv, 31.

8. Mrs. Eaton one morning asked Mary Launce when she would go away that she might get her another maid, and she told her a month after that time. Witness of this Mary Launce and Anna Eaton. Yet after this, when Mr. Hopkins was in town, Mrs. Eaton denied that ever Mary Launce had told her of going away at a month, and charged her with an untruth for saying she had given her warning to go away at a month. Witness Mr. Hopkins and Mary Launce; this is an untruth against the Ninth Commandment.

9. Mrs. Eaton well knowing that Mary Launce was to go to live with old Mrs. Eaton, when Sister Maudline went away from old Mrs. Eaton, for she spake to Sister Maudline to be in Mary Launce's place, when Mary Launce went to live with old Mrs. Eaton, and also the first motion of Mary Launce's going to old Mrs. Eaton was from Mrs. Eaton herself, and yet when Maudline was gone, and Mary Launce was to go to old Mrs. Eaton, Mrs. Eaton told Mary Launce that she knew not of her going to old Mrs. Eaton, and said she should go away unless old Mrs. Eaton would provide her a maid. Witness Mary Launce; this is an untruth against the Ninth Commandment.

Also old Mrs. Eaton witnessed it and saith it bred much unquietness between her daughter and her.

10. After Mary Launce was gone to old Mrs. Eaton and Mrs. Eaton having no maid, old Mrs. Eaton sent Mary Launce down to help Mrs. Eaton do some business in the house one Lord's day. At noon Mary Launce offered Mrs. Eaton to help her and she answered she should not help her do anything; Mary Launce came again at night and offered her help to Mrs. Eaton to help her do anything she had to do; Mrs. Eaton answered there was nothing to do for her, and gave Mary

Launce a charge she should not come down into the kitchen, without she had anything to do for old Mrs. Eaton; on the second day, in the morning did deny that Mary Launce had offered to help her do anything, and said she would do nothing for her. Mary Launce being before Mr. Eaton and Mrs. Eaton to affirm that she offered to help Mrs. Eaton, but Mrs. Eaton would not let her. Mrs. Eaton did deny that Mary Launce had offered to help her, and thereupon Mary Launce called in Mrs. Mary to affirm that she had offered her help to help her, the which she did affirm. Mrs. Mary heard Mrs. Eaton say it was not so, however God is a God of truth, but that is a lie. Witness Mary Launce and Mrs. Mary; this is an untruth against the Ninth Commandment.

11. Mrs. Eaton said that Anthony, the neager had bewitched the beer because it would not run when it was mashed. Witness Anthony the neager. And Brother Bradley saith he heard Mrs. Eaton say the beer was bewitched, and that Mrs. Eaton would not let the neager look into the tub of beer, for fear he should bewitch it. This is a sin against the Ninth Commandment, in a false accusation. And it is a sin against the Fifth Commandment, in violating the rule of her relation if he had been a witch he should not have been kept in the house.

12. Mrs. Eaton has often charged Mary Breck with lying and theft, and said she had lied and theived and worked with the devil in the house, and she might say whored, too. Witnessed by Elix Browning, Anna Smart, and Mary Breck. This is a breach of the Fifth Commandment, violating the rules of her relation, and also against the Ninth Commandment, being reproach and reviling.

13. Mrs. Eaton says to her maids God would send their souls to hell; this is a sin against the Third Commandment, breaking that rule, Math. 7, 1. Witness Mary Breck and Ann Smart.

14. Mrs. Eaton hath often called her maids wicked wretches, with many other unpeacable words from one week to another. Witness Mary Breck and Elizabeth Browning. Her unpeacable speeches is a sin against the Sixth Commandment. And her reviling them is against the Ninth Commandment, contrary to 1 Pete. 21-22-23.

15. When Mr. Davenport was in preaching and speaking something against Anabaptism, Mrs. Eaton said as she sat in her seat, it is not so, and when Mr. Davenport said he would be brief, I would you would or I pray be so. Anna Eaton heard her Mother speak thus, and told her brother and he told his Mother; old Mrs. Eaton saith that Theophilus telling his Mother of it she said it was not so. Anna Eaton saith that her Mother did deny that she said so. But Mrs. Eaton since hath acknowledged she did speak to that purpose; this is contrary to Isa. 30, 8, 9, 10.

16. When Mr. Gregson, Mr. Davenport and Mr. Hooke were at Mr. Eaton's in the room speaking with Mrs. Eaton, they wanting a candle, one of the maids came to Mrs. Eaton for one, and she bid her ask her Master for a candle, saying she had none; he said, you have, she said again, I have none; he said, you have. Mrs. Eaton answered which you gave me last night, Mr. Eaton said I gave you none, he said, you took them yourself, and then went out and fetched one. Witnessed by Mr. Gregson, Mr. Davenport and Mr. Hooke. This is an untruth against the Ninth Commandment.

17. One morning, Mrs. Eaton finding fault with her man about not bringing water, made her complaint to Mr. Eaton against the man, and because he not seeing cause for it did not reproach the man according to her mind, among other words, this she uttered (with much heat of Spirit) and said to Mr. Eaton, you and this man may go together, for the man well out of the house I can get my bread and cost you nothing, and that desire of getting from her husband she has prosecuted importunately. Witnessed by old Mrs. Eaton, John Massom and Mrs. Mary Eaton. This is a breach of the Fifth Commandment; violating her relation to her husband and her servant, and against the Sixth Commandment in her distempered passion, and so a scandal by her ill example. Also her desire of getting from her husband is against the Covenant of Marriage, contrary to 1 Cor. 7, 10.

Sister Preston saith, Mary Breck told her that there were little truth in Mrs. Eaton's words for she would oftentimes charge her maids with things, when there was no truth in them.

Mary Lannee saith ever since she came to Mr. Eaton's house she hath observed it hath been Mrs. Eaton's way to speak untruths.

Elizabeth Browning saith that all Mrs. Eaton's maids did apprehend Mrs. Eaton to speak much untruth ordinarily in her speeches, and she would speak very rashly to her.

Brother Lupton saith that it was usual when he came home the maids would complain to him of Mrs. Eaton's unquietness with them, and he did speak with Mrs. Eaton and wish her to live in love and peace, she did lay the faults on her maids, and he spoke to them not to provoke their Mrs. and they wished him to pray for them, that they might not provoke her, Mrs. Mary professing it was the desire of her heart to give her Mother content and not willingly provoke her.

Brother Bradley saith he never knew any cause given by the maids to provoke Mrs. Eaton, but they had great provocations from her, for they could do almost nothing to give her content, which did discourage them, and many times made them careless. He further saith he hath observed Mrs. Eaton's way to be very unquiet, unstable and self willed, and more of late than formerly.

After that the ruling Elder had read these several facts, he propounded to Mrs. Eaton if she had anything to object against these facts that were charged upon her. She sat down and said nothing. After this was done, it was propounded to the brethren whether the facts that were read and charged upon Mrs. Eaton were not sufficiently proved by those witnesses; and they gave their vote that they were sufficiently proved. Then it was propounded to the brethren, that they having heard the several rules that was charged upon Mrs. Eaton to be broken by her, whether they were rightfully applied to the several facts; if they were satisfied therein they should declare it by lifting up their hands, which accordingly they did. After this was done it was again propounded to the brethren that they having heard the several facts charged and proved, and the rules she had broken thereby, they should take it into their consideration whether she was presently to be cast out for these facts, or whether it would admit of an admonition only at this time. Then the brethren freely spake their

apprehensions. Then our Pastor stood up and spake to the Church and held forth light unto them shewing that those facts were not of that nature that they called for a present cutting off, but he rather inclined to give a public admonition; for though the charges were many and great yet (it was to be considered) whether they could be proved to proceed from a habitual frame of sinning in her, so as that she may not be counted a visible saint. And he also showed that though some sins could not admit of an admonition if they were public scandals, as those in Cor. v, yet whether any of these facts amounted so high was not clear. After our Pastor had done speaking and a little pause, it was propounded to the brethren whether they would have Mrs. Eaton at that time only admonished, and they that were of that mind should declare it by holding up their hands; and the brethren with one consent declared by their vote that at that time they would have her admonished. After the vote was passed, Mrs. Eaton stood up and spake to the Church, desiring that at that time there might be no censure passed upon her. Then our Pastor stood up and answered her that seeing the matter was brought into public, such evils could not pass without the Church's rebuke, the rule being, they that sin openly must be rebuked openly, and she must hear the Church. Then our Pastor proceeded and passed the sentence of admonition upon her. The form of the admonition was thus, that 'In the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, and with the consent of this Church, I do charge thee, Mrs. Eaton, to attend unto the several rules that you have broken, and to judge yourself by them, and to hold forth your repentance according to God, as you will answer it at the great day of Jesus Christ.'

After the admonition the Church waited expecting the fruit of it. But they found by clear and credible information, that she did continue offensive in her way both in her carriage in her family and otherwise. And in this time, whilst her carriage was offensive, she sent a writing to the ruling Elder, which when the Elders had considered, and found that it neither came up to the acknowledging the particulars for which she was admonished, nor held forth repentance according to God, and that her spirit was wholly under the former dis-

temper, the Elders agreed to speak with her, that they might encourage her, and draw her further on to repentance. In all mildness they told her what was defective in this note, and what further would be required (according) to God for the Church's satisfaction, to wit, three things :

1st, that she should acknowledge the facts according to the evidence in the particulars, and fall under the rules she had transgressed, by those facts as appeared in the admonition. 2d, that she should (hold) forth her repentance, confess her sins, and judge herself for them. 3d, that because there was a tract and course of scandalous mis-carriages, she should hold forth such reformation as might be testified to the Church's satisfaction, according to God by some that ordinarily conversed with her.

This advice she seemed to receive thankfully and to propose to apply herself thereto. But after about threequarters of a year waiting, no fruit of repentance appeared, so that sundry of the Church shewed themselves unsatisfied at these delays. From sundry other Churches also in the Bay and at Connecticut, being made acquainted with the proceedings of the Church in this matter, we saw that the Church was thought to be defective by their slowness to use the last remedy which Christ has appointed for recovery in this case. Hereupon the Elders went to her in private and told her that though it had been her duty to have sought reconciliation with the Church, whom she had offended, and knew they were yet unsatisfied, yet seeing she neglected, the Elders came to her to see what fruit might yet appear of the public, solemn admonition, to the end they might give some account thereof to the Church. She answered, she confessed it was her duty so to have done, but she (was) hindered by not finding in herself repentance to her own satisfaction. Being then pressed to know what hindered her repentance, and told that it must be either something charged upon her in way of fact whereof she was not guilty, or else some rule was not rightly applied to her correction ; if she had any such thing to alledge, they said, " we are here to inform your judgment." She answered, she had nothing to say against the admonition. Being then further pressed to speak if any such objections struck with her, or else they could

not see but she hindered herself and slighted the admonition, then she said she was not convinced of the breach of the Fifth Commandment, in the first fact charged, for she did not acknowledge her husband's Mother to be her Mother. The Elders answered, they conceived that was sufficiently clear before, that she had broken the Fifth Commandment, and therefore referred to this admonition; and finding that she continued obstinate, parted from her with these expressions, that we must give an account to the Church of what we found, and did bewail the hardness of her heart, and should mourn for her in secret.

Between this and the time she was to give her answer to the Church, she sent another writing to the ruling Elder, which when the Elders read, they found it to be so far short of holding forth that repentance the rule required, and (far short) of the first writing which yet when she wrote she was under the power of distemper as before. And so she continued to the very time of her coming before the Church.

Upon the 20th day of the third month, 1645, being the Lord's day, after the contribution, Mrs. Eaton was called before the Church in the public Assembly, to see what fruit was of the admonition. The particular facts charged upon her were read unto her, she answered then to some of them; but it growing late, the Church left off, for that time, and appointed the fourth day following to issue that matter. The next fourth day, after lecture was ended, Mrs. Eaton was called again. When she gave her answer to the Church, it pleased God to leave her so far to herself to the discovering of her distemper, that though full of tears at other times, when she hath a mind to express herself that way, yet at both times when she appeared before the Church she behaved herself without any show of remorse, and expressed herself with an ostentation of empty words which fell far short of the several charges in the admonition; and added unto the former offenses new offenses and lies in the presence of the Assembly, as followeth, namely:

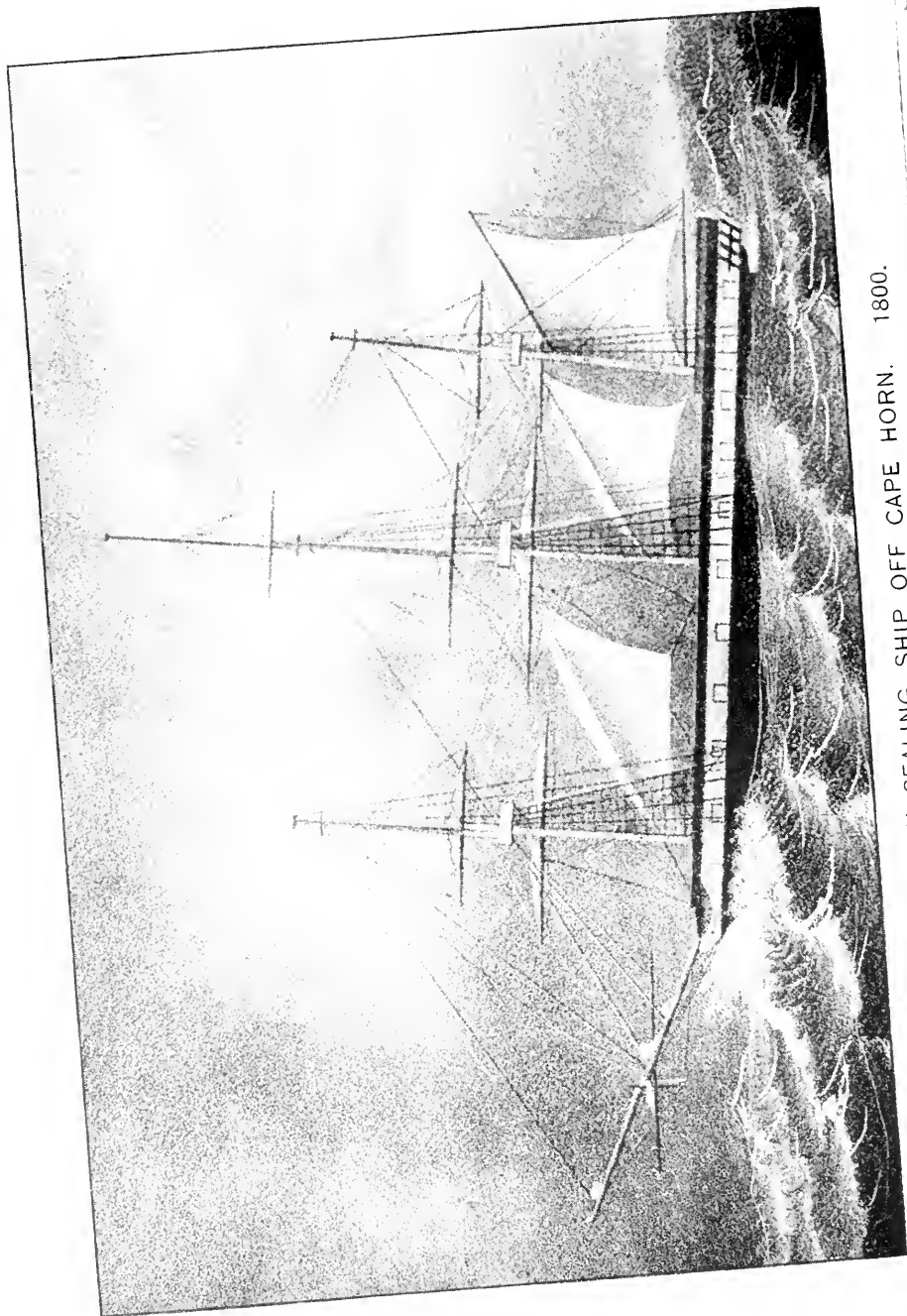
First Lie: She having denied old Mrs. Eaton to be her Mother sundry times, did in the face of the Assembly say, that it was always laid up as a principle in her heart that she was her Mother.

Second Lie: Being asked then how she came to be convinced that old Mrs. Eaton was her Mother, she said that Mr. Dod's book on the Commandments, which Mr. Hooke lent her, convinced her; it then being asked her what Mr. Dod's book convinced her of, she said that Mr. Dod's book convinced that she should give honor to ancient persons.

Third Lie: She charged Mr. Eaton, her husband, with breach of promise, in bringing his Mother into the house against her will, but it was proved it was with her consent.

Fourth Lie: She denied that she did speak of charging Mrs. Mary's honour but herself alone in the chamber where none was there as she knew of, but it was proved she spake of it to sundry in a scandalous way.

Fifth Lie: She had said to Mr. Gregson that she had repented to her own satisfaction before God, but she could not hold it out to men, yet in the presence of the whole Assembly she said she was not inwardly satisfied in her own heart with her repentance. Before the Church proceeded to sentence, the word of God concerning the censure was so (clear) to the whole Church that the Brethren being desired by the Elders to express their apprehensions concerning the case in hand, sundry of the brethren spoke weightily to convince her of her obstinacy in her sins, and all and every one of them, with one consent, gave their vote to her casting out; first, for not hearing the Church in her admonition, according to the rule, Matt. xviii; secondly, for new offences she gave, for lying before the Church, according to the rule, Rev. xxii, 15, and 1 Cor. v. And not the brethren only, but some Elders of other Churches being present, and being desired to the Elders to declare their judgment concerning the case, they did both speak weightily to her, and justify the way of the Church, concerning her casting out. One of them adding that if this case had been in the Churches up the river, it would not have been delayed so long. And thus with much grief of heart, and many tears the Church proceeded to censure; wherein God showed a wonderful presence to the satisfaction of all that were present."



NEW HAVEN SEALING SHIP OFF CAPE HORN. 1800.

NARRATIVE

OF A

SEALING AND TRADING VOYAGE

IN THE SHIP HURON, FROM NEW HAVEN, AROUND THE
WORLD, SEPTEMBER, 1802, TO OCTOBER, 1806.

BY JOEL ROOT, THE SUPERCARGO.

[Read by Thomas R. Trowbridge, November 26, 1888.]

NOTE. The following narrative is an extract from an account prepared by Mr. Root, for the benefit of his family, of some of the principal events of his life.

He was born in Southington, August 30th, 1770, the son of Elisha Root, a Captain in the Revolutionary Army, who died in the service. He entered Yale College in 1786, but only remained until March of his Sophomore year when he took a dismission, and soon afterwards married Eleanor Strong and engaged in farming in Southington. After five years he gave this up on account of the low prices then prevailing for farm products. As to this, he says: "The second year after I commenced, viz: in the year 1790, I sold 200 bushels of rye and corn of my own raising—the rye at 39 cents and the corn at 31½ cents per bushel." For the next few years he kept a dry goods store at Southington, and then in 1801 removed to New Haven.

"Neither my wife," he writes, "nor any of the children had been secured against the small-pox which prevailed at that time. It was thought best that they should be, before removing to New Haven, as they would there be more exposed to take that disease. Accordingly in the spring of 1800, I put my wife and seven daughters under the care of Dr. Bronson, of Middlebury, New Haven County, who carried them all, by the aid of Providence, safely through the disease. This was done against the remonstrance of all my friends, and the hand of Providence was doubtless in it, as it proved a very timely escape from their all having the disease the natural way, as the small-pox broke out in our immediate neighborhood. In the fall of that year our family were all exposed, as the disease was communicated at a small party held at our house on the evening of Thanksgiving Day, by a young girl who had

just come out of the Pest house without having been thoroughly cleansed. So we beheld the special Providence and mercy of God to us in this event."

In New Haven he went into the West India and coasting trade, and after eighteen months was offered the position of supercargo and director of the voyage of the ship Huron around the world. From this point his own words are given in full.

"I accepted the proposal, and having closed my business, on the second day of September, 1802, I set sail for the Pacific Ocean on board the ship Huron.

The first object of the voyage was to procure a cargo of hair seal skins, for the American market, after which I was authorized to stop at the island of Massafuero, with ten or twelve of the hands on board the ship, for the purpose of procuring a cargo of fur seal skins for the China market, while the ship returned home with the hair seal skins. A contract was entered into with twelve of the hands, before sailing, to stop there with me, provided I thought best to do so.

We pursued our voyage (stopping at the Cape de Verde island for salt) without the intervention of anything worthy of note until the 27th day of November. At daylight of that day we found our ship embargoed on the coast of Brazil in latitude 22 south, about two miles from land, standing directly on shore in six fathoms of water. The fore part of the night the wind blew a fresh breeze, but providentially light in the after part of the night; otherwise we should have been on shore before daylight, as the night was very dark and drizzly.

Here we experienced the kind protection of Providence in abating the wind, to which circumstance alone we were indebted for our safety. We now continued our course southwardly until the 24th day of December. In the afternoon of that day, the captain, supposing the ship to be in the latitude of the Falkland islands (where we were to stop for a supply of water), and between them and the main land, stood to the eastward, expecting to get sight of the islands the next day; but through miscalculation found himself mistaken, and after running near one hundred leagues to the eastward, concluded that a westerly course was necessary to find them, he having run down for them before we got into their latitude, which providentially saved us from shipwreck, as we undoubtedly

passed just to the northward of them the first night, and had we been in their latitude must have run on to them under all sail. The night being dark and drizzly we could not see twice the ship's length, yet the captain carried all sail, notwithstanding we had, all the fore part of the night, abundance of kelp, seals and penguin about us, all indications of the vicinity of land.

We now made the best of our way to the westward in search of the islands, and on the 30th of December, at seven o'clock p. m., we made land ahead. We continued our course to the west, standing directly on shore until near midnight when, the captain having turned into his berth, I went on deck and asked the officer of the watch if he had received orders to put the ship about; he said "No; but had been some time expecting it." As it was very dark, I asked him to go forward and look out for breakers. He did so, and no sooner had he reached the bow of the ship than he sung out with great agitation, "Land! Land! and breakers close aboard!" The captain came running out of the cabin without standing to dress and says, "Where is the land?" was answered, "ahead; close aboard, and breakers close under our lee!" The captain immediately gave orders to wear the ship, and she came round, narrowly escaping the breakers. How it happened that the captain neglected to give orders to put the ship about, before he retired to his berth, I never could imagine unless it was through forgetfulness. There is, however, no doubt that if we had continued our course five, nay, three minutes more, the ship would have been in the breakers and we probably all lost. This I consider a providential escape, brought about by Divine influence on my mind, exciting an anxious concern and desire to see the ship about and standing off shore before I retired to my berth.

We now drifted about, sometimes standing on one tack and sometimes on another, with thick and drizzly weather, looking for a harbor without knowing where to look for one, for the captain had neglected to supply himself with a chart of the Falkland islands, until the 2d day of January, 1803. Sometime in the afternoon of that day, the fog partly clearing away, we found ourselves entirely land-locked, having on our right,

two small, low islands, and on our left, several islands, two of which were very high land, but had not before been seen. Our second mate, having before made a voyage to the Falkland islands, now informed the captain that the two high islands on the left were Kepple and Pebble islands, and that the entrance into Port Egmont Harbor lay between those islands, and that he could pilot the ship into the harbor. The captain gave him the command, and he brought the ship off Fort St. George in six fathoms water, about 9 o'clock p. m. We remained here four days, when having taken a supply of water and plenty of wild geese, we pursued our voyage, intending to stop next at Staten land for wood, being entirely out of that article and the Falklands not affording any wood, except here and there a stick of drift wood.

On the 11th day of January, 1803, we came to Staten land. The weather being fine the captain dispatched the first mate with four hands after a boat load of wood, and I took my gun and went on shore with them, hoping to find some kind of game. The boat was soon loaded and the mate then informed me that the captain directed him to leave two of the men on shore for the purpose of getting ready another boat load of wood, while he and the other two men went on board with the first load. Having not yet found any game, I said to the mate: "I will also stay on shore until you return." Accordingly the boat put off for the ship. They had proceeded but a few rods from shore when I noticed that the weather appeared threatening to the windward and the ship had drifted round a point of land to the leeward, out of sight.

I now bethought myself that possibly the weather might be too boisterous for the boat to return, as gales of wind in that climate spring up very suddenly. I therefore called to the mate to return and I would go on board with him, as I did not like the appearance of the weather; besides as the ship was out of sight we could not tell exactly how far off she might be. I also advised him, notwithstanding the captain's orders, to take all hands on board, which he did; and it was well that he did so for a severe gale of wind sprang up and came on to blow so severely before we reached the ship that we found it difficult to get on board; and it would have been quite impos-

sible to go ashore again with the boat, and had we remained we might have passed several days before we could have reached the ship.

We now proceeded into the cold and dreary region of Cape Horn, encountering every variety of weather, and after beating about two weeks with mostly head winds, about nine o'clock one snowy evening, the wind favoring our course a little more than it had done, the captain came into the cabin, got his charts and, after pricking off his course and distances since leaving Staten land, says, "I will stick her by the Cape to-night." Knowing that we could not be far to the southward of the land, and doubting as to our longitude, it seemed to me presumption to attempt to pass the Cape in the night, in a violent snow storm, when we could not see the length of the ship. I therefore suggested whether it would not be prudent to stand off till morning, but the wind being a little more favorable, he persisted in his determination to stick her by, as he said.

I then went on deck and asked the first mate if he thought we were far enough to the west to clear the Cape; he said, he thought not. I informed him that the captain was determined to attempt to pass the Cape to-night and advised him to endeavor to dissuade him from it. He declined saying anything to the captain on the subject. I then tried to persuade the captain not to hazard the attempt in a stormy night, and at length informed him that the chief mate did not think that we were far enough to the westward. He then flew into a passion and said he wished the mate and myself would mind our own business and leave the navigation of the ship to him; but in his passion he ordered the ship about. We stood off for a few hours and then stood in for the land again, and in the morning, when we got in with the land again, found that it stretched to the west as far as the eye could reach, and how much farther I know not. We continued to beat off and on two or three days, and at length passed in sight of Cape Noire the southwest cape of Terra del Fuego. Having cleared the Cape, we made the best of our way to the island of Mocha, where we arrived on the 8th of February, 1803.

The island of Mocha, St. Mary's and the Lobos Islands

were our principal dependence for hair seals. About four o'clock the captain and myself landed, and found on shore a man by the name of Peck, who had been left on the island quite alone, about two weeks before, by Captain Howard of the ship "Dispatch," from Hartford, Connecticut, on account of his having the scurvy, and his health was fast improving by the use of vegetables, seals, flippers and so forth. Mr. Peck informed us that there was a large collection of seals about a mile and a half from the place where we landed. We hastened to the spot and found, as we judged, about twenty thousand lying in an eligible place to be taken. After feasting our eyes upon them for a while, we returned to the boat. By this time night had come on and it was so dark that we could not see the ship, and blowing fresh. We did not think it best to enter out in search of her; consequently we staid on shore through the night. During the night we formed our plans for future procedure, viz: to land here the second mate and six hands. It was also determined that I should go on shore with them, and that the captain should proceed with the rest of the ship's company to the island of St. Mary's, and if he found seals there and a good harbor, to remain there and after taking as many seals as he could, return to Mocha. If on arriving at St. Mary's he found seals but not a secure harbor, leave there half a dozen men and proceed with the ship to the Lobos islands; if he should find few seals at St. Mary's, to proceed with the ship and all hands to the Lobos islands, and after taking what seals he could there, return to Mocha. In the morning, soon as it was light enough to see the ship, we launched the boat and went on board the ship, being about two leagues to the leeward of the island.

After breakfast I said to the captain: "You had better send a boat's crew on shore to prepare a shelter for the salt and provisions," which would expedite our business, as it would take nearly all day to beat the ship near enough to anchor. Accordingly the second mate with six men took one of the boats and set off for the shore, furnished with axes and so forth, and I accompanied them. The wind was blowing directly off shore; besides, there must have been running a strong lee current, which we did not know. We pulled for the shore, the ship

making a long board off towards the main. We had not been long in the boat before the wind increased to a violent gale. We soon found instead of nearing the land, we were drifting far from it, in spite of our utmost exertions with six oars.

We continued to pull for the island for six hours, when we judged ourselves three times the distance from the shore that we were when we left the ship. The ship was out of sight and the island nearly so, and the seas running mountains high. Fortunately we had a fine new whale boat, twenty-five feet long and an excellent sea boat. There being no prospect of reaching Mocha under existing circumstances, and fearing that the sea would soon be too rough, even for our excellent boat, we came to the conclusion to put away before the wind and endeavor to find some other land. We knew that the island of St. Mary's lay somewhere to the leeward of us, and we were in hopes to be able to reach there. We now rigged a jury mast for the boat with one of the oars, and made a sail of a pea jacket, lashing the collar to the mast and the skirts to the side of the boat, by means of which we rode briskly over the seas, keeping the boat's stern directly to the wind. Just at night the wind abated and a calm succeeded.

Hitherto we had run directly before the seas, as otherwise the boat could not live. After the seas had a little run down, so that we could safely put the boat's sides to the waves, we began to think of drawing towards the Main, which we supposed to be about forty miles distant, with a view of getting sight of it and then coasting about until we came in sight of St. Mary's. Now, seemingly to complete our misery, the mate and myself disagreed as to the course we should steer to bring us in sight of the Main. Being satisfied myself that the course he wished to steer would carry us farther out to sea, I remonstrated, and used the most persuasive arguments in my power to convince him of his error, without effect. He at length told me that he was master and commander of the boat, and that he should steer as he thought best. I told him that in common cases, when there was an officer in the boat, I considered myself in the light of a passenger and had, of course, nothing to say; but the present I considered a case of life and death; and convinced as I was that the course he was steering

was carrying us out farther to sea, I should interfere and prevent his steering thus, provided I could muster sufficient force in the boat. The men were now appealed to and they all fell in with my opinion and, of course, steered as directed. Having no land in sight nor any compass in the boat, we had nothing to direct us but the heave of the sea, and as we knew that the wind blew from the south during the gale, consequently the seas must come from that direction, of course it was clear that we must take the seas on our starboard side, in order to make an easterly course, and yet he insisted on taking the seas on the larboard quarter. The oars were now plied with unremitting diligence, and in the morning we found ourselves in sight of and within a mile or two of the main land. We did not wish to land on the Main, if we could avoid it; nor could we if we had desired it at the place where we saw the land, on account of the heavy surf. We coasted along shore ten or fifteen miles, hoping to get sight of St. Mary's, until we came to a point of land, which projected some distance into the sea, under the lee of which, not getting sight of St. Mary's, we landed at eleven o'clock A. M., having been twenty-nine hours in the boat.

The place where we landed was near a small Indian settlement, called by natives Areppo, situated about one hundred miles south of Conception. Soon after we landed we discovered smokes in different directions, which we afterwards learnt were made by the natives as signals. After an hour or two I proceeded to the place where I saw the nearest smoke, distant about a mile and a half, taking with me one of the men and leaving the mate and the rest of the men by the boat, with directions if we did not return within three hours to suppose some disaster had befallen us and to make the best disposition of themselves in their power. When arrived at the village we found a cluster of houses, the inhabitants of which, young and old and of both sexes, were collected together to receive us. We soon gave them to understand by signs that we wanted food. They gave us some pounded barley mixed with water and some boiled potatoes. Having refreshed ourselves, we returned to the boat accompanied by a considerable number of both sexes. On arriving at the boat we found a large number

of natives had been collected there from different directions, attracted to the spot by the smokers, which had been raised on different heights of ground as signals. Some came on horse-back, apparently from great distances. They were very anxious to obtain anything in our possession. We gave them almost everything we had, to secure their friendship, such as axes, knives, and so forth. I had a gun and powder flask, which I gave to the principal Chief, with an axe, a pocket knife and sealing knife. I also had a gold ring on my finger which his wife expressed a great desire to have and I gave it to her. This Chief's daughter had brought down two small chickens. The Chief took the chickens from his daughter and handed them to me, as I supposed in return for the things I had given to him, but he soon gave me to understand that he wanted pay for the chickens. I informed him that I had no money. He then wanted the chickens again, which were handed back to him and he gave them to his daughter, who carried them off. This convinced me that we had nothing to expect from their hospitality nor any return for the articles we had given them, for I had given the old Chief as much as would have purchased all the chickens in the village and a good deal more.

Our men at the boat had, as yet, no refreshments and we had given away all our axes, except one (and that they afterwards stole from us), nearly all our sealing and pocket knives; and more than half the buttons on our clothes had been cut off and given them. Having bright buttons on my coat, I had already cut them off and given to them, and now when we had nothing left, except a part of the horn buttons on the sailors' clothes, our eyes were opened and we began to traffic with them, which they were ready for and had, in fact, come prepared for, as many of them had brought a few potatoes or pounded barley with them or a basket of apples and some chickens. So when they wanted buttons I gave them to understand they could have them for such things as they had and they were quite ready for the trade and were not at all particular as to the terms. At first I gave them two horn buttons for a chicken, a basket of potatoes or a bag of pounded barley, and as the buttons grew scarce I gave them only one,

and they appeared to be satisfied. I had remaining three bright buttons on the waistband of my pantaloons and I got two chickens apiece for them; and for a flag handkerchief I had round my neck, I got a good fat sheep. Thus we had a good supply of provisions. We found them very dextrous in thieving. We remained among them two days, during which time they rifled us of whatever we had not given or sold them. My coat did not escape their clutches.

The weather was thick and foggy when we landed, and had been so during the two days we had been on shore. We had hoped when the fog cleared, to be in sight of St. Mary's, but now the weather was fine and there was no island in sight. Consequently we did not feel disposed to put to sea again in the boat, fearing if we did so, and did not find St. Mary's, and were obliged to land again on the Main, we might not fall into as good hands. Having engaged an Indian pilot, we set out for Arauco, the nearest Spanish settlement, about forty miles to the northward, leaving the boat. After a day and a half travel, over an exceptionally hilly country, we arrived at Arauco. The Commandant there detained us, while he sent to Conception to know the Intendant's pleasure concerning us, during which time we were treated kindly by the Commandant and people at Arauco, and particularly by a gentleman, by the name of Don Manuel Beal, who, the next morning after we arrived came to the house, where we were quartered, and invited the mate and myself to his house, where we were well entertained and made welcome, while we staid at Arauco; and observing me without a coat, and being informed that the Indians had robbed me of mine, he took the coat from his own back and gave it to me, and when I departed insisted on my wearing it away, besides bestowing on us other considerable presents. The messenger, having returned from Conception, brought the Intendant's orders, that we should return to Areppo and take our boat and proceed to St. Mary's, which, by this time, we found was about twenty-five or thirty miles to the northward from where we left the boat. It was, in fact, in sight from the place where we landed, but this we did not know, although when the fog cleared away, we saw the island; but owing to a point of land between it and us, which shut on

the island, all the land in sight had the appearance of being a part of the main land; and it was well for us that it was so, as, had we known that St. Mary's was in sight, we should have gone directly there with the boat, instead of getting ashore on the Main and going to Conception, which resulted greatly to the benefit of the voyage and very greatly to my own individual benefit, as will appear by the sequel. In fact I owe to that adventure more than all I made by the voyage.

But to proceed: furnished with horses, we set out for Areppo and arrived there the next day, when to our sorrow we found that the Indians had destroyed the boat to get the iron. We had now no alternative but to return to Arauco and from thence were sent to Conception, sixty-four miles further north, where we were thrown into prison and allowanced, the mate and myself, 50 cents and the men $12\frac{1}{2}$ cents per day, to procure subsistence. Providentially, the next morning after our arrival at Conception, the "Huron" came into port, twelve miles from the town, to look for us and the same evening the joyous news reached us. The next morning, 25th of February, 1803, we were liberated from prison, furnished with horses and sent to the port with liberty to embark, after paying all expenses—about \$100—and at three o'clock p. m. happily found ourselves safe on board our own ship, from which we had been absent eighteen days. She weighed anchor immediately and stood out to sea, bound for the island. We left there the second mate and six hands, but on account of the controversy between the second mate and myself in the boat, relative to the course we should steer, and his ungentlemanly conduct, I declined going on shore with him, as I had previously decided to do. In the meantime the ship "Rebecca," Captain Pitts, from New York, had arrived and landed six hands. It was agreed that our men and the "Rebecca's" men should take seals together, and share jointly the skins, which might be taken. This arrangement being made, and the necessary supply of provisions and salt landed, we proceeded with the ship to the island of St. Mary's, where we found the ship "Dispatch," Captain Howard, from Hartford, Connecticut, also on a sealing voyage, together with several whaling vessels from Nantucket.

Captain Howard informed us that he judged there were fifty thousand seals on and about the island, when he arrived, mostly on and about one beach on the northwest side of the island; that he had been there four months and taken only about eight thousand; and that lately there had been scarcely any seals ashore and but few in the surrounding arch; consequently he was preparing to leave.

On account of the loss of the whale boat on the main, it became necessary to build another. We therefore concluded to remain here until our carpenter could set up another boat, which we had on board, already framed, and in the meantime make up our minds how to proceed in future. Shortly after, the ship "Draper," Captain Howell, from New Haven, arrived, also on a sealing voyage. At length our carpenter had completed our boat, and Captain Moulthrop was anxious to leave the island of St. Mary's and go to the Lobos islands, off the coast of Peru, which we had been informed were frequented by hair seals. By this time Capt. Howard and Capt. Howell had determined to leave St. Mary's, and they were going to the Lobos islands. In the meantime I had watched the motions of the seals and found small divers would come in shore every day and just land in the surf, stick up their heads and look about for a moment and go to sea again. After carefully watching their actions, I was convinced that they were afraid to come on shore, on account of the carcasses which Capt. Howard's men had left strewn all over the beach. We used therefore, every day to drag them down to low water mark and set them adrift. From the movements of the seals, I was convinced, that if these carcasses were cleared away, plenty of seals would come up; and as Capt. Howard and Capt. Howell were both preparing to leave, to go to the Lobos islands, we had better leave at least a part of our men here. My views I communicated to Captain Moulthrop, confidentially, as I did not wish the two other captains to know our plans, but he insisted on sailing immediately for the Lobos islands. I, however, was fixed in my determination not to leave, as we should shortly have the island to ourselves. Convinced as I was, that if these carcasses were out of the way we should have plenty of seals, and as both the other ships were

going away, I was determined that a part of our men should remain here; and thus the matter stood, until the "Dispatch" and "Draper" sailed, which was about the middle of April. Capt. Monthrop was daily urging our departure, which I would not consent to.

At length I said to him, "You know your orders and you have the command of the ship. Now proceed as you think best; only recollect if you leave this island and go with all hands to the Lobos islands, and do not succeed there, don't say when you get home, that you had my consent to do so, for I will not give it." His orders and mine were that we should consult together as to the prosecution of the voyage, and endeavor to be agreed in opinion, but in case of disagreement, his opinion should yield to mine; consequently he could not take all hands away without violating his orders. He then said, "My second mate is ashore on Mocha, and I cannot spare my first mate. Who shall go on shore to take charge?" I said I would go, provided he would allow me to select six men, who would agree to be under my control. He then reluctantly consented, and the six men being selected, who readily agreed to be under my direction, we went to work to build a hut to store our provisions and salt, which having completed and the salt and provisions being landed, I took up my residence on shore, with the six men; and on the 29th of April, 1803, the "Huron" sailed for the coast of Peru.

Our first object was to clear the coast of all the old carcases, which was no small job and employed us more than two weeks, as some of them were ten or twelve rods from the shore. All must be dragged down to low water mark and sent adrift. At length, however, it was done, and the ground washed where it was very filthy. We had not many seals ashore until the first of June, when they began to come up in small squads, so that we every day had something to do, though not always a full day's work, but generally as many as we wanted. Before the ship returned we had used all our salt and procured about eight thousand skins. The ship returned on the 16th day of August, having taken only three hundred or four hundred skins. We now landed what salt remained on board, and the ship proceeded to Mocha for the purpose of taking off our

people there, with the skins they had taken. During their absence we took about two thousand more; making in all about ten thousand skins taken at St. Mary's. The ship having returned from Mocha and taken on board our effects, we embarked on the 25th day of September, 1803. We sailed for the island of Massafuero, where it was my intention to stop for the purpose of taking fur seal skins for the China market, while the ship returned home.

Having entered into an agreement with twelve of the hands, before we left home, to stop there with me; having now completed the first object of our voyage, viz: the taking of hair seal skins, and having taken in all about nineteen thousand; I stop for a moment, to remark upon the good effects produced, from the fact of our having been driven off in the boat. But for that circumstance I should have gone on shore on the island of Mocha and Capt. Moulthrop would have followed his own judgment as to leaving a gang of men on the island of St. Mary's, and of course he would have taken all hands to the Lobos islands. Consequently we should have missed the opportunity of procuring the ten thousand skins on the island of St. Mary's. But this, although a clear saving of so many skins, which is no small amount, was by no means the greatest advantage which resulted from it, as will appear from the sequel.

We arrived at the island of Massafuero the 8th day of October, 1803, and were not a little surprised to find on the island more men than seals. Being informed that the season for fur seals to come on shore had not arrived yet, our surprise on that head abated. We found lying off the island, the ship "Rachel," Capt. Baker, from Salem, who had twenty-one men on different parts of the island; and several other ships had left here some of their men and gone to other parts, besides a large number of alone men, as they were called, that is, men who did not belong to any ship, but had stopped here out of different ships, and expected, after making their fortunes, to get home in the best way they could. There were in all about one hundred and fifty men, from American ships, on the island. I found on enquiry, that the seals were expected to begin to come up in three or four weeks, and that most of the

people on the island would leave after the approaching season was over. Although the prospect was rather gloomy, or not so brilliant as could be wished, still I concluded to stop and take our chance here. We accordingly landed what provisions could be spared out of the ship, on the northwest part of the island, called the Northwest Plains, which appeared to be the most eligible place to fix ourselves. On the 9th day of October, 1803, at evening, myself and eleven others, after taking leave of our ship-mates, went on shore to take up our dreary abode on the island of Massafuero, and the ship sailed for New Haven, Connecticut, with her cargo of seal skins.

About three weeks elapsed before we could get seals enough to cover a hut, during which time we had no other shelter than an old boat, turned bottom upwards, which not being large enough to shelter our whole company, a part used to find shelter among the ledges of the mountain. Our situation was the more disagreeable, as most of the time it was rainy. We did not begin to take seal, except a few to cover our huts, until the 6th day of December, and before Christmas they were all or nearly all, taken. Of course, we could expect no further employment until the next season say, ten or twelve months. Our share of this season's work amounted only to about four thousand skins. Of course our prospects were most discouraging, and time passed very heavily. On the 4th day of March, 1804, while I was sitting alone in my hut, reading, two strange gentlemen appeared at my door and inquired if Mr. Root was in. I replied in the affirmative. One of them, who could speak English, informed me that the captain of the frigate sent his compliments and requested me to come on board. "The captain of what frigate?" said I, for I had not seen any vessel about the island. He then mentioned the name of the frigate, as he called her, though she was, in fact, a twenty-gun brig, belonging to the Spanish government. She was lying to, just off the island, though not in sight of my hut, on account of a rise of land, which intercepted my view. I, of course, accompanied them on board, wondering what their business with me could be, and how they knew such a person as myself was on the island.

When I arrived on board I was introduced to the captain.

Don Manuel Martinez, and very much the gentleman I found him to be. He informed me that his family resided at Conception, and that he had heard of a person of my name, who was driven off in a boat from the island of Mocha, and found his way to Conception and was there imprisoned. I told him that I was that person. He said he was not at Conception at the time, but arrived there a short time after, and the extraordinary incidents of the case excited a good deal of interest and conversation at Conception; and as he had been told that I had said, when at Conception, that I was going to Massafuero, and he had business here, curiosity to see me had induced him to inquire me out. He said that he fell in, on the other side of the island, and sent his boat on shore to inquire if there was a man by the name of Root on the island, and was informed that there was, on the other side of the island, and that he came round and sent his linguist to request me to come on board, and that he hoped I would excuse the liberty he had taken. We then commenced a familiar conversation, which was carried on through his linguist, as he could not speak English nor I Spanish. He made many inquiries about America; what induced me to come out into these seas, etc. He even inquired if I left a family at home, and expressed great surprise when I informed him that I left a wife and seven daughters at home. I staid and dined and spent most of the afternoon with him very agreeably, and a more splendid dinner I never saw aboard any ship. The display of silver on his dinner table exceeded anything I ever saw anywhere. The platters, plates, tumblers, spoons and forks were all of solid silver; in fact, all the table furniture, except the knives, were of silver, not plated, but solid silver. The platters and plates were of common size, and although we had several changes of plates for pudding, pastry, etc., I counted, standing on the sideboard in the cabin, twenty-four large sized platters, that were not used at dinner; consequently, the value of his table furniture must be very great.

Towards night he informed me of his business. He said he had been sent to the island of Massafuero, by the Viceroy of Lima, to warn the people on the island to depart, and that within four months, and if they were not off within that time

they would be taken off and made prisoners of war. I told him, as for myself I should not leave, unless I was taken off, until our ship returned, which I did not expect under ten or twelve months: therefore he might as well take us off then as to wait four months. He said he had no orders to take any one off at that time, but that he really believed that it was the intention of the Spanish government to depopulate the island, and advised me to leave by all means, if possible; otherwise I might find myself unpleasantly situated. He then gave me an instrument, written in Spanish, purporting to be a warning for all persons on the island of Massafuero to leave within four months, or they would be made prisoners of war. He requested me to make it public on the island. He then gave his steward orders to put me up a basket of wine and fruit with a cheese and several loaves of bread, all which were very acceptable, being just out from Conception. I bid him farewell and went on shore, with the highest opinion of his gentlemanly conduct and kind treatment of me.

After this, all those persons on the island, who had no ships to depend on to take them off, were anxious to get away. All of them had more or less skins and some of them had many, which they were anxious to sell, in order to be in readiness to go at a moment's warning, should any ship stop at the island. As there was no money on the island, of course the skins could not be sold for cash, and they took the idea that they had rather trust me than any other person there. Of course they all came to me to sell and I soon purchased nearly all the skins, which were in the hands of the alone men, at from 25 to 50 cents each, giving my note payable in America, at thirty months from date. In that way I purchased between nine and ten thousand skins, all of which cost me about \$3,400. I brought them all together and secured them in one stack, at the southeast landing, in a convenient place to be taken off when our ship should arrive. Before the next sealing season all the ships about the island departed, and as many of the alone men as could find an opportunity, which reduced the number on the island at the next season to forty-five, comprising our gang of twelve, Mix's gang of eight, and twenty-six alone men. The next season, however, seals were very scarce, so that our company took only about nine thousand skins.

On the 7th day of March, 1805, to our inexpressible joy, our ship arrived. The alone men, who remained, offered us one thousand skins to transport them over to the Island of St. Mary's where they would be more likely to get a passage home, than from here, as St. Mary's is the common resort of all whaling ships on these seas, for wood and water. Although what they offered was little compensation for the voyage, yet as the ship wanted some repairs and we wanted wood and water, which could be much more conveniently taken there, as at St. Mary's there is a tolerable harbor, while at Massafuero there is no place even to anchor, we accepted the offer. After taking on board a part of our skins, we took all the alone men, except four who determined to stay over another season and trust chance to get off, and sailed for St. Mary's, leaving on shore all the skins I had purchased and a part of those which belonged to my partners, with five of our men and the four alone men. We were gone over to St. Mary's about three weeks. During our absence the same Spanish brig, Capt. Martinez, returned to put his threats into execution. As more than twelve months had passed since we were warned off, we had long since given up the idea of being taken off. On our return we found that he had taken away four of our men and three of the alone men; consequently one of our men and one of the alone men comprised all that were left to tell the tale. These men escaped by secreting themselves in the bushes.

They said that a few days after our departure the brig arrived, and the First Lieutenant and a linguist came on shore with a boat load of armed men, at the same place where they found me when they first came to the island. It was so long since they came to warn us off, our people apprehended no danger and went down and assisted to haul up the boat. The first inquiry which they made was whether Mr. Root's ship had arrived. When answered in the affirmative, and that she had gone to St. Mary's and that I had gone in her, they also inquired which were the alone men and which belonged to Mr. Root's company. The alone men had each a few skins, which the Spaniards destroyed; and even robbed them of their clothes. On being informed that the large stack, containing upwards of nine thousand skins, belonged to Mr. Root, they

did not disturb it. Two other stacks belonging to his partners, containing each about one thousand skins, they cut the lashings from, and scattered a few of the skins. Mr. Root's stack they did not meddle with. We also had rolled under a ledge of rocks sixteen puncheons of bread; they stove in the heads of two of them. At another place we had two barrels of pork and four puncheons of bread, which they burned. At the latter place we had a quantity of dunghill fowls, which I had purchased of the alone men. While assisting them to catch them, one of our men chased one out of sight and secreted himself, and one alone man did the same. The rest were all taken on board and carried away. We were sorry for their sakes, that our men were taken away, but it was really no damage to us, for we had really more men than we wanted; and the loss of the bread and pork was trifling, for we had a ship full of provisions; and the scattered skins our men put in order, so we suffered nothing on that account.

We now hastened to get on board the rest of our effects, and sailed for Canton. On our way we stopped at the Ambrose Islands, where we met Capt. Delano of Boston, who had a company of men taking seals on these islands. Capt. Delano was just from Valparaiso and was there when Capt. Martinez arrived with our men on board and went, himself, on board the the Spanish brig. He informed us that Capt. Martinez inquired if he knew me. He said, he was well acquainted with me. "Well," says Capt. Martinez, "if you fall in with Mr. Root, tell him that he must not think hard of me for the little damage done him; for my orders were to destroy everything we found on the island, and I dared not have done less than was done. My orders also were to make prisoners of all the men whom I should find there. From the short acquaintance I had with Mr. Root, I directed my officers to spare Mr. Root's property, and if they found him, to bring him with his men and all other persons on board. Tell him also, that I should have sent his men on shore again, but shortly after they got on board, a gale of wind blew directly on shore, and I dared not attempt to send the boat ashore, and was obliged to bring them away, but tell him I will keep his men on my vessel until I get an opportunity to send them home. The other men I shall deliver up to the Spanish Government."

This was good news to us, and Capt. Martinez, not only kept them, but paid them wages, until he found an opportunity to send them home, and they all, but one, got home before us and he arrived soon after. I saw one of the alone men since and he told me that they lay six months in a Spanish prison. How much benefit grew out of that short acquaintance I had with Capt. Martinez, which I could not have had, if I had not been driven off in the boat and found my way to Conception. It was the means, not only of saving our men from a Spanish prison, but also of saving all the property I had on the island; and I realized a profit of more than \$5,000 on the nine thousand skins, in Canton, and then had the proceeds to invest in China goods, which yielded another profit on the sales in Hamburg of about 75 per cent.: so that at last I realized more than \$10,000 profit from the skins, which I purchased at Massafuero, all of which, besides other property there, would have been destroyed, but for the acquaintance I had with Capt. Martinez; and that acquaintance was brought about in consequence of my having been driven off in the boat and going to Conception. How wonderfully did all things work together for our good in that event and how thankful ought we to be, not only for preservation and protection under such perilous circumstances, but also for the favorable results in a pecuniary view. I have always felt that it was one of the special interpositions of Providence, which I have so often experienced and so illy requited.

I must not omit to mention another instance of my wonderful preservation, while on the Island of Massafuero. There is a point of land on the island between what we call West point and the Northwest plains, which is very high, steep and projects into the sea, leaving no beach at the foot of it. When the wind blew on the shore, the waves would frequently break on this point twenty or thirty feet above the usual level of the water; so there was no passing round the point at such a time, but to ascend the mountain on one side and come down on the other, which is very laborious and requires several hours to perform it. We used, however, to pass around this point in smooth weather, at the distance of a few feet from the water by stepping from one projection in the rock to another and holding with the hands to other projections above. The

distance from the beach on one side of the point to the beach on the other side may be fifty or sixty feet. On a certain day I was at work quite alone, near this point, and very thirsty. There was no water on this side nearer than our huts (a mile and a half distant), and just round the point there was a nice spring of water a few rods off. The wind was blowing on shore, but light. I watched the waves for some time, before I made up my mind to pass round. I observed that at times two or three successive rollers would break up on to the point and wash above the place where we used to pass, and then for a time it would be smooth again. I concluded that I might get round between the rollers, and attempted it. I had proceeded about half way round, and there came a roller which dashed above my head and washed me off, and the undercurrent took me out from the mountain three or four rods; and the next roller had just power enough to carry me back to the place whence I came. I seized a little projection of the rock and placed my feet on another projection, and the sea receded, leaving me six or eight feet above the water, and before another roller came I got round to the beach. The roller, which carried me back to the mountain, carried me with great rapidity and without the least exertion of mine, and there was precisely force enough to carry me in reach of the mountain. Had there been more force, it might have broken my head against the rock—had there been less, I might not have reached it, and of course, the undercurrent would have carried me out. Never, while life remains, shall I forget the sensations I experienced during the moment I was rapidly wafted back to the mountain. Although, in apparent danger of being dashed to pieces against the rock, I felt not the least apprehension. I felt as though I had been taken up in the arms of a friend and carried along, without any exertion on my part and placed with my face as close to the rock as I could be and not touch it; so I had only to seize hold of the little projections and hold on, and that must be done at once, or the undercurrent would have again carried me out. The water for several rods from the mountain is full of stones of various sizes, which have fallen from the mountain, and when the waves come and recede, there is great commotion in the water, and it would be next to impossible for a person to get

ashore by his own exertions. I have always felt that my safety in this instance, as in many others, was altogether owing to the special interposition of Providence.

We now pursued our voyage to Canton, stopping at the Sandwich Islands two months to wait for the change of the monsoons. We arrived safe at the Island of Mova on the evening of the 13th of November, 1805, and the next morning got under way for Canton, and arrived at the Bocca Tigris on the 15th of November, and at Canton on the 16th; and in company with the officers of the ship "Antehampa" of Boston, took up our residence at No. 4 French Factory. Sold our skins to Consequa, Hong Merchant, at 95 cents each, and having invested the proceeds in China goods (principally green teas), not having more than half a cargo, and being unable to procure any freight for America, and being offered a full freight for Hamburg at \$90 a ton, I accepted the offer. And after taking on board our own effects and as much freight as would fill the ship, all business being settled, on the 7th day of January, 1806, we sailed for Hamburg and arrived in safety June 19th, after 156 days' passage, exclusive of nine days' stay at the Island of St. Helena, where we went to take in water. Having disposed of our goods in Hamburg, July 9th, set sail for St. Petersburg, taking letters of credit, to purchase a cargo of Russian goods for the American market. After the sale of our goods at Hamburg, I had upwards of \$20,000 of my own private property, being the proceeds of the nine thousand skins I purchased at Massafuero, with \$7,000 worth of China goods, which I bought on credit of Consequa at Canton.

Having sufficient funds of the concern to load the "Huron," my own funds could not be invested and brought home in that ship. I therefore chartered the American ship "George Washington," Simeon Martin, Jr., master, from Providence, which happened to be at Hamburg, to proceed to St. Petersburg and take in a cargo on my private account. Both ships sailed from Hamburg on the same day. We arrived at Cronstadt on the 4th of August and the Washington arrived there a day or two before us. I went up to St. Petersburg on the 5th of August, and fortunately, or rather providentially, found both houses to which my letters were addressed, prepared to

meet them. My letters were drawn by Wm. Hoskinson Morewood of Hamburg on Wm. Barwick of St. Petersburg and Matthinson & Selim of Hamburg on Thomas Bailey & Co. of St. Petersburg. Four more correct and honorable houses I have never done business with. Messrs. Thomas Bailey & Co. and Mr. Barwick afforded me every facility in their power, and although all our goods were to be purchased at St. Petersburg and brought down to Cronstadt in lighters (thirty miles), so expeditious were we that on the 16th of August, only twelve days after our arrival, both ships were loaded and cleared, all our bills settled, and the 17th, A. M., we sailed for New York. During the twelve days I passed five times up and down between Cronstadt and St. Petersburg, making three hundred miles travel, besides all my attention to business concerns. Having been so long from home, my only object was to complete my business and set my face toward my beloved home. We arrived safely in New York on the 26th of October, 1806, after an absence of four years and nearly two months; during all which time I had in a wonderful manner experienced the kind, protecting hand of Providence, through all the varied scenes of peril I had passed, and can say I had hardly a sick day during the whole time.

On the 30th day of October, 1806, I arrived at New Haven and had the inexpressible joy of finding my wife and children all in health, but the children so much altered that I should not have known them had I met them at any other place than their own mother's fire-side.

What everlasting obligations are we under to praise and adore our Maker and Preserver with our whole heart and soul, for all the numberless benefits and blessings which He has been daily and hourly bestowing on us, as a family and as individuals, notwithstanding our unworthiness."

NEW HAVEN BELLS.

BY JUSTUS S. HOTCHKISS, LL.B.

[Read December 17th, 1888.]*

IN the early history of the Colony of New Haven it was the custom on the Lord's day to beat a drum in the tower of the meeting house, and through the streets of the town at eight o'clock in the morning. When the drum was beaten a second time, the families came forth from their dwellings, and walked in orderly procession to the meeting house, children following their parents to the door, though not allowed to sit with them in the assembly.

Immediately after John Davenport removed from the first church in New Haven to the first church in Boston, which occurred in 1668, the good people of New Haven resolved to build a new meeting house, which was finished and ready for occupancy by October, 1670, and on the 14th of November, in the same year, the old meeting house was ordered to be sold "to the town's best advantage."

The first bell hung in New Haven was placed in the tower of this second meeting house, which was probably located about half way between the site of the present liberty pole, and the Center Church. The following account respecting this bell is taken from Atwater's History of the City of New Haven :

"In April, 1681, there being a bell brought in a vessel into the harbor, it was spoken of, and generally it was desired it might be procured for the town; and for the present it was desired that Mr. Thomas Trowbridge would, if he can, prevail with Mr. Hodge, the owner of it, to leave it with him until the town hath had some further considera-

*The paper, as read to the Society, covered the general subject of Bells, and gave an account of their history and manufacture, with a description of some of those most noted, in foreign countries. As the Society confines its publications to what pertains to local and American history, only so much of the paper is here given as treats of New Haven Bells.

tion about it.' In August, 'the owner of the bell had sent to have it sent to the Bay in Joseph Alsop's vessel : ' and it having lain so long, it would not be handsome for the town to 'put it off.' Thereupon, 'after a free, and large debate,' it was voted to purchase the bell for seventeen pounds, the price asked. In April, 1682, a year after the bell had been first brought to the attention of the people, they were informed that it was now hanged in the turret, and in November they were told that the townsmen had agreed with George Pardee for his son Joseph to ring the bell for the town's occasions on the Sabbaths and other meetings, as it was wont to be by the drum : and also to ring the bell at nine of the clock every night."

This custom of ringing the bell at nine o'clock in the evening seems at some subsequent time to have been discontinued, as we find the following in the Records of the First Society in New Haven :

"At a meeting of the First Society in New Haven, held by adjournment y^e fourth Monday of January, Anno Domini 1750, it was voted y^t y^e Society's Committee do cause the meeting house bell to be rung constantly in the evening at nine o'clock."

This first bell of the First Ecclesiastical Society was in time superseded by a second bell (weighing 2281 pounds) which, in the winter of 1853 and '54, while being rung for a fire, was cracked, and in March, 1854, the City of New Haven paid \$178.50 to Meneely & Co., of West Troy, New York, for recasting it. The first bell furnished by Meneely & Co., to replace the old one, weighed 3250 pounds, and was cast Dec. 19th, 1853 ; but as this did not prove to be satisfactory a second bell was cast by them Feb. 6th, 1854, weighing 3533 pounds. This bell still hangs in the tower of the Center Church, and its tone is considered to be of superior quality.

It is rung every morning, during the sessions of the Supreme Court of Errors in the city, to notify the bar and the citizens generally of the opening of Court.* Until the abandonment of New Haven as one of the capitols of the State, it was also rung daily during each session of the General Assembly, at the hour of meeting in the morning.

Action was taken by the Common Council of New Haven, in January, 1821, to have better and more general alarms of

* This custom was abandoned in 1889, on the retirement from the bench of Chief Justice Park.

fire sounded, and an arrangement was made to have all the church bells rung during the continuance of a fire. This duty was performed by the sextons of the different churches, aided by an assistant, who was appointed by the Common Council; and, in order to assist the firemen in locating the fire, two men were appointed to traverse the city on horseback to give an outcry of "fire," and designate its locality.

In February, 1868, the Gamewell system of fire-alarm telegraph was adopted by the Board of Fire Commissioners, at a cost of \$10,000, and in October of the same year, a public test of this apparatus was given, a competent electrician, J. M. Fairchild, being its superintendent.

The bell in the City Hall tower, which rings out our fire alarms, and is also connected with the town clock, weighs 6100 pounds, and was cast by Jones & Co., of Troy, New York, in 1860.

The earliest chime of bells, set up in New Haven, was a small and light one, belonging to a school on Dixwell avenue near Henry street, kept by Rev. Alonzo G. Shears, an Episcopal minister, and known as the Suburban Home School. It was procured shortly before the war, and continued in use for a dozen years or more.

In the Tower of Trinity Church, New Haven, there is a chime of ten bells, the largest weighing 3,030 pounds, and the smallest 275 pounds. These bells were cast by the Clinton H. Meneely Bell Company of Troy, New York, and were presented to the Trinity Church Parish, by Andrew L. Kidston, Esq. The cost of this chime was \$5,250. Their notes and weights are as follows:

3030	E flat.
2020	F
1525	G
1220	A flat.
810	B flat.
510	C
450	D flat.
400	D
360	E flat.
275	F

The following inscription is on the largest bell :

“ In Memoriam.”
Mrs. Andrew L. Kidston.
Presented to
Trinity Church,
New Haven, Conn.,
Dec. 9th, 1886,
by
Andrew L. Kidston.

Lord, I have invited all
“And I shall still invite, still call.”

The bell originally used in Yale College was a small one of good tone, which finally found its home in the New Haven Almshouse, where it was in use until about forty years ago.

This was succeeded by the clock and bell which were formerly in the Old Chapel (the Athenæum), and which were, in 1822, removed to the Lyceum, where the bell now hangs. It may be interesting, in this connection, to mention that the marks of the bell rope still appear deep cut in the wood-work, by the side of the stairs, in the entry of the Old Chapel (or Athenæum), and the records give accounts of penalties repeatedly imposed for ringing this bell without permission. In some cases the penalty was, compelling the offender to be bell-ringer for two or three weeks, according to the gravity of the offense.

The first bells in the Battell Chapel, given with a new clock, by Mrs. Ellen (Battell) Eldridge, of Norfolk, Conn., in 1876, were an hour bell, and a small quarter hour bell, the former striking the even hours, and the latter striking once for the first quarter, twice for the second quarter, and three times for the third quarter of the hour. This hour bell, which was cast in Troy, being out of tune, her brother, Hon. Robbins Battell, decided to order the chime of bells which now hang in the tower of the Chapel. This chime, which was hung in September, 1882, consists of five bells of the following notes and weight :

Old Nomenclature.	New Nomenclature.	Weight.
A	G	624½ kilograms.
C sharp	B	374 “
E	D	222 “
A	G	86½ “
C sharp	B	54 “

European bell founders use the old nomenclature, and American the new. These bells were cast at the foundry of Van Aerschodt, situated in the old university town of Louvain, Belgium. After being tried, the largest bell proved not to be in perfect tune, and Mr. Battell had it replaced by another, cast of the Belgium pattern, by William Blake, of Boston. This bell was hung in the Chapel in 1883. When this new chime was placed in the Chapel, the two clock bells, which were originally placed there, were removed, the hour bell being sent to Boston to be recast, and the quarter-hour bell was generously presented by Mr. Battell to the New Lebanon Mission Chapel, where it has ever since been in constant use.

The bell in the tower of the United Church, in this city, was cast in 1827 by Lyon & Mix of New Haven, and is 42 inches in diameter at its mouth by 33 inches in height.*

In the belfry of the Hopkins Grammar School is an old Spanish bell, which bears the following inscription: "Ora pro nobis 112 Anno D. E. 1786 St. Ildefonso," and a handsomely worked cross can also be seen on one side of it. This bell formerly belonged to a monastery in Florida, which was destroyed by fire about fifty years ago, and was found by a traveler lying among the ruins. Regarding it as a valuable relic, he bought it of the proper authorities, and had it sent to his home in New Haven. After keeping it in his house about two years, it proved to be a nuisance there, as his children made so much noise upon it, and finding that the Hopkins Grammar School committee wanted a bell, he donated it to them. So that this bell which formerly tolled for the monks, now tolls to call the boys to school.

Another old Spanish bell has recently been hung in the factory of the Providence Bleaching and Calendering Company, which was taken from a convent in Spain. This bell was cast in 1815, as a thank offering to Ferdinand VII of Spain.

There used to be a tradition in regard to New Haven church bells, that the one in Trinity Church pealed out, "Bishops, priests and deacons;" that in the Center Church, "Total depravity;" that in the North Church, "Free grace;" and that in the Baptist Church, "Come and be dipped."

* It was replaced, some years after the union of the North and Third Churches, as the United Church, by a larger bell, which had been used in the Third Church. The old North Church bell now hangs in the German Church on George street.

THE THREE CONSTITUTIONS OF CONNECTICUT.

BY SIMEON E. BALDWIN, LL.D.

[Read. May 2, 1889, and April 17, 1891.]

THE FIRST CONSTITUTION.

THIS centennial week* stamps the seal of antiquity on the Constitution under which the United States has grown to greatness; but the people of Connecticut feel an honest pride in recollecting that they were a free commonwealth a hundred and fifty years before the American nation came into being. Nor did we merely precede it. In the simple representative system, by which one branch of our legislature stood for the towns, and the other for the people, we gave the earliest and best example in American history, of that balance of power, preserved in the Congress of the United States, by a Senate of equal States, and a House of Representatives, proportioned to population.

In the great parade which swept across New York, on April 30th,† to celebrate the anniversary of the first inauguration of Washington, no troops in line met with a warmer greeting from the assembled multitudes that lined the streets and crowded the house-tops, than the red-coats of our Governor's Guards. They spoke to all of the great days when there were no United States; when the scarlet uniform of the British grenadier was the national uniform, too, of the Colonial soldier; and when those who wore it were ready to march to Bunker Hill, and die, if need be, for the liberties they had inherited from their fathers.

* The week in which was celebrated the hundredth anniversary of the inauguration of Washington as the first President of the United States.

† 1889.

An American State is one of the best works of human hands; but there is something better. It is that State which grew to be such from small beginnings; that had a proud history of its own, before it was a State; that has been ruled for centuries by men of its own choice, and laws of its own making; that has been in its own time, a "free and independent State," and, as such, was one of the eleven founders of the American Union.

Historians concede that the first written constitution of representative government, ordained by men, was agreed on by the inhabitants of the three towns of Windsor, Hartford and Wethersfield, 250 years ago. There had been before, agreements for the future organization of a body politic, like that signed on board of the *Mayflower*, in Plymouth Bay; there had been constitutional forms in the old world, rising gradually and successively into life; there had been speculative plans for Utopian republics, framed by philosophers; but never had a company of men deliberately met to frame a social compact, constituting a new and independent commonwealth, with definite officers, executive and legislative, and prescribed rules and modes of government, until the first planters of Connecticut came together for their great work on January 14th, 1638-9.

They claimed no warrant from human authority. We, they say, "well knowing where a people are gathered together, the word of God requires that to mayntayne the peace and union of such a people, there should be an orderly and decent Government established according to God, to order and dispose of the affayres of the people at all seasons as occasion shall require; doe therefore assotiate and conioyne ourselves to be as one Public State or Commonwealth."*

The eleven "fundamental orders" which were thus adopted, provided for an annual election by ballot for Governor and not less than six other magistrates, the latter to be chosen only from a list of persons put in nomination six months before at the preceding session of the legislature, at which the representatives from each town might nominate two, and the Court might add others, if thought fit. The legislature was to meet

* Colonial Records of Connecticut, Vol. I, p. 20.

twice a year, in Spring and Fall, and each town could send three or four deputies, as it pleased, to be elected for each session by ballot at town meetings. The Assistants sat in this body, and four of them were necessary to give it a quorum. The Governor was the presiding officer, with a casting vote in case of a tie. New towns were to send such number of deputies as might be thereafter fixed by law in each case. "A reasonable proportion to the number of Freemen that are in the said Townes being to be attended therein." The Governor was the presiding officer, and there was but a single chamber.

The deputies might meet before the session of the legislature opened, to consider any question as to their own elections, and "to advise and consult of all such things as may concerne the good of the publicke." This gave them an opportunity to compare their views and plan action without the overawing presence of the Governor and Assistants.

In the General Court was vested "the Supreme Power of the Commonwealth."^{*} It was to make laws, lay taxes, admit freemen, dispose of public lands, call all magistrates and inferior courts to account for any misdoing, "and also may deale in any other matter that concerns the good of this cõmonwealth excepte election of magistrates."

Forms of oath were prescribed for the Governor, magistrates and constables. No mention is found in any of them of any duty to the British crown. The Governor was to swear that he would "mayntayne all lawfull privileges of this Cõmonwealth; as also that all wholesome lawes that are or shall be made by lawfull authority here established, be duly executed; and will further the execution of justice according to the rule of God's word."

This daring spring into political independence could only have proceeded from men long accustomed to some self-created form of public organization. Such a form was Congregationalism. The same full sense of the inherent rights of man, the same

^{*} Dr. Bronson in Vol. III of the New Haven Colony Hist. Society Papers, p. 317, takes the view that only the General Courts which might be summoned by the freemen on the neglect or refusal of the Governor and Assistants, and in which the freemen only sat, were given this supreme power; but such does not seem to me warranted by the terms of the 10th Order, read as a whole.

audacity, one might almost say, that led the Independents to constitute churches and ordain ministers of religion by no authority but their own, not unnaturally led them also to feel that they could set up civil government in the same simple way.

There were several alterations of this Constitution made from time to time. The quorum of the Assistants at a General Assembly was reduced in 1644, by a simple order of the Court, from four to three, and a still more important provision added, that "no act shall passe or stand for a law, w^{ch} is not confirmed both by the mayor part of the said magistrats, and by the mayor p^{te} of the Deputyes there p^{re}sent in Court, both Magistrats and deputyes being allowed, eyther of thē, a negative voate."*

Another material change was made by a resort to a *referendum* for the decision of the people.

The Governor could not be re-elected for a second term, immediately succeeding the first. It became the custom to elect the Governor of one year, as Deputy Governor for the next, and at the expiration of that, make him Governor again, and relegate his predecessor to the position of Deputy Governor; usually continuing this alternation between the two men as long as they continued in life and health. John Winthrop, Jr., however, proved so admirably fitted for the first office, that towards the close of his second term the General Assembly proposed to the freemen that all restriction on a immediate re-election be abolished, directing "the Secretary to insert the same in the warr^{ts} for y^e choice of Deputyes, and request the return of y^e remote Plant^s: y^t vse to send Proxies, at y^e Election, by their Deputyes. And it is desired that their proxies may be ordered according to what may be concluded on about y^e ord^r forementioned."†

The freemen accordingly, at the next Court of Election, voted "that y^e perticular in y^e 4th Law, respecting the choice of the Goner^or, should be alt^d, and that for future there shal—be liberty of a free choice yearely, either of y^e same person or another, as may be thought meet, without p^{ri}udice to y^e law

* Col. Rec., I; 119.

† Col. Records. Vol. I. p. 346.

or breach thereof.”* Gov. Winthrop was thereupon re-elected, and continued in office until his death in 1676.

This self-appointed Constitution of 1638-9 was in good keeping with the days that soon followed its adoption, of open contest on the soil of England between King and people for the principles of free government. Hampden had already refused to pay the ship-money to the Crown, and stood his trial. Two years later Strafford was impeached and executed, and in 1642 the civil war began.

THE SECOND CONSTITUTION.

The restoration of the Stuarts in 1660 made it the dictate of prudence to endeavor to secure the confirmation of the Colonial government, by the new sovereign, and Connecticut was fortunate in then having that same Governor, for whom she had been ready to alter her Constitution, the year before. Winthrop was a man of great ability and family influence, and to his care the matter was virtually entrusted, although a committee of eight was appointed to advise him.†

We have a jingling history of the grant of the charter, in homely rhymes, written in the next century by Gov. Roger Wolcott, and I will quote a few of the lines.

“The sages of Connecticut do meet
To pay their homage at their prince’s feet :
To whom they seek to hasten an address,
To shew their duty and their joy’s excess.
Learned Winthrop then, by general consent,
Sat at the helm, to sway the government :
Who prudently the people doth advise,
To ask the King for charter liberties.
All like his counsel well : and all reply
Sir, you must undertake our agency,
For there is none but you, we may expect
Can make the thing you counsel take effect.”

The commission is accepted, and Winthrop pleads the cause of the infant Colony, before the King in Council. The beauties of our scenery, and loyalty of our people are painted in bright colors, and at the close the King graciously gives this response :

* Id., 347.

† 1 Col. Rec., 367.

“ Be it so then, and we ourself decree,
Connecticut shall be a Colony ;
Enfranchised with such ample liberties
As those, their friends, shall best for them devise.
And farther know our royal pleasure thus
And so it is determined by us : :
Chief in the patent, Winthrop, thou shalt stand,
And valiant Mason place at thy next hand,
And for the chief senators and patentees,
Take men of wealth and known abilities :
Men of estates and men of influence,
Friends to their country, and to US, their prince.*

This charter, received and joyfully accepted by the General Court in 1662, at once supplanted the original Constitution of 1638-9. It has sometimes been said that it only gave to its provisions the stamp of authority, for few of them were essentially changed ; but changes there were, and not unimportant ones, and thenceforth the charter was the expression of our supreme law.

It extended or confirmed the bounds of Connecticut to the sea on the south, and to the South sea on the west. The Colony of New Haven, thus ignored, when she abandoned the struggle for existence three years later, brought none of her laws to add to those of the new government.

The original Constitution prescribed but two branches of government, the executive and the legislative ; nor did it draw any very distinct line between the two. The legislature might create judicial tribunals, but they would have such powers only as it might delegate. For the rest the General Court would remain a Court both to make laws and to administer them. The charter in these respects made little change.

It continued in office the existing Governor, Deputy Governor, and Assistants, until the freemen should have an opportunity to choose their successors.

The old Constitution made it the duty of the Governor to issue writs to summon the freemen to chose deputies to the two regular semi-annual courts, and gave him power, with the consent of a majority of the Assistants, to convoke a special session of the legislature. Should he fail to issue such writs, or to call a special session, when there was good cause for one,

* Mass. Hist. Coll. (1794), Vol. III, pp. 262, 297.

a majority of all the freemen in the Colony might petition the Governor and Assistants so to do, and in case of their neglect or refusal, might themselves order the constables to warn the freemen in each town, that a Court would be held on a day named, and on such day hold a Court and appoint a moderator. By an amendment to the Constitution, voted by the freemen at the Court of Election in 1654, in the absence of the Governor and Deputy Governor, a majority of the Assistants could call any General Court, and choose a moderator.*

The Governor was the moderator of the legislature, if present, unless he had neglected or refused to convoke it without due cause.

The charter slightly increased the powers of the Governor. Neither freemen, nor the Assistants, could thereafter convoke the legislature, under any circumstances. He only, or, in case of his sickness or absence, or by his consent, the Deputy Governor, could summon either a General Court of all the freemen, or a General Assembly of the Assistants and deputies; and no General Assembly could be held without his presence, or that of the Deputy Governor, and at least six of the Assistants. He was not, as in the original Constitution, given a casting vote in case of a tie, but this power was very soon re-established by a law found in our printed code of statutes.

The Constitution had provided that no General Assembly could be adjourned or dissolved without its own consent. This provision was not contained in the charter, in deference, no doubt, to the English practice by which the Crown prorogued or dissolved Parliaments at pleasure.

The change by which only the Governor or Deputy Governor could convoke the legislature was one of great importance, for the legislature was the life of the Colony, and little or nothing could be done without its authority. Thenceforward the very existence of the commonwealth depended on the presence and health of these officers, and on occasion of the death of either, the necessity of supplying his place by a new election was immediate.†

* Col. Rec., I, 256.

† See Gershom Bulkeley's tract in 1 Conn. Hist. Society's Transactions.

Semi-annual sessions of the General Court were to be had, as before, but the charter seems to contemplate more decidedly than the Constitution a preliminary assemblage on these occasions, of all the freemen, in person, "then and there to consult and advise in and about the affairs and business of the said company." This assemblage is described as "a general meeting or assembly," or a "general court and assembly," in apparent contradistinction from the "General Assembly." It would seem as if the freemen's meetings were to give advice to the General Assembly, and to elect the Governor, Deputy Governor, Assistants, and such other officers as the laws might prescribe; but that in the General Assembly itself the freemen could only participate by their deputies, sitting with not less than six of the Assistants, under the presidency of the Governor. The deputies were freemen of the Colony, "(not exceeding two persons from each place, town or city), who shall be from time to time thereunto elected or deputed by the major part of the freemen of the respective towns, cities, and places, for which they shall be elected or deputed."

It will be observed that the number from each town, which by the Constitution of 1639 might be four, was, under the charter, restricted to not exceeding two, and this although the development of some of the towns into cities was looked on as not improbable.

On the other hand the number of Assistants, which had grown with the growth of the Colony from six to twelve, was established at the latter number.

It was not required, either in the old constitution or the charter, that the deputies should be inhabitants of the towns which they represented.

The charter apparently contemplates the General Assembly proper as mainly an electoral body. It had power to change the days for the general elections, or for any other meetings of any public character, to admit freemen, and to elect and constitute such officers as might be deemed necessary for managing the affairs of the Colony, and to fill vacancies occurring in any charter office. It had no other express power of legislation.

The real management of the Colony seems to me to have been meant by the charter to pass to the Governor and Assistants.

One of the earliest provisions of the charter is :

“That for the better ordering and management of the affairs and business of the said Company and their successors, there shall be one Governour, one Deputy Governour, and twelve Assistants, to be from time to time constituted, elected and chosen out of the freemen of the said Company for the time being, in such manner and form as hereafter in these presents is expressed, which said officers shall apply themselves to take care for the best disposing and ordering of the general business and affairs of and concerning the land and hereditaments hereinafter mentioned to be granted, and the plantation thereof, and the government of the people thereof.”

This body of magistrates, called Assistants, had from the foundation of the Colony, been authorized to meet with the Governor or Deputy Governor, from time to time, as a “particular Court.”* As such their functions were mainly judicial. Under the charter they soon came to be known as the Council.

The letters and instructions sent to the Colony from the King, from time to time, are generally addressed, from the first, to the Governor and Council, not to the General Court, or to the Governor and Company;† thus indicating that the home government looked to them as vested with the practical direction of affairs.

So in the charter, after provisions for General Courts, “the Governour or Deputy Governour, and such of the Assistants of the said company for the time being as shall be assembled in any of the General Courts aforesaid, or in any courts to be especially summoned or assembled for that purpose, or the greater part of them, whereof the Governour, or Deputy Governour, and six of the Assistants to be always seven,” were authorized to constitute from time to time such Courts as they might think proper, to appoint and commission judges, and also any further executive officers whom it might be found desirable to have, to prescribe the punishments for any offenees, to grant pardons; and in general to make “all manner of wholesome and reasonable laws,” not contrary to those of England, “for the directing, ruling, and disposing of all other matters and things, whereby our said people, inhabitants there, may be so

* Col. Rec., 1636-65, pp. 119, 150, 71, 81, 231.

† Col. Rec., 1665-7, p. 514.

religiously, peaceably, and civilly governed, as their good life and orderly conversation may win and invite the natives of the country to the knowledge and obedience of the only true God, and the Saviour of mankind and the Christian faith, which in our royal intentions and the adventurers' free profession, is the only and principal end of this plantation."

All such laws, it was further provided, "as shall be so made by the Governour, Deputy Governour, and Assistants as aforesaid, and published in writing under their common seal," were to be valid and effectual.

The seal here referred to was certainly the seal of the Colony, and not any seal of the Governor and Assistants, and it may be that in this twice repeated declaration that the laws were to be made by them, reference to the concurrence of the freemen was omitted simply because of their less official dignity; or that it was thought this was sufficiently required by the provision that the Governor and Assistants could legislate only when assembled in a General Court, or implied in the provision as to the constitution of a quorum.*

The legislation of Parliament purports to be enacted by the Queen's most excellent majesty by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal and Commons present in Parliament assembled, but this courtly phrase does not alter the fact that it is really the Lords and Commons that legislate, and the Crown that consents.

The Rhode Island charter, granted a year later, and in most of its provisions and even language almost the same, differs here in a marked manner. It does not contemplate any stated meetings of the whole body of the freemen, but provides for semi-annual meetings of the (ten) Assistants and deputies elected from each town, "to consult, advise, and determine, in and about the affaires and businesse of the said Company and Plantations," that the Governor, Assistants, and the deputies thus assembled, shall constitute the General Assembly, "and that they, or the greatest parte of them present, whereof the Governour or Deputy Governour, and sixe of the Assistants, at least to be seven, shall have" power to regulate elections,

*See answers by the Governor and Company to Queries from the Board of Trade, sent over in 1748: Hinman's Antiquities, p. 362.

choose and commission officers, admit freemen, and exercise general legislative functions; all laws so made "by the Governour, Deputy Governour, Assistants and freemen" to be truly kept and executed.

But whatever the intention of its authors may have been, Gov. Winthrop's charter when it reached Connecticut, was read as if it made the deputies of the freemen as full a part of the legislature as they had always been.

In the recess of the General Assembly however, it was provided by an Act passed a few months after the receipt of the charter, that the Assistants should constitute a Council, of which five should be a quorum, "to act in emerg^t occasions that concerne y^e welfare of this Colony," and at the same session an order already made by the Assistants, respecting the Indians, was established and ratified.*

This Council at once began to act in important matters, such as receiving and naming new towns,† but two years later the Act under which they were constituted was repealed.‡

In 1675 the Council was re-constituted as follows:

"This Court for the prevention of whatever may fall out to prejudice the welfare or safety of this Colony or Government in the intervals of the Gen^l Assembly's sitting for the want of persons sufficiently empowered to act in all matters or things that may be needful, it is now ordered that there shall be a Councill consisting of the Governour, Dep^t Governour, and Assistants with Captⁿ Newbery, Captⁿ Wells, Mr. John Wadsworth and Mr. Rich^d Lord, or so many of them as shall be convened, shall be a standing council and shall have as full power as the Charter will allow, to consult, conclude and act all matters and things, emergent, according to their best discession, provided their acts are not inconsistent with our Charter, and what the aforesayd councill shall determine, they or any five or seven of them, or agree vpon, the Governour or Dep^t Governour being allways present, shall be deemed as good and effectual to all intents and purposes as if the same were acted by the Generall Court, and this to stand till October Court next."§

At the May session of the next year a similar order was passed with some changes in the names of the private citizens who were joined with the Assistants, and without any limitation of time.¶

* Colonial Records, I, 397, 398.

† *Ib.*, p. 440.

¶ *Ib.*, p. 284.

‡ *Ib.*, pp. 407, 411.

§ *Col. Rec.*, 1665-78, p. 261.

Two years later, all names of private citizens were struck out of the commission, and the quorum reduced by the following order.

“This Court doth now invite and appoynt the Governo^r, Dep^t Gov^r and Assis^s upon this place to be a standing councill to issue all such occasions and matters as shall fall in the intervalls of the Generall Court, provided the Governo^r or Dep^t Governo^r and three Assistants be always present at such issues and conclusions.”*

An evident jealousy of a standing council dictated this plan of reconstituting it, by a fresh act, at frequent intervals.

Thus, in 1691, it is ordered that

“This Court leaue it with the Governo^r or Dep^t Gov^r and Councill, according to Charter, to hear and determine all affaires that are of necessity to be attended in the intervals of the Generall Court, provided they rayse no money nor make no alteration of o^r charter government.”†

Acts of this general tenor,‡ sometimes directing deputies to be called into the Council, if necessary to make a quorum in the absence of Assistants, sometimes naming certain freemen to form part of it, and sometimes authorizing or directing the Governor to add four freemen, such as he might select, were passed at short intervals until far on into the next century. The Councils, thus appointed, ordinarily met several times during the recess of the Assembly; and transacted important affairs. Their doings were commonly reported to the next Assembly, and there approved.

In this semi-annual provision for such a body, we recognize the same cautious and liberty-loving policy which has made the British Parliament pass a new Mutiny bill each year, and forbids our Congress to make appropriations for the army for a longer period than two years.

This charter of Charles II. was so extraordinary in its breadth of grant, that the General Court might well call it, as they did, many years later, their “most precious inheritance,” while the officers of the Crown, as time went on, regarded it with unfriendly eyes.

* Col. Rec., 1678-1689, p. 15. Id., 1689-1706, p. 14.

† Col. Rec., 1689-1706, p. 62.

‡ Ibid., pp. 84, 180, 320, 399, 407, 442 : Col. Rec. 1706-16, p. 7, 567 : Col. Rec., 1717-1725, p. 125.

Shortly before the Revolution William Samuel Johnson, then our agent at Court, was told by Lord Hillsborough, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, that he thought Connecticut was "a very free Colony." "He said," writes Dr. Johnson to Gov. Pitkin, "he had read our charter with some attention, and knew what powers we had exercised under it; that it was very full and expressive, but there were such things as extravagant grants, which were therefore void, and however great a latitude of expression was made use of in it, still there might be a doubt, perhaps, what would really pass by it, in legal construction; that he believed I would admit there were many things which the king could not grant, as the inseparable incidents of the Crown, &c.; and it might deserve consideration whether some things which King Charles had pretended to grant to the Colony of Connecticut were not of that nature, particularly the power of absolute legislation, which tended to the absurdity of introducing *imperium in imperio*, and to create an independent state.*

Had Lord Hillsborough been better acquainted with the laws passed and powers assumed from the earliest days, by the Colonial legislature, he would have had still less doubt that we were a "very free Colony," for the Assembly did not hesitate, when it thought fit, to override the limitations of the charter itself.

One of its provisions, to take a striking instance, was that the Governor, Deputy Governor and Assistants were to be annually elected, as before, by the majority of the freemen present at the day set for opening the May Session of the legislatures. As the three original towns of Windsor, Hartford, and Wethersfield, were contiguous, it was easy for their inhabitants to assemble in this way, and exercise in person the functions of a pure democracy; but, apparently in order to ensure the presence of some representatives from every town, and in view of the probable spread of the settlements over a wider territory, the Constitution directed that the several towns should send their deputies to the "Courte of Election." The charter did not re-enact this provision in terms, but declared that the Governor, Deputy Governor and twelve Assistants, and such other general officers of the company as the General Assembly should think fit,

* Mass. Hist. Coll., Vol. 9, 5th Series, pp. 253, 256.

should be annually chosen at the May election "by such greater part of the said company for the time being, then and there present." Vacancies occurring during the year were to be filled by the General Assembly.

The charter, then, required annual elections of Colony officers by popular vote, at a mass meeting of all the freemen in one place, and particularly specified as the electoral body the majority of the freemen present at the time of voting.

This was contrary to the usage of the Colony from the first, for the freemen in the distant towns had been uniformly accorded the privilege of sending in their ballots for Colony officers, by the hands of their deputies.* The same custom had prevailed in New Haven, and was founded there on an express provision of their "Fundamental Agreement" of 1643.†

The legislature determined to maintain this convenient practice, charter or no charter, and soon after the accession of the New Haven towns, a law was passed (at the May Session, 1670) that all the freemen should or might, without any further summons, "on the second Thursday of May, yearly, either in person or in proxie, at Hartford, attend and consummate the election of Governour, deputy governour and Assis^{ts}, and such other public officers as his ma^{tie} hath appoynted by o^r Charter, then to be yearly chosen."‡

In order "that the Election by Proxys may be so managed that there be no Fraud or Deceit used therein," it was, at the same session enacted that the freemen in each town should meet on the last Tuesday of April and choose their representatives in the next legislature. The twenty nominations for Colony officers, agreed on at the preceding session of the General Assembly, were then to be read, and ballots taken for Governor and Lieutenant Governor. This done, they were to ballot successively for Treasurer, Secretary, and Assistants, beginning, as to the Assistants, with the first name on the official list, remaining after the choice of the Governor and Deputy Governor, and then proceeding to the second and so on. A blank ballot counted for nothing, and the twelve having the most votes were to be declared elected.

* 1 Conn. Col. Rec., 346, 347; Gershom Bulkeley's Letter; Coll. Conn. Hist. Soc'y, I, 64.

† 1 N. H. Col. Rec., 113; 2 id., 567.

‡ Col. Rec., 1665-7, p. 131.

This provision as to blank ballots came down from the original Constitution of 1639, which provides that on Election Day the Secretary should "first read the names of all that are to be put to choise, and then shall severally nominate them distinctly, and every one that would have the p^rson nominated to be chosen shall bring in one single paper written vpon, and he that would not have him chosen shall bring in a blanke; and every one that hath more written papers than blanks shall be a Magistrat for that yeare." A much simpler mode would have been for those only to cast their ballots who were in favor of the nominee, but this would have made it evident who were opposed to him. Hence the blank paper was introduced to give a secret ballot, and secure freedom of choice to each elector.*

In 1689 the Election laws were revised, and it was ordered that every freeholder "of peaceable, orderly, and good conversation," twenty-one years old, and having an estate to the value of forty shillings a year, should be enrolled and sworn in as a freeman "of this corporation."† The procedure for the State Election was then thus established.

"It is ordered by this Court that for the future the freemen in the severall plantations shall meet in their senerall townes upon the third Tewsday in March yearly, at their meeting house, about nine of the clock in the morning, and there each freeman shall giue in the names of twenty persons fayrely written upon a peice of paper to the constable and commissioner or townsmen of their town, (whoe they choose for to be nominated at the election for Assistants,) who shall receiue them and seal them up in a peice of paper, and the constables shall the next Fryday after the sayd meeting, carry their sayd votes to the county town, and the constable of the county town shall by himselfe or one appoynted by the constables met at the county towne carry the voates of the seuerall townes to Hartford, there to meet on the last Tewsday in March yearly, in the court chamber, and the Assistants present, or Secretary, shall administer an oath to those that shall com from the sayd county townes, faythfully to sorte the sayd votes, and the names of those twenty they shall find to haue most votes shall by the Secretary be sent back to the seuerall county townes by the sayd persons that shall bring up their votes, and from thence the seuerall townes shall have notice of those twenty that are by the freemen appoynted to stand for the nomination at the court of election, and upon the last

* Swift's System, vol. 1, p. 66, note.

† Col. Rec., 1689-1706, p. 11. Cf. Rev. of 1702, p. 31.

Tewsday in Aprill the freemen in each town in this Colony are to meet as afoars^l about nine of the clock in their meeting house, and out of that number of twenty chosen for the nomination, they are to giue in their votes for the Gov^r. with his name fayrely written upon a peice of paper : in like manner they are to giue in their votes for the Dep^t Gov^r. wth his name fairly written upon a peice of paper, all which are to be sealed up and writ upon, These are the votes for the Governo^r, and so for the Dep^t Gov^r. They are allso to goe over the whole nomination person by person, according as they are set downe in the nomination [*and every freeman is to bring in his vote to the constable for every one which shall be in the nomination*], which votes shall be a white paper for a blanck, and a paper with some writing upon it for election, and each mans voate shall be sealed up and the name of the person that is voted for shall be written on the outside of the paper, and so they are to pass through the nomination and to giue in their votes for Treasurer and Secre^try, which in like maner are to be sealed up and writ upon, and the votes put into the hands of the deputies of their towne, who are to bring them up to the election and deliuer them at the time of the election as they are called for, any former order to the contrary notwithstanding, and those twelue men that haue most notes when the whole number is gon over shall be declared Assistants for the yeare ensuing."

This substitution of the direct vote of the freemen, to be counted by the constables in March, for the action of the General Assembly at its Fall Session, as respects the nomination of Assistants, lasted only three years.*

In the declining days of the Federal party, after the lapse of considerably over a century, a law was passed of a very different character from these. It was enacted in 1801 that at the town meetings when candidates for Assistants and Congressmen were to be nominated, the moderator should direct the freemen to be seated, and each to provide himself with as many slips of paper as there were candidates to be nominated. Any persons might then be successively proposed by any of the freemen for nomination, wherenpon in each case a rising vote of those in favor of the candidate should be taken: or, if there were not seats enough for all, a show of hands; each freeman voting, being directed at the same time to "drop one of the said slips of Paper that he may not be exposed through mistake to vote for more than the prescribed number." This result of the votes was to be announced by the moderator and no ballot was taken at all.†

* Col. Rec., 1689-1706, p. 81.

† Acts and Laws of 1801, p. 566.

This statute, commonly called the "stand up law," was repealed as soon as the Toleration party came into power. The traditions of Connecticut were in favor of publicity in discussion, secrecy in election.

Rhode Island had, early in her history, required her freemen to endorse their own names on their ballots; but such a provision was foreign to the spirit of the founders of Connecticut. Our laws required a list of the names of the freemen voting to be returned with the ballots, but such a list of course showed simply who voted, not how they voted.

The effect of the device of a nomination of twenty candidates, out of whom twelve were to be elected, by voting on each name in order, secured great stability in the upper house. The lower house, at times, endeavored to change the order of arrangement in certain cases, but the Assistants generally refused to concur.*

From the natural tendency to vote in favor of whatever is officially proposed, and also because, the process being rather a tedious one, many of the freemen would leave the town meeting, to go home, before the last ballots were received,† it happened, almost without exception, that the twelve persons whose names stood first on the official list, as arranged by the legislature, were elected year after year; and only as, in slow course, they died or refused a renomination, were those at the foot promoted in turn to a position where an election was virtually assured. A new man might be put forward by a large majority for the nomination, but when it came to the election, he found it practically impossible to strugge out of his place in line. In the latter part of the last century, Jonathan Ingersoll, of this city, had over 4600 votes for the nomination, being more than any other candidate received. The senior Assistant, William Williams had the fewest votes of any for the nomination, less than 2000 in all; but Mr. Williams' name stood by law first on the official ticket, and he was elected, and Mr. Ingersoll left to wait another year.‡

* Abraham Bishop's Oration on Connecticut Republicanism, Sept. 1800. Appendix, p. vii.

† Swift's System of the Laws of Connecticut, vol. i, p. 84.

‡ Abraham Bishop's oration at Wallingford on the election of Jefferson, p. 16, note.

Between 1783 and 1801, only one Assistant who did not decline a re-election, failed to receive it.* This was Gen. James Wadsworth who lost his seat, in 1788, on account of his opposition to the ratification of the Constitution of the United States.†

The statute regulating these proceedings required the ballots or "proxies," when cast, to be sealed up, endorsed so as to show the office voted for, and sent to Hartford, to be delivered, "at the Election, as they shall be appointed, to them who are ordered to receive and sort the said votes; and at the time of Election, those standing in nomination shall be put to Election, after which (the Governour and Deputy Governour being first chosen) those Twelve persons, who shall have the greatest number of votes, shall be the Assistants of this Colony for the year ensuing. And the constable of each town shall take an account of the names of all those that shall Vote in their respective Towns, and send them with their Proxys."

In this manner a great constitutional change was wrought by a simple act of legislation; but we must remember that the charter had given far broader powers of this character than have ordinarily belonged to American legislatures, and limited them by little else than that no laws were to be passed contrary to those of England.

By English law,‡ proxy voting for public office, or in public office was unknown, except in the case of members of the House of Lords; and had this transfer of the polls from the capital of the colony to the several town meetings been brought to the attention of the Crown, it is not unlikely that it might have been declared a violation of the charter. It was, however, so plainly a matter of convenience, if not of necessity, that it seems to have met with universal acquiescence, although it was not till 1750 that the provision for voting in *person or* proxy was modified by striking out all reference to voting in person.

The charter, as I have mentioned, gave the General Assembly power to fill vacancies. So long as the freemen met at

* Theodore Dwight's oration before the Society of the Cincinnati, at New Haven, July 7, 1801, p. 36.

† Bancroft's Hist. of the Const., App. 471.

‡ State vs. Tudor, 5 Day's Reports, 333.

the capital to cast their own votes, any failure to elect simply required another ballot. But as soon as the election came to be had at town meetings, to take another ballot would have occasioned great delay and expense. The General Assembly, therefore claimed the right, or rather exercised the power, to elect, whenever the freemen did not, and both Governor and Lieutenant Governor were repeatedly chosen in this way. The first Gov. Trumbull (the Brother Jonathan of the Revolution) failed of an election by the people in 1770, but was at once chosen by the Assembly.*

It was apparently thought by the first Gov. Winthrop that the provision for filling vacancies in any office by legislative election might be looked on with jealousy by the freemen. In the letter of May 11, 1667, in which he sought, unsuccessfully, to induce the General Court to allow him to decline a re-election as Governor, after expressing his earnest desire "to resigne the same into your hands, that you may make choice of another," he adds, "According to that full power allowed by his Ma:^{ties} charter w^{ch} may be also of use for future that it hath benee tymely practieed, upon so iust an occasion."†

By the second century of the colony's existence, this sealing up the votes at State elections by the town authorities, to be counted and published first at Hartford by legislative authority, caused great dissatisfaction. Complaint was made that the count might not always be a fair one; and that certainly there was nothing to guarantee that it would be such, but the honesty of the counters, since no one else knew the state of the ballot.

When the days of Jeffersonian Democracy came on, this feeling found voice in the press. In a weekly magazine, for instance, called the "Patriot, or Scourge of Aristocracy," which had a brief existence at New London, early in this century, appeared the following, in the issue for April 23, 1802.

"We have obtained the votes from a few towns in this State for Governor, &c.—perhaps others may be procured but it is uncertain:—wherever federalism and ignorance prevails the people will eternally be kept in a slavish State. An ancient and steady habit among most of the presiding officers on Freeman's Meeting day in this State, is, to

* Col. Rec., 1768-72, p. 285.

† Mass. Hist. Coll., vol. viii, 5th series, p. 12.

receive the votes and immediately seal them up. To count them in meeting would be considered as criminal, consequently the result of an election is never known until after the assembly has met, when the people are informed that such characters are elected, as the counters or tellers approve of. These things are not rightly managed,—the votes in each and every town ought to be printed: the freemen would then know the real politics of the State.”

It was, in fact, impossible that the modern newspaper and a system of sealing up the votes uncounted, to be first published weeks afterwards in another place, could exist together.

Before the close of the seventeenth century, following the example set by Rhode Island, another radical change was made by the legislature in respect to its own composition. It had met as one body until 1698. After that it was divided by law into two houses.* The Governor, Deputy Governor, and the Assistants, or Council, as they were still called, thereafter met as the “upper house,” in one apartment, the Governor presiding. In his absence, the Deputy Governor presided; but when the Governor was in the chair, the Deputy Governor sat in the house, with the right of speech by law, and of vote by custom.† The “lower house” chose its own speaker.

This law seems to me to have transcended the competency of the legislature.‡ It removed the Governor from immediate contact with the deputies, deprived him of any share in their action, and withdrew from them the face to face counsel of the Assistants, while it allowed the latter to exercise their veto on legislation without the restraint of expressing their opinion, or giving their votes in the presence of a hostile majority. Sitting in the upper house, they were styled the Council.

The General Court also a few months earlier had voted that the justices of the peace should be appointed thereafter, not annually as before, but to continue during the pleasure of the legislature.§

Both these measures seem to have the fruit of a feeling among what may be termed the Colonial aristocracy of the day

* Col. Rec., 1689-1706, p. 267, 282.

† Swift's System, Vol. I, p. 63.

‡ See Benjamin Gale's Observations on a Pamphlet Entitled “Remarks on Dr. Gale's Letter to T. W., Esq.,” p. 29.

§ Col. Rec., 1689-1706, p. 235.

that the power of the people at large was becoming too great in the General Court.

We have some letters written at this period from Samuel Willis to Gov. Fitz John Winthrop which throw a strong side light on the scene.* Gov. Winthrop arrived at Boston from a trip abroad, made in the interest of the Colony, to preserve its charter, late in the year 1697, and Mr. Willis writes him there, as follows, on Dec. 25, 1697 :

“I hope some of your friends not writtinge to you in England will obtaine your pardon, when you come to understand that the gentlemen of this Colony who like not to have the governm^t to sink into the mire of popular confusion are of as little value as necke beefe in Ireland, and would have rendered themselves culpable to have written to you ; hardly any gentlemen of this Colony havinge don or received one graine of justice since your departure * * * * Most of our gentlemen secluded both houses of Parlam^t, Mr. Henry Woolcott and younge Mr. Chester both secluded the house of Co^mons the last sessions in Octobr^e, and an eminent syder-drinker in the roome of one, and a person risen out of obscurity in the place of the other,—your old friend Mr. Nicoles secluded the lower house about a yeare past for his beinge soe good a husband for the country, who is very glad of this opportunity to waite upon you from Boston. Only Mr. Jones is still continued Dep^t Gov^r in his decreped old age, who haveinge bin only capable of drinkinge flipp & takinge toba^co since your departure, yet beinge an old Cromwelian is allowed 20£ p^r anⁿ for his supply of those needfull co^modytys.”†

Two years later (Dec. 5, 1699) Mr. Willis writes to Gov. Winthrop again, and thus alludes to the two laws I have called to your attention.

“S^r, there are two things effected since your Hon^r came to the Governm^t w^{ch} I judge will much conduce to the wellfaire of the Colony if they be continued : That the Magistrates and Deputys sitt distinct & that the justices be stated and co^missioned and not annually chosen, w^{ch} will much strengthen the Governm^t, when they are not at the despose of the arbitrary humors of the people, and yet subject to be called to accompt by the General Court or to be displased for delinquency.”‡

His hopes were not fulfilled, for after three years' trial, the old plan of appointing justices of the peace and judges of the County Court annually was reinstated.

* Mass. Hist. Coll. 6th Series, Vol. III, p. 17.

† Mass. Hist. Coll. 6th Series, Vol. III, p. 31.

‡ Mass. Hist. Coll. 6th Series, Vol. III, p. 44.

Whether the division of the General Court into two houses, gave each a negative on the other, in respect to elections, as well as ordinary legislation, was for many years a disputed point.

In 1707 a special session of the Assembly was called by the Deputy Governor to fill the vacancy occasioned by the death of Gov. Fitz John Winthrop, and it was voted that, in so doing,

“the Votes of the members of both houses, to be given for making the said choice, shall be mixed or putt together before they be sorted, and that the major part of the said Votes shall determine the Choice.”*

In May, 1716, the houses having balloted separately for certain officers and failed to agree, the following vote was passed in the house of deputies.

“Resolved, That since y^e Honble y^e Upper House do not think fitt to agree with us in y^e Appointment of several needfull officers in this Government. This House desire and insist, That y^e Election of y^e persons not yet agreed upon may be now performed according to y^e Privilege of y^e Charter and y^e Direction of y^e law whereby is given to each Member of this Assembly an equal Vote in y^e Election, excepting only to y^e Gov^r and in his Absence to y^e Deputy Gov^r a Double Vote when an Equivote shall happen.”†

The upper house declined to concur, but voted to “consent to have it considered in a Conference of both Houses, Concluding that it will be found Inconsistent with the charter.”‡

At the October session of this year, a certain bill having been passed in one house and rejected in the other, the Upper House invited a free conference, expressing much anxiety as to this misunderstanding, and its effect on their privileges.‡

At the May session, in 1717, the lower house asked that the Judges might be elected “by the voates of both Houses collectively, considered as one body;” adding “this house is of opinion that such an Election is a privilege by Charter Granted.”§ The upper house refused to concur,|| and a speech from the Governor failed to induce the lower house to recede.||

* MS. Records, Conn. State Library, 1 Civil Officers, 84.

† 1 Civil Officers, 145.

‡ Ibid., p. 162.

§ 1 Civil Officers, 173.

|| Ibid., p. 175.

Indeed, by this time, the elections by the legislature of justices of the peace generally amounted to nothing more than the mere confirmation of nominations made by the deputies from the several Counties.* Gov. Saltonstall rebukes this practice of dictation by County caucuses, as inconsistent with the charter. It was his opinion that nominations for offices to be filled by the Assembly should come from the Governor, and in a Message of May 23, 1721, he asserted it as a privilege granted by the charter, which had been confirmed by "the steady and ancient practice," though he declared his willingness to acquiesce if they made a different provision by law.†

In 1723, the two houses again disagreed in the choice of a Deputy Governor to fill a vacancy caused by the death of Nathan Gold. The lower house proposed a joint convention for the purposes of the election, but the upper house refused. Each house then voted separately and chose a different man. Neither would yield its preference. The lower house then chose a third man, but the upper house dissented. A good night's rest seems, however, to have composed matters, for the next day the upper house chose one of those elected the day before by the lower, and the latter promptly concurred.‡

A year afterwards the Governor died, and the two houses again differed in their choice. A compromise Act was thereupon passed, reciting the Act of Oct. 10th, 1698, dividing the Assembly into two houses, and that "it has been consented and agreed to, by a vote of both houses, that rather than run the bazzard of our charter, which at present depends on the life of one man, an Act should be immediately drawn for the forming this Assembly into one house upon this special occasion;" and enacting that the election should be made in a joint meeting "in such manner and form as it might have been performed, had the aforesaid act of separation into houses never been made," and that, as soon as the election was had, the Assembly should "be and remain in two Houses, as before, according to the Act aforesaid, and as tho' this Act had never been made."§

* Col. Rec., 1689-1706, pp. 324, 376.

† MS. Rec., State Library, 1 Coll., 286.

‡ Col. Rec., 1717-1725, p. 415, note.

§ Col. Rec., 1717-25, p. 484.

The joint convention was then held in the manner provided, and the Deputy Governor, receiving a majority of the votes of the members of each house, was declared elected.

Neither the law dividing the General Court into two houses nor that dispensing with the assembly of the freemen at the capital on Election Day to cast their votes in person, could have been supported for a moment, if attacked in judicial proceedings, had the charter been regarded as prescribing the supreme law, in the sense in which a State Constitution is now accepted as prescribing it.

But English precedents had made our ancestors familiar with the omnipotence of Parliament, and some of our Colonial assemblies were deemed to have powers hardly less great, so long as they did not contravene the laws of the mother country or the allegiance due to the British Crown.

The Supreme Court of Rhode Island did indeed, decide in the last century that an Act of its legislature was void, because incompatible with its charter, but the Judge who took this position was impeached for it, and though not removed from office, was not re-elected when his term expired.*

The people of Connecticut would by no means have admitted that they were without a constitutional government, such as to control, as it had created, the legislative department. But such control would have been recognized only in matters of fundamental importance. What such matters might be, they were content to leave to be determined when the case arose; secure in the fact that their representatives controlled the legislature, and were dependent for their power on the suffrages of the people, twice every year.

In 1795 a distinguished Connecticut lawyer, afterwards Chief Justice of the State, in a general review of our institutions undertook to specify what features of our Constitution were unalterable by the legislature. "It is unalterable," he declared, "in these respects, that it cannot be changed from a representative republic; that the people cannot be deprived of the rights of an annual election of one branch of the legislature, and of a semi-annual election of the other; that the number of repre-

* Arnold's Hist. of R. I., Vol. II, Chap. 41.

sentatives cannot be lessened; that the legislative power cannot be exercised, but in two branches; that two assemblies must be holden annually. While these principles are adhered to, there is not the remotest danger the government will verge to tyranny.”*

It is worthy of remark that of the six unalterable constitutional principles here asserted, one (the bi-cameral system of legislation) had, as we have already seen, been introduced by the legislature itself in contravention both of the Constitution of 1639, and of the charter, while of the other five, three (annual elections to the upper house, semi-annual elections to the lower, and semi-annual sessions), have been since abolished, as unnecessary for any useful purpose, by the action of the people.

We come now to the era of the Revolution. Other Colonies thought it necessary at this time to frame Constitutions for their independent government. Connecticut had been so long independent of any foreign authority except in name, that she had nothing to do, but to reject that. The Acts of the General Assembly in 1775 were the last that were published as being enacted in “the reign of Our Sovereign Lord, George the Third, King of Great Britain, etc.” Those of the May and June Sessions in 1776, repeal the Act against High Treason, strike out “His Majesty’s name” from all legal processes; alter the freeman’s oath of allegiance, and provide for measures of war and confiscation. At the October Session, the laws are made in the name of the State of Connecticut, and the first of them, reciting that George the Third, King of Great Britain, has abdicated the government of this State, approves the Declaration of Independence, absolves the inhabitants from all allegiance to the British Crown, and enacts “that the form of Civil Government in this State shall continue to be as established by Charter received from Charles the Second, King of England, so far as an adherence to the same will be consistent with an absolute Independence of this State on the Crown of Great Britain.”

This action of the legislature was never ratified by any vote of the people, but by their general and long continued acqui-

* Swift’s System, Vol. I, p. 62.

escence it was, and with equal effect. The charter as thus re-enacted, remained our fundamental Constitution for over forty years. Some of our jurists indeed maintained that our real Constitution during this period was, and always had been, the original Eleven Fundamental Orders of 1639, as modified by any subsequent changes assented to by the freemen or their representatives, and that the charter was only effectual because the people asked for and accepted it;* but this theory led practically to the same result as that which I have stated, and as it seems to me with less directness, if not less accuracy.

In truth, Judge Swift wrote the book from which I quote when (1795) the question was already one of political controversy. The first pamphlet on the subject was issued before the close of the Revolution, and a spirited discussion, which soon became a heated one, arose in the press, in public meetings, and in the legislature itself.†

Some Federalists contended that in this Act of 1776 the people had, in fact, adopted a Constitution, through the medium of their representatives in the legislature.

Speaking of the Declaration of Independence, one of their leading men wrote, in 1801 :

“It now became absolutely necessary for the people, just emancipated from a Colonial state, to form for themselves a Constitution for the future regulation of the body politic. Accordingly, in October, 1776, the Legislature of the State enacted as follows, viz: ‘That the ancient form of civil government, contained in the charter from Charles the Second, King of England, and adopted by the people of this State, shall be and remain the civil Constitution of this State.’ This Charter, of course, stands at the head of our laws, as the only Constitution which the State possesses.”‡

But if the legislature represented the people, without any special warrant for the purpose, in thus re-proclaiming or re-enacting the charter, they must, it would seem, have had an equal authority to repeal or alter it, at any subsequent time. To grant this would be to grant that there really was

* Swift's System, Vol. I, 57.

† See Trumbull's Historical Notes on the Constitution of Connecticut, etc., p. 13.

‡ Theodore Dwight's Oration before the Society of the Cincinnati, at New Haven, July 7, 1801, p. 35.

no paramount Constitution at all, and indeed the writer from whom I have just quoted, in another part of the same publication, had declared that :

“ The distinguishing trait in the character of the government is this : that resting its claim to preëminence on the ground of long experience, and practice, it sets all theory at defiance. At the same time it is not easy to say what constitutes its strength and force. That there is a principle existing here, which produces, from a system the most mild and free, all the benefits of great vigour, and energy, cannot even be questioned. We have, in fact, no written constitution ; no executive power or patronage.”*

As early as the middle of the last century, a proposition was brought forward to reduce the representation in the lower house to one only from each town. This would do something to remedy the inequalities already apparent in population, by which a minority of the people might, and had,† at times, been represented by a majority in the house ; inequalities probably aggravated by a law which gave two representatives to every town with a grand list of \$60,000. In 1786, this proposition was debated at each session of the Assembly, and their right to make the change without reference to the people fully discussed.

The *New Haven Gazette* had just been started, and “ A Freeman ” advocated the change at some length in its issue of August 31 ; speaking thus of the constitutional point :

“ Some may further object that we have adopted the Royal Charter as the grand constitution of the State of Connecticut, as the system of our jurisprudence, and that allows each town to send *two*, and we have no right to restrain them, without running in the very face of the constitution. Perhaps there might have been some weight in such an objection, while we were a Colony, dependent on the crown of Great Britain, but there can be none in it, now we are become an independent state.

Our Assembly, especially when they know the minds of their constituents, have as good a right to amend some things that are found defects in our constitution, as they had to adopt it ; and this they may do without weakening the main pillars of it.”‡

* Theodore Dwight’s Oration before the Society of the Cincinnati, at New Haven, July 7, 1801, p. 8.

† *New Haven Gazette*, Nov. 2, 1786.

‡ See a similar letter from the same pen in the *New Haven Gazette* of March 29, 1787.

At the May Session the general sentiment was that the question should be decided by the people, and its consideration was deferred until the Fall Session to give an opportunity for them to declare themselves. On October 19, the matter came up on two propositions, one to reduce the representation immediately by a simple law; the other to submit the question to the freemen at the next town meetings, that they might direct their representatives how to vote upon it. Both were defeated. During the debate, some maintained and some denied the power of the legislature to ordain the change.* "We have no constitution," said James Davenport of Stamford, "but the laws of the State: the charter is not the constitution. On the revolution, that was abrogated. A law of the State gave a subsequent sanction to that which before was of no force. If that law is valid, any alterations made by a later Act will also be valid."

"We have a constitution," said David Sherman of Woodbury, "by the compact of the people, previous to the charter of Charles II. That charter united the Colonies of Connecticut and New Haven, and confirmed the old compact; and since the revolution, the law has not given a constitution; but the ancient compact is our constitution, and the law is but a declaratory Act of the legislature."

The friends of the measure introduced it again at the next session, and it was again debated at length. A number of towns, including Hartford, East Hartford, Berlin, Stamford, and Woodbury, had either instructed their representatives to vote for it or passed resolutions in its favor.

During the debate, the constitutional question was again pressed. "My opinion," said Col. Charles Burrall of Canaan, "is that the General Assembly has not power to lessen the number of representatives; the constitution has fixed it, and it remains unalterable unless all the towns in the State instruct their representatives to make alterations. It is a ruling principle that what is established by the constitution cannot be altered by the General Assembly. We might as well make a law that there shall be no Governor, or that there shall be but six Assistants. If we now say there shall be but one repre-

* New Haven Gazette for Oct. 26, and Nov. 2, 1786.

sentative from each town, we may by and by, say there shall be but one from a county. But these things exceed our powers, and if we make such Acts, they are void in themselves. This privilege of sending two representatives is founded on the charter. It does not depend on any law.*

“When independence was declared,” said Major Charles Phelps of Stonington, “the question arose whether we should continue the old constitution according to the charter, or whether we should form a new one. If we had formed a new one, we might have made it better, perhaps, in some few particulars; but we should probably have made it much worse in many others. It was therefore wisely determined to continue the old constitution.”

The final vote showed 62 in favor of the bill to 75 against it.

In 1804 the question whether we had a Constitution, or not, was formally made a political issue by a public address issued by direction of a mass meeting of Democrats from nearly a hundred towns, held at the old State House on this Green.† This paper asserted “that the people of this State are at present without a constitution of civil government.” Four of the members of this convention who were justices of the peace were impeached and removed from office for participating in the publication of such sentiments.

Every year, however, strengthened the ranks of those who were calling for a Constitutional Convention, and the favor shown by law to the Congregational denomination enlisted most of those who did not belong to it in the movement for a change.

Judge Swift, himself, was driven by what he deemed the encroachments of the legislature on the judicial power, to publish a criticism of its action, which contributed not a little to aid in overthrowing the existing order of things. He had held a special Court to try a murderer, at which a conviction had been had, and sentence of death passed. The man applied to the legislature for a pardon or other relief, on the ground that

* *New Haven Gazette* for June 7, 1787.

† This paper was prepared while the Society was occupying rooms in the last State House on the Green.

the Court was not regularly convened, and the grand jury not legally summoned. As in the recent case of John H. Swift,* the application met with a sympathetic response, the sentence was annulled and a new trial ordered.† Judge Swift issued a pamphlet in vindication of his action, couched in very different language from that of his former work, from which I have quoted. The government of the State, he now asserted, was "divided into three branches, the executive, the legislative, and the judiciary. These are co-ordinate and independent of each other, and the power of one should never be exercised by the other." Otherwise the legislature would "ingulf all the Courts of law, and *sovereign discretion* would be the only rule of decision—a state of things *equally favorable to lawyers and criminals.*"

I find but one decision in the judicial reports of the State, during the charter *regime*, in which the Courts presumed to hold any act of the General Assembly inoperative, because unconstitutional. This is the *Simsbury* case in which a legislative patent to the proprietors of the town of Simsbury was afterward abridged by an Act confirming a survey which cut off a part of the township, in favor of the adjoining one. The Supreme Court of Errors in 1784, held that this Act curtailed the jurisdictional limits of Simsbury, but could not legally operate to divest the proprietary title.‡

Let us now turn, upon the assumption that the charter was, as the General Assembly of 1776 declared it to be, the true Constitution of this State, and ask what were its leading characteristics, at the time when the people had finally agreed to replace it by a better.

It gave the legislature practically the supreme power in all departments of government.§

One of its houses, as I have said before, represented the towns; the other the people. But the upper house represented really the people of ten or twenty years before. An artificial

* One John H. Swift, a convicted criminal, had recently (1889) made application for a remission of sentence, to the General Assembly, and secured a favorable report.

† Lung's Case, Conn. Reports, Vol. I, p. 428.

‡ Kirby's Reports, 447, 452.

§ Calder vs. Bull, 3 Dallas' Reports, 395.

system of nomination perpetuated power, with few exceptions, in the hands of those who once got hold of it, whatever their subsequent course might be.

This upper house was also a privy council or cabinet, which the Governor could summon around him for consultation and advice, at any time, when the legislature was not in session.

Until 1807 it had also been the Supreme Court of the State, to which lay appeals in all causes, civil and criminal, for errors of law committed in the trial courts.

The Governor was the president of this body, whether sitting as a branch of the legislature or as a Court, and the Lieutenant-Governor was a member of it, with the same powers as the rest.

Officers were renewed annually except the representatives in the lower house of the Assembly, who were elected twice a year.

There was an ample bill of rights on the statute book, but it had no higher authority than any other law. "You have," wrote 'A Countryman,' in the *New Haven Gazette* of Nov. 22, 1787, in a spirited address to the people, opposing the ratification of the Federal Constitution, "a bill of rights in Connecticut, i. e. your legislature, many years since, enacted that the subjects of this State should enjoy certain privileges. Every Assembly since that time could, by the same authority, enact that the subjects should enjoy none of those privileges; and the only reason that it has not long since been so enacted, is that your legislators were as strongly interested in preserving those rights as any of the subjects: and this is your only security that it shall not be so enacted at the next session of Assembly, and it is security enough."

The expenses of administration were light, for the very reason that so much power was centered in the legislature. There were few salaried officers, executive or judicial.

In the words of a leading Democrat, published in 1800, government in Connecticut was "less expensive and energetic than in any other state."^{*}

It was wonderful that a scheme of administration which left so much in the hands of the legislature should have worked so

* Abraham Bishop's oration on Connecticut Republicanism, delivered in New Haven, Sept., 1800. Preface, p. 2.

well, as long as it did. It was impossible that it should continue to satisfy or to guard the public interests, when the State began fairly to swing into the current of the nineteenth century.

The heaviest drag upon her progress was the religious establishment which had outlived the times that created and justified it. This, however, was no part of her constitution. It rested on mere statute laws, which a majority in any legislature could repeal, and many of which were repealed, before the charter was finally superseded.

The history of the Colonial government, looked at as a whole, was as Dr. Bushnell said, one "of practical greatness and true power: illustrious in its beginning: serious and faithful in its progress, . . . independent, as not knowing how to be otherwise."*

THE THIRD CONSTITUTION.

(Read April 27th, 1891.)

THE second and last Constitutional Convention of Connecticut met in 1818, and began its work on the assumption that no Constitution then existed, for one of its first steps was to pass a resolution "That this Convention do deem it expedient to proceed at this time to form a Constitution of Civil Government for the people of the State."†

In less than a month its task was completed, and a few weeks later the people ratified the Constitution, as recommended, by a majority of about fifteen hundred. In New Haven its friends numbered 430 as against 218 in opposition. Hartford, on the other hand, cast 547 nays to 374 yeas.

This rapid change in the political structure of our government was a bitter draught for the Federalists. They had sent to the Convention some of its strongest men, had struggled there, with little success, to retain many of the distinctive features of the old *regime*, and had mustered 61 votes against 134 on the final vote by which the Constitution was proposed to the people.

* Historical Estimate of the State, 1851. p. 43.

† Journal of the Constitutional Convention of Conn., p. 11.

In the address which they sent out the next Spring, in behalf of their State ticket, they thus alluded to these events, in speaking of the Toleration party :

“Do they boast that they have given you a new Constitution? Remember the mad projects of these Reformers, while in Convention; many of which were prevented by the wisdom and firmness of the friends of the State. Remember the time which was allowed you for the consideration of that important instrument; remember the manner in which you were compelled to adopt it; and mark well the tyranny of those who, on that occasion, issued the despotic mandate, “FIRST VOTE—THEN DEBATE.” Thus passed away like a dream, in the short period of ninety days, a Government which was obtained by the labor and blood of your ancestors—which was defended by them with care and vigilance—and which has been a shield to them and you, in war and in peace. By their fortitude they preserved it against their enemies, within and without, and transmitted it as a fair inheritance to their posterity. A set of pretended Reformers, under the imposing garb of TOLERATION, to get themselves into office, have deceived a small majority of the people, and induced them to throw away this legacy of their Fathers.”

The Constitution of 1818 begins with a general bill of rights, in which special prominence is given to the equality of all citizens before the law, in opposition to any pretensions to exclusive privileges, or ecclesiastical establishments. It reminds one of the construction of most of the ecumenical creeds of Christendom, formed mainly as a negation of heresies, and a protest against the false doctrine of other or former authorities. Toleration was “writ large” on the first pages of the Constitution, and given, later, a distinct Article for its better security.*

The influence, and even the language of the national Constitution marks many of the other provisions of Article First; and

* Great bitterness of feeling was displayed by the ultra-Federalists throughout toward those who sought to abolish a religious establishment. In the Connecticut Journal, published in New Haven, March 10, 1819, a libellous attack on one of the Republican members of the convention appeared, charging him among other things with having “while in the convention, openly avowed that in his opinion the government had no more right to provide by law for the support of the worship of the Supreme Being, than for the support of the worship of the devil.” An action for libel was brought and a verdict against the editor was sustained by the Supreme Court of Errors. *Stowe vs. Converse*, 3 Connecticut Reports, 325.

though the substance is retained, we find little of the form of the ancient bill of rights, which for nearly two centuries had been part of our statute law.

The elective franchise was limited to freeholders, tax-payers, or militia men.

Article Second divides the powers of government into "three distinct departments, and each of them confided to a separate magistracy, to wit, those which are legislative to one; those which are executive to another; and those which are judicial to another."

A declaration so explicit would seem to debar the legislature forever from any interference with the other branches of public authority, but so inveterate is the force of ancient customs and traditional associations, that the General Assembly, under the Constitution, has asserted and maintained most of the great prerogatives that it possessed before. It grants divorces for causes not sufficient by general law; it gives *ex parte* relief in cases of trusts, where an English Chancellor might; it confirms defective titles, validates void contracts, discharges judicial recognizances, grants new trials, annuls civil judgments, and alters or vacates criminal sentences, even in capital cases.

Whatever it does is within its competence, if "not against natural justice, or the national constitution, and it does not appear affirmatively and expressly that there is some provision" in our own Constitution forbidding it.*

The committee which reported the original draft of the Constitution sought to prevent any such latitude of construction by annexing to the provision dividing the power of the State between the three departments, the following section:

"§ 2. No person or collection of persons, being one of those departments, shall exercise any power properly belonging to either of the others, except in the instances hereinafter expressly directed or permitted."

This, which would have given much greater strength of resistance to the Governor and the Judiciary, the convention struck out,† and thereby left a "reserved power in the legislature,‡ which the Courts recognize as justifying its frequent

* Wheeler's Appeal, Vol. 45 Conn. Reports, 315.

† Journal, pp. 78, 55.

‡ Starr vs. Pease, 8 Conn. Reports, 547.

interferences with matters more naturally belonging to the care of the other departments of government.

One of the most important of the new limitations of its power was in regard to salaries. Heretofore all salaries had been fixed simply by the annual or semi-annual appropriation bills. None were established by law. The new provision was that the pay of the Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, Senators and Representatives should be fixed by statute, and never altered so as to affect the present incumbents. The salaries of the Judges, however, were left as before, at the will of each legislature.

The General Assembly retained, under the new Constitution, its ancient character as a body composed of a small upper house, representing the people at large, and a large lower house, representing the towns. The Governor was, however, no longer a member of it, and he gained in dignity and power by the separation.

The abandonment of the old system of nominations for the upper house six months before the election, by an official ticket containing more names than there were places to be filled, which has been already explained, threw the choice of this body open, for the first time in the history of the Commonwealth, to the real will of the people. In all previous elections, the members of this House had really represented the people by whom they had first been nominated, that is, the people of a generation, half of which were in their graves.

William Williams, for instance, was an Assistant in 1802, and had been continuously, since George the Third was King. Oliver Ellsworth, who was another, was first elected in 1780. Joseph Platt Cook, another, had sat since 1784, William Hillhouse, since 1785, Roger Newbury, since 1790; and each of these men had probably gained his place on the list of nominations many years before his first election.

Where an Assistant declined a re-election on account of receiving some higher office, and afterwards re-entered the Council, his name seems to have been re-instated on the nomination list in the same position of precedence, as if it had remained upon it continuously. Thus Judge Ellsworth was engaged in the service of the United States most of the time from 1786 to

1801. On his resigning his position as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, in 1801, he was re-elected to the Council, and his name appears next to that of Mr. Williams, then the senior member, and who had entered it a year before him; thus crowding down Mr. Cook to the third place, although the latter had held the second since 1793, and had entered the house before Judge Ellsworth left it.

In antagonism to this tradition, the representative and popular character of the Senate was put by the Constitution on a firm foundation.

Being annually elected, on annual nominations, and by general ticket, its members must come fresh from the people, and represent no localities, and no interests of the past, but the wishes of a majority of all the electors throughout the State.

A proposition to make the Senate consist of not more than twenty-one, to be elected by districts, the districts to be not less than seven in number, was defeated in the Convention by a large majority, 136 to 45.

It was felt that whatever party embraced the greater part of the electors ought to be at liberty to dictate the constitution of the upper house, since equality of town representation in the lower ensured an adequate representation of the minority there, under all circumstances. The adoption of this principle of representation is the more noteworthy, because fifteen years before, the Republican, or Democratic, party had formally declared it a part of their platform to change the mode of election both of Councillors and of members of Congress, so as to choose them by districts.*

Another important change in this body was wrought by Section 11 of Art. III, requiring the ordinary debates in each House to be public. Up to this time the upper house had always sat with closed doors. In 1818 a strangers' gallery was first introduced.

The lower house remained on its old foundation, except that an ancient custom was now made the supreme law, by requiring that every representative must reside in the town which sent him.

* Republican Address to the Freemen of Connecticut, Aug. 30, 1803, p. 16.

An effort was made in the Convention to cut down all towns with a population of less than 2000 to one representative, but it failed by a decided vote.*

The semi-annual sessions of the Assembly were replaced by an annual one, and representatives therefore, as well as the Senators, were henceforth to be elected only once a year.

The Executive is given less weight than was proposed by the committee which was appointed to report a draft of a Constitution. They would have had the Governor clothed with the power to pardon, "after conviction, in all cases except those of impeachment and in capital cases, and to remit fines and penalties, under such rules and regulations as may be prescribed by law." This was expunged by the Convention.†

He is, however, an officer of much more importance than under the former system.

He is commander-in-chief of the militia. He has a qualified veto, amounting to little more, indeed, than a right to call for a reconsideration and a vote by yeas and nays, but which has often been enough to defeat an obnoxious bill, passed in ignorance or in heedlessness. He has the sole right to reprieve convicts, until the legislature can pass upon their case; a right which, before, he had only by statute, and then shared with the Lieutenant-Governor, or any three Assistants. He commissions all officers, a power formerly belonging to the legislature. As holding the "Supreme Executive power," he appoints Senators of the United States, in case of a vacancy occurring when the General Assembly is not in session; a function which before had always been vested in the Governor and Council, in which body he had been but *primus inter pares*.

The Constitution made one important change as to the manner of his election.

It will be recollected that the May Session of the General Assembly was always a "Court of Election," at which all the freemen of the Colony were supposed to be present in person or by proxy, that is, by their ballots. The General Assembly counted the proxies or original ballots, as returned from the

* Journal of the Convention. p. 24.

† Journal of the Constitutional Convention of Connecticut, pp. 21, 84.

several towns, and those who received a majority of them were declared elected. The Governor and Council of the preceding year held over until their successors were appointed. The House of Representatives met at 8 A. M. on election day to organize, and then proceeded with the Governor and Council to church, to listen to the election sermon. On their return the votes were counted, by a joint committee appointed and sworn for that purpose; and if no person had a majority of the ballots for Governor, the Assembly proceeded to elect whom they would for that office.* Ordinarily there was little or no contest over the election or, we might rather say, re-election of the Governor; and the canvassing committee of the legislature often did not take the trouble to count the ballots. In Colonial days, down to the era of the Revolution, it was "a rare thing to see a counting of votes,"† but a strong opposition party was formed during the closing years of Gov. Trumbull's administration, and both in 1782 and 1783 he failed of a popular election, and was chosen by the General Assembly. In 1784 the same thing happened to the Lieutenant-Governor, Matthew Griswold, and in 1798, when the second Governor Trumbull first became such, his associate on the Federalist ticket, John Treadwell, did not receive a majority of the popular vote, and was made Lieutenant Governor by the legislature on May 14th. In 1810, when Treadwell was first made Governor, it "took till candle-light" to count the votes.‡ In 1818, a recess was taken until 9 o'clock, the next morning, to give the committee time to complete their canvass.

The charter provision as to Colony elections was that at the May "Court of Election," the "Governor, Deputy Governor, and Assistants of the said Company, and other officers of the said Company, or such of them as the said General Assembly shall think fit, shall be in the said General Court and Assembly to be held from that Day or Time, newly chosen for the year ensuing, by such greater Part of the said Company for the Time being, then and there Present."

* Stat. Rev. of 1808, pp. 201-203. 1 Swift's System, pp. 65, 71.

† Hartford *Courant* of April 2, 1782.

‡ Diary of Rev. Thos. Robbins, D.D., I, 437, May 1, 1810.

This required a majority vote, and in the case of the Governor and Deputy Governor, if no one received it, the General Assembly, as possessed of the general powers of the government, had always exercised the right of filling the vacancy: though in the case of the Assistants, they had allowed, by statute, a plurality vote to elect. The ground put forward for this distinction was that as the Assistants were voted for twice, once for nomination and once for election, a double plurality was equivalent to a single majority.

The Constitution, while continuing this power in the legislature, limited it to a choice between the two candidates receiving the highest number of votes. Previously they had been free to elect whom they would, though practically, they had never, I believe, failed to follow the same plan which now became for the first time, a binding rule.

By an Act passed in 1803, the old plan of sealing up the original ballots for Governor, in each town, uncounted,* had been replaced by the requirement that the presiding officers at the freemen's meeting in each town, with such assistance as might be necessary, should count the ballots cast, in presence of the freemen; declare in open meeting the number of votes given in for each person; lodge a written list of the names of the candidates and the number of votes given for each, in the town clerk's office; and transmit by one of the representatives elect, a sealed copy of it to the next General Assembly.†

By an Act passed in 1808,‡ the representatives who were made the bearers of these returns, were required to hand them to the Secretary of the State on or before 10 A. M. of election day, and the Secretary was "to receive the said returns of votes, and to deliver them, arranged in due order, to such committee as shall be appointed by the General Assembly to count the same." If the returns from any towns were not handed in, proclamation was to be made by the committee to warn those having them in charge to present them.

* Stat. Rev. of 1808, pp. 245, 246.

† Ibid., p. 253.

‡ Ibid., p. 256.

“ And in case there shall be any town or towns from which, after the proceedings aforesaid, no return of votes shall have been made, or if the return from any town or towns shall be defective or irregular, such committee shall report the same to the house of representatives, distinguishing between those towns, from which no returns shall have been made, and those from which the returns shall be defective, or irregular, that an enquiry may be instituted into the cause of the omission to return the said votes according to law.”

It will be noticed that the report is made to the lower house only, though the committee was a joint one.* As some of the representatives in that house were the parties presumably in fault, where returns from any town were missing, and would be most likely to know the cause of any irregularity in them, this reference of the enquiry to that house alone was naturally a matter of convenience.

The Act of 1803 wrought a great change in the functions of the legislature. It had been passed in deference to a growing feeling that the legislature took too large a share in the elections, and that earlier and general knowledge of the results of the vote in each town was necessary in the interests of fairness.*

Before 1803, the legislature made the first and only count of ballots cast. After the Act of 1803, they were counted only at the freemen's meetings in each town, and no provision was made for preserving them, when once counted. The record of the official count on file in the town clerk's office, and the return of an official copy of it, on printed blanks furnished by the State, took the place of a legislative inspection of the actual “proxies.”

The Constitution of 1818 was the work of the same men who had led the attack on the old system of a legislative canvass. In the original draft of this instrument, reported to the Convention by the committee appointed for this purpose, of which Pierpont Edwards was chairman, the presiding officer of the freemen's meetings in each town was required to certify in the presence of the freemen, to duplicate lists of the ballots cast for Governor, one to be deposited with the town clerk

* 1 Swift's System, p. 71.

† See the New London *Patriot or Scourge of Aristocracy*, of April 23, 1802.

and one to be sent to the Secretary of the State or the sheriff. The Secretary of the State, Treasurer and Comptroller, were to "canvass the returns" within the month, "and publish the name of the person having a majority of the whole number of votes, who shall be declared to be elected. But if no person shall have a majority of the whole number of votes returned, or if two or more shall have an equal and the highest number of votes, then the names of the two persons having the highest number of votes or the name of the persons having an equal and highest number of votes (as the case may be) shall be returned to the General Assembly at their then next session, and one of them shall be chosen Governor on the second day of the session of the said General Assembly, by the joint ballot of both houses, without previous debate. Contested elections for the Governor or Lieutenant-Governor shall be determined by both houses of the General Assembly, in such manner as shall be prescribed by law."^{*}

This left it to the Secretary, Treasurer and Comptroller, not only to canvass the returns, but to publish the name of the candidate having a majority, and apparently, to declare him elected. It also made the General Assembly the final judge, in case of a contested election, upon such proceedings as should be prescribed by law.

As compared with the former system, it turned over to the Secretary, Treasurer and Comptroller, what had been the functions of the joint committee of the General Assembly, but left a longer interval between the canvass and the final decision. The resolution raising the joint committee had frequently given them power to receive, sort and count the votes returned, and to declare the names of the persons elected.† The oath administered to them in 1708 is given in the records,‡ and runs thus :

"You and each of you, being appointed to receive, sort and count the votes that shall be brought in at this election for the choice of Governor, Deputy Governor, Assistants, Treasurer and Secretary, do

^{*} Journal of the Convention, as printed by the State in 1873, p. 83.

† See Colonial Records, vol. ix, pp. 414, 501; vol. x, p. 3; vol. xii, p. 547; vol. xiii, pp. 3, 170, 572; vol. xiv, pp. 73, 254.

‡ Col. Rec., vol. iv, p. 41; MS. Journals of the Assembly for 1816, 1817 and 1818.

swear by the name of the ever living God, that you will faithfully, truly, and according to the best of your skill perform the service now committed to you, and declare the names of the persons that shall be chosen to any of the aforementioned offices, according to law, so help you God."

The committee conducted the count in presence of the members of both houses, but it would appear from the records that they commonly made no other report than by themselves declaring and causing it to be proclaimed before the Assembly that certain persons whom they named had been duly elected.*

No doubt, had they made a false count, or declaration, the Assembly could and would have promptly reversed or vacated their action; and so under the new scheme, had the State board of canvassers committed similar errors, and a contest arisen, the General Assembly would have made the ultimate and final decision, as soon as might be after the opening of its next session.

Both parties in the Convention seem to have regarded the draft of the article thus reported, as leaving the State elections with too few safeguards against fraud, for the leader of the Federalists, Gov. Treadwell, on September 8, moved to amend these provisions, by giving the town moderator the assistance of the town clerk and selectmen in making up his return, and requiring the canvass by the State board to be made in public, and reported to the Assembly on the first day of its next session, when, if there were not a majority of votes for a nominee for any office, the election should be "completed and consummated" by joint ballot of both houses.†

The next day, Judge Lanman, from the Democratic side of the Convention, proposed a substitute for the entire section, which was adopted without a division. By this the votes returned were to be counted by the same State officers, in April, after which they were to lay before the next General Assembly, on the first day of its session, a fair list of the candidates and the number of votes given to each, together with the original returns, whereupon the Assembly should

* See Col. Rec., vol. iv, p. 41; vol. ix, pp. 414, 531; vol. x, p. 3; vol. xiii, p. 4.

† *Conn. Courant* of Sept. 15, 1818; *American Mercury* of Sept. 22, 1818.

“after examination of the same, declare the person who has a majority of the votes returned, as aforesaid, to be legally chosen.”*

This obviously confined the legislature to an examination of the returns, and the list based upon them.

A few days later, the draft of the Constitution, as approved up to that time, was “referred to the engrossing committee for the purpose of correcting verbal inaccuracies and errors in phraseology,”† upon whose report, made late the same afternoon, the instrument was finally read by sections and approved. In the engrossed copy, thus finally approved, there are three verbal alterations of the section in question,‡ and one of more importance, by which instead of the provision that the Assembly “shall, after examination of the same, declare the person who has a majority of the votes returned as aforesaid, to be legally chosen,” it is enacted that they shall, after the required examination, “declare the person whom they shall find to be legally chosen.”

Two views may be taken of this change: one that it was made in the interest of brevity and to avoid repetition; the other that it was meant to give the legislature power to go behind the returns.

In support of the former view, we have the fact that the committee from which the alteration came was a mere committee on style, and that other clauses of the same section, left untouched, provide that if no one has a majority of “said votes,” that is the votes as returned, then the Assembly, on the next day, shall elect a Governor from the two having the greater number of votes “so returned, as aforesaid”; while Sections 17 and 18, as in the original draft, though with more orderly phraseology,§ refer to the functions of the State officers as those both of counting and canvassing.

We have also the opinion of the Judges of the Supreme Court of Errors, given to the Governor in 1862, as to the con-

* Journal of the Convention, p. 35.

† Journal, p. 67.

‡ Line 4. “to bring in their ballots,” for “to present ballots”; line 18. “member” for “members”; line 26 “persons” omitted.

§ Journal, p. 87.

stitutionality of the Soldiers' Voting Law of that year, in which they say that the Constitution restricts the General Assembly to the function of examining the lists of the presiding officers of the Electors' meetings, and of the canvassers, and of declaring "the choice *evidenced by them*," and notifying the persons elected.*

For the other view, it may be urged that the alteration in the final draft of the Constitution certainly removes what was in terms a plain restriction to the face of the returns, and that so substantial a variation would hardly have been made without a substantial reason, and without communicating both to the Convention, before its final vote, which was taken after reading each section by itself.

A few weeks after the adjournment of the Convention, and immediately after the Constitution had been ratified by the people, at the October Session of the General Assembly, a statute was passed to carry into effect these provisions as to State elections.

It provides that at the annual freemen's meetings, the presiding officer shall call upon the electors to "bring in their votes" for Governor, and that he, "assisted by the town clerk and selectmen, shall count the votes, and declare them in the public meeting of the electors," and that he shall then make out duplicate lists of the votes, one for the Secretary of the State and one for the town clerk. The Act is silent as to the mode of declaring the election of Governor, probably deeming this sufficiently regulated by the Constitution, but requires "a majority of the votes given" for the election of the other State officers, and, failing a majority, gives the General Assembly the right to "fill the vacancy." Forms of returns by the presiding officers were prescribed by a later Act of the same Session (Chap. IV).

Our present statutes retain substantially these provisions, the functions of the State officers who count the returns, being expressly declared also to extend to canvassing them.‡

* Vol. xxx, Conn. Reports, 604.

† Session laws of 1818, Chap. 11, Sec. 4.

‡ Gen. Stat., Rev. of 1888, Sections 230 and 253. Ibid., Sec. 251.

This delegation of a power to a canvassing board which had, throughout the entire history of the commonwealth, been exercised by the legislature, was urged by the opponents of the Constitution as one reason for defeating its ratification at the polls. "A Freeman," in an able letter to the *Connecticut Courant* of September 29, 1818, puts it thus :

"The mode of counting the votes is much less secure than the old. Who is desirous of leaving all the questions respecting illegal votes, incorrect returns, and all other matters connected with this subject, in the hands of these executive officers to decide? For myself I can say, and I have no doubt I speak the language of a large proportion of the reflecting part of my fellow freemen, that I consider it far more safe in the hands of the General Assembly, as it has always heretofore been, than in those of any individuals, however respectable."

The Convention did, indeed, evidently mean to abridge materially the previous prerogatives of the General Assembly in the matter of State elections. In the language of the Judges of the Supreme Court of Errors, in the opinion from which I have already quoted,

"It was the intention of the men who framed the Constitution of this State and of the people who adopted it, to place everything pertaining to the election of State officers and members of the General Assembly beyond the reach of subsequent legislatures."*

If, therefore, the opinion proceeds, a law could be passed to authorize soldiers to vote when in service out of the State,

"the same process which could turn votes taken in a camp to votes taken in an electors' meeting, might turn those taken in fact in the electors' meeting, into the votes of women, or aliens, or minors, or colored men, and exclude them for that reason from the canvass: and so on till the Constitution, and constitutional law, became a mockery."†

The ancient practice, at freemen's meetings, of voting for State officers separately and successively by written ballots, was retained by the Constitution, but superseded by the sixth Amendment adopted in 1836.

The Constitution was not absolutely plain in regard to the election of a Lieutenant Governor. He was to be "chosen" at the annual electors' meetings in the same manner as the Gov-

* Vol. xxx. *Conn. Reports*, 595.

† *Ibid.*, 602.

enor. In the case of the Governor, as has been seen, if the people failed to elect, the General Assembly was to choose one of the two candidates having the greatest number of votes; but whether it could choose a Lieutenant-Governor, under similar circumstances, was not explicitly stated.

In 1831, the Democratic candidate for Lieutenant-Governor, Henry W. Edwards, received 7,670 votes, the National Republican candidate, Orange Merwin, 6,679, and 3,794 were polled for Eli Ives. The Senate was Democratic by a majority of four, but the House had a majority of forty-two for the National Republicans. The House sent up to the Senate a joint resolution for proceeding to a joint ballot on the second day of the session, but the Senate, well aware that on a joint ballot the National Republicans could choose Mr. Merwin, rejected the proposition. Each House then, on the second day of the session, balloted separately for Lieutenant-Governor, the Senate electing Edwards, and the House Merwin. Each sent to the other a resolution declaring the result of the election, but, of course, a concurrent vote could not be obtained. The Democratic Senators insisted that no joint ballot was required. In the House a special committee was appointed to report some mode of settling the question, of which Mr. Warren, of Lyme, was chairman. He had been a member of the Convention of 1818, and declared that they intended the election of a Lieutenant-Governor to be regulated in all respects like that of Governor; and the committee reported in favor of a joint ballot at an early day. Nothing, however, was accomplished, and the year elapsed without our having any Lieutenant-Governor at all.*

The House, in consequence of this, proposed an amendment, which was adopted in 1832, and is now the fourth in order, requiring that the Lieutenant-Governor, Treasurer, and Secretary shall be "chosen and appointed," in the same manner as provided by the Constitution "for the choice and appointment of Governor." The word "appoint" was evidently used to cover a legislative appointment, on failure of a popular choice.

It is a coincidence worth mention that the year of this dead-

* See Conn. *Journal*, of May 10, and *New Haven Register*, of May 14, 1831.

lock was that on which, for the first time in the history of the Commonwealth, the annual Election sermon, before both houses and the State officers, had been omitted. Had it been delivered, who can tell but that the members of the Assembly might have been either so quickened in conscience or wearied in body, that an agreement would have been found less difficult?

After the State election in 1871, two returns from the town of Cheshire, by different persons, Peck and Miles, each claiming to be the moderator of the freemen's meeting came before the canvassing board, and were transmitted to the General Assembly, and also supplementary returns from the moderators of the meetings in New Haven and Enfield, stating that certain figures in their original returns were inaccurate, and asking their correction.

The legislative committee, on the canvass of votes, reported that Peck was the true moderator at Cheshire, and his return the true return; and also that the errors claimed by the New Haven and Enfield moderators did in fact exist, and should be corrected. This report was made after a recount by the committee, of the ballots cast in New Haven, and a hearing there as to the facts claimed to justify such action. The result was that a majority reported by the State canvassing board for Gov. English, on the face of the returns, was destroyed, and Gov. Jewell given a majority of 86 votes.

The Democratic leaders in the General Assembly protested against this action as unconstitutional, and declined to serve on the investigating committee; but, the Republicans, who controlled both houses, taking a different view of the provisions of the Constitution, a resolution was adopted which declared Gov. Jewell duly elected, and he served out his term, without any resort by the defeated party to the Courts.

The returns of the town moderators in 1890 showed a majority for the Democratic State ticket, but the State canvassing board, in making their report to the General Assembly, in 1891, called attention to statements in some of the returns, as to rejecting certain ballots for certain causes, or for causes not specified, which ballots, if received, might have altered the result.

The House of Representatives, which was controlled by the Republicans, appointed a committee to inquire whether such ballots ought to have been received or rejected. The Senate, which was controlled by the Democrats, voted to declare the election of those having a majority on the face of the canvass and returns, without further examination. Neither House being willing to yield to the other, the matter has now gone to the Courts, on *quo warranto* proceedings, and it is hoped that their judgment will clear up many questions now in doubt.*

In the Constitution of 1818, the Judiciary, for the first time, was recognized as a coördinate department, and its character was greatly elevated by extending the term of office for Judges of the higher Courts to that of good behavior, except the provision for retirement in case of any who reach the age of seventy.

This was extinguished a real grievance of the people—that of seeing their Judges dependent for their seats on the annual pleasure of the General Assembly, the upper house of which was generally composed largely of lawyers, whose good will no Judge could afford to be wholly unmindful of conciliating.

In 1804, a majority of the Assistants were lawyers, and the evils of the situation were thus vividly portrayed by one of our townsmen, Abraham Bishop, then the leading orator of the Democratic party, in an address in honor of Jefferson's recent re-election.

“By the breath of these seven men are annually brought into new life six judges of superior court, twenty-eight of probate, forty of county courts, and five hundred and ten justices of the peace, with

*The opinion of the Supreme Court of Errors (given in 1892), was that it was necessary that the General Assembly should declare the result of an election of Governor, by joint or concurrent votes of both houses: that provision might be and had been made, by law, for other evidence of the result, than that furnished by the “fair list” and town “returns:” that all evidence should be examined and passed upon by the second day of the session: and that if the legislature wholly failed to perform its constitutional duty as to declaring the result of the election, for such a period as to destroy its power to act, the Courts could then ascertain the result of the election, and give relief upon *quo warranto* proceedings. State, *ex rel.* Morris vs. Bulkeley, 61 Conn. Reports, 287.

power of increasing these little potentates, equal to that of George in the increase of his poor knights of Windsor, an honor conferred on every man who congratulates him on his occasional transitions from common to political delirium. To each of these judges the silent language of the seven men is constantly sounding, like a catechism in the ears of a child, *‘Remember now thy Creator, lest the evil days come, and the years draw nigh, wherein he shall say, I have no pleasure in thee.’**

In a manuscript “History of the Constitution,” left by the late Chief Justice Church of our Supreme Court of Errors, and now in possession of this Society, he says that at this time

“The Courts of law were most complained of as being partisan in the discharge of their duties. The Judges were annually appointed and an independent judiciary was loudly and earnestly demanded. Prosecutions by States Attorneys against Republican editors were frequent: Democratic lawyers were discountenanced and frowned upon. The real truth was, as I know from my own observation, that the Republican party in this State from the election of Mr. Jefferson to the Revolution of 1817 was treated as a degraded party, and this extended to all individuals of the party, however worthy and respectable, in fact, as the Saxons were treated and considered by the Normans, as the Irish are treated by the English government.”

The Declaration of Rights (Art. 1, Sec. 2), asserts the right of the people at all times “to alter their form of government in such a manner as they may think expedient,” but no distinct provision is made for the mode of calling another Constitutional Convention. Article 11 prescribes the manner of amendment at the instance of the legislature. This is by a resolution of the lower house, which must be published with the Session Laws, approved by a two-thirds vote of each house, at the next session, and then submitted to a popular vote.

There can now be no doubt in the mind of any reasonable man that this Constitution was a great improvement on its predecessors.

It gave us a strong judiciary, and a stronger executive; it stripped the legislature of much undue power, which had before been at times unfairly exercised; and it secured at once local in-

* Oration by Abraham Bishop, delivered at the National Festival at Hartford, May 11, 1804, p. 11.

terests, by equal town representation in the lower house, and the general interests, by popular representation in the Senate, every member of which might be elected by whatever party had, for the time, the confidence of a majority of the whole people.

Since 1818, the Constitution has been subjected to twenty-eight amendments, and it seems to me that they have, in their general effect, tended to degrade as well as to weaken it.

After ten years, elections to the Senate were regulated by the district system. Each Senator no longer, as at all times before, since the foundation of the Colony, represented all his fellow-citizens, but must now reside in and be chosen by some particular town or group of towns. These senatorial districts were not to be fewer than eight, nor more than twenty-four, to be arranged from time to time in such way as to make all, as nearly as might be, equal in population, but subject to this qualification, which was, from the first, fatal to equality, that no County should contain less than two. After each decennial census of the United States, the legislature might re-district the State, in accordance with these principles.

This amendment was carried by a close vote, 8,630 to 7,873, and 21 senatorial districts were soon afterwards carved out. It virtually reduced the Senate from its position, as the representative of the State to that of the representative of the counties.

In 1829, the great differences in population which now exist between our towns, were unknown, and unanticipated.

Then, as now, the largest town was New Haven, but by the census of 1820 its population was only 8,327. Hartford followed with 6,490, closely pressed by Middletown with 6,470, and Groton came next with 4,664. The other towns having over 4,000 were five: Litchfield 4,610, Saybrook 4,156, Fairfield 4,151, Guilford 4,131, and Lyme 4,069.

Steam power was still but little used, and the conditions which have since raised up such cities as Bridgeport, Meriden, Waterbury and New Britain, were unthought of. The average population of a town was about 2,300, and there were but forty-four which varied from this average by more

than a thousand, of which eighteen were above, and twenty-six below it.*

The course of time has revolutionized the character of the State. Instead of being a commonwealth of farmers, exporting agricultural produce, its fields no longer raise enough to feed its own people. The manufacturing village, or borough, or city is the center of population, and there all its increase gravitates by irresistible forces. To constitute these the old towns have been divided, or transformed. Wethersfield, from a population of 3,825, has shrunk to 2,173; Guilford, from over four thousand, to less than three; Woodbridge, from 1,998, to 829; Weston, from 2,767, to 918; Ashford, from 2,778 to 1,041; Killingworth, from 2,342, to 748; Saybrook, from 4,156, to 1,362. On the other hand, while in 1820 the census showed but nine towns with a population of more than 4,000, the census of 1880 gave us thirty-four, while in this thirty-four a majority of the towns exceeding that limit in 1820 are not found. Five towns now exceed 20,000, and one has come to reach more than four times that aggregate. New Haven, which was the only town with a population of over 8,000 in 1818, is followed in the census of 1890 by fifteen others whose numbers outrun that limit, ranging from Manchester, with 8,222 to Hartford, with 53,230.

In 1831, an amendment was proposed by the House that no town should thereafter be entitled to two representatives unless its population by the last preceding census was 2,500, or more;† but nothing was accomplished in this direction until 1876, when an amendment (the XVIIIth) was adopted, by a vote of 26,664 to 5,899, denying any representation to towns thereafter incorporated, unless or until they had at least 2,500 inhabitants.

In 1854,‡ and again in 1858§ and 1876,|| the House proposed an amendment limiting each town to one representative, but each failed to pass the legislature of the succeeding year.

The first opportunity to readjust the senatorial districts (for

* Dr. Leonard Bacon's Considerations on Constitutional Reform, 1873, p. 6.

† Public Acts of 1831, p. 366.

§ Public Acts of 1858, p. 57.

‡ Public Acts of 1854, p. 138.

|| Public Acts of 1876, p. 138.

the census of 1830 followed too closely after their original constitution) was in 1841, but at that time only four districts were altered, and with slight effect.

The censuses of 1850 and 1860 were followed by no attempt to secure a greater equality of representation.

In 1870, the House proposed to enlarge the Senate to from 25 to 31 members, and abolish the provision that each County shall elect at least two,* but the measure failed in the next Assembly.

Three years later, an amendment was proposed by the House, increasing the number of senatorial districts to from 41 to 51,† and another proposing to give all towns of 5,000 inhabitants two representatives. Of these amendments, the latter only was passed, the succeeding year, by the necessary majorities in both houses, and it was promptly ratified by the people, receiving 33,300 votes, against 4,586. In 1874 the House proposed two other amendments; one increasing the senatorial districts to from 41 to 49, and the other increasing them to from 35 to 45.‡ Neither of these passed the legislature of 1875, but in that year the House proposed another amendment to increase the districts to from 35 to 45, to be arranged by a joint commission of sixteen, composed of eight representatives of each of the great political parties, and to be as equal as might be, except that no County was to have less than two Senators.§ This also failed to pass, the next year.

In 1876, the House proposed that the districts should be increased to from 27 to 31, by a non-partisan Commission, chosen as by the plan of the preceding year, no county to have less than one Senator.||

Both these measures were defeated in the next legislature.

When the next census was taken, a new opportunity arose to equalize the districts by a simple law. The provision against dividing towns, or giving any County less than two, prevented anything like equality, but by increasing the number of districts as far as the Constitution permitted, to twenty-four, making New Haven a district by itself, and allotting the three

* Public Acts of 1870, p. 514.

† Public Acts of 1874, p. 285.

‡ Public Acts of 1876, p. 138.

§ Public Acts of 1873, p. 177.

|| Public Acts of 1875, p. 73.

new Senators to the larger Counties, all was probably done that could be done in the direction of justice.*

At the session of the legislature in 1889 two bills for amendments were introduced, in the House, but rejected.

One proposed to make each County a district, giving none less than two Senators, and those with a population of 50,000, three, and two more for every additional 40,000 of population.

The other was to add fifteen senators at large to the existing Senate.

In both it was provided that no one should vote for more than a bare majority of the whole number to be elected; thus avoiding any substantial disturbance of the balance of power between existing parties.

Other amendments affecting the constitution of the General Assembly have been adopted, from time to time.

The first changed the date of the session to January, and lengthened the terms of Senators to two years.† The plan of changing from a Spring and Summer to a Winter session dates back to 1846, when the House proposed an amendment to shift the annual election from April to November and have the General Assembly begin its session, and the State offices change hands on the first Wednesday of December.‡ The legislature did not approve it in 1847, and the House renewed the proposition in 1851,§ with no better success. In 1865, it was again proposed, modified so as to make the official year begin in January,|| but failed again, and the matter was allowed to sleep until the successful movement, begun in 1874.

The next great change was that to biennial sessions, first proposed by the House, in 1876,¶ and in another form, by the legislature in 1879,** This had been weighted by the House, in 1878, with a provision prolonging the term of representatives elected in 1878, from one year to two, and it was defeated by a vote of 46,019 to 21,430. In 1884, it was submitted again, without this obnoxious section, and carried by 30,520 votes, against 16,380.††

* Public Acts of 1881, p. 84.

† Public Acts of 1846, p. 49.

‡ Public Acts of 1865, p. 145.

** Public Acts of 1879, p. 472.

‡ XVth Amendment, 1875.

§ Public Acts of 1851, p. 69.

¶ Public Acts of 1876, p. 141.

†† XXVIIth Amendment.

With this came the limitation of the pay of members to \$300 a year and one mileage allowance for travel to and from the capital for each session.

In 1885, the House proposed to allow the General Assembly to provide for the transportation of members to and from the capital.* The next legislature did not approve this, but in 1889 a law was passed, without any further Constitutional authority, directing the Comptroller, on request of any member, to furnish him with such transportation, in lieu of his allowance for mileage.† In 1889, an amendment sanctioning this, and also increasing the pay of members from \$300 to \$500 was proposed by the House.‡

In 1854, the agitation of the one capital question began, by the proposition of an amendment authorizing the legislature in 1856 to fix the place.§ This was not approved by the next legislature, and in 1866, the House proposed to let the people select the place by a plurality vote, from among such towns as should agree to pay two-thirds of the expense of building a suitable State House.¶ In 1869, the House proposed an amendment to make Hartford the sole capital.■ The next year, it proposed, as a substitute, that the people should decide between Hartford and New Haven.** The more radical measure of making Hartford the sole capital was put forward in 1872, and ratified by the people in 1873, by 36,732 votes against 30,854.††

Several measures to regulate the conduct of elections have been proposed by the House.

One of these, in 1833, was that ballots for Senators, State officers, and representatives in Congress might be either written or printed, on one ballot, or on several ballots, to be deposited in one box or in several boxes; and that the ballot boxes should be kept open for at least six hours, and that representatives in

* Public Acts of 1885, p. 536.

† Public Acts of 1889, p. 169.

‡ Public Acts of 1865, p. 101.

** Public Acts of 1870, p. 513.

† Public Acts of 1889, p. 119.

§ Public Acts of 1854, p. 137.

¶ Public Acts of 1869, p. 354.

■ The Fourteenth Amendment.

the General Assembly might be chosen at any time during the day of the election.*

Another, in 1834, was that it might be provided by law either that after choosing their town representatives, the electors might vote for Senators and State officers successively, or that they might vote for any number of them at the same time, and that ballots might be either written or printed, on one or more papers, to be put in one or more ballot boxes.†

Another, in 1876, was to prohibit candidates for elective offices from contributing to the expenses of the election.‡

These all failed to pass the Assembly of the second year, but much of that of 1834 was again brought forward in 1835 and adopted in 1836, constituting the sixth amendment of the Constitution.

The right of suffrage has been much extended by the eighth amendment, adopted in 1845.

In 1839, an amendment, substituting one year's residence in the State for a legal settlement,§ was voted down by the people.

In 1842, an amendment was proposed by the House identical with that afterwards adopted in 1845, by which, not only the change defeated in 1839 was provided for, but also all property qualifications were to be dropped.¶ In 1843, this was changed so as to cut down the necessary term of residence in the town to four months,■ but the next House restored the term of six months,** which the people, in due course, confirmed.

By an amendment adopted in 1845, electors need no longer have any property, or show that they have paid taxes or rendered service in the militia;†† and during the days of the "Know-nothing" movement, an additional qualification was demanded:—that they should be able to read any part of the Constitution or statutes.‡‡ In 1876, the color test was formally struck out,§§ having been in fact abrogated in 1870 by the XVth

* Public Acts of 1833, p. 489.

† Public Acts of 1834, p. 140.

‡ Public Acts of 1876, p. 65.

** Public Acts of 1844, p. 43.

†† Xth Amendment, 1855.

‡ Public Acts of 1834, p. 552.

§ Public Acts of 1839, pp. 13, 60.

■ Public Acts of 1843, p. 47.

¶ VIIIth Amendment, 1845.

§§ XXIIIrd Amendment, 1876.

Amendment to the Constitution of the United States. Prior efforts in this direction had been made by the House of Representatives, by similar amendments, proposed in 1846, 1854, 1855, 1858, 1860, 1864, 1867, and 1869,* but only twice did the succeeding legislature approve the change. The first time was in 1847, and the amendment was then voted down by the people; the second term was in 1865, at the close of the war, but although the Republican State ticket was elected by a majority of 11,000, this amendment was defeated by 33,489 votes to 27,217.

In the year when the "Know-nothing" party controlled the State, the House proposed an amendment requiring twenty-one years' residence in the United States before the admission of a naturalized alien to the privileges of an elector, and in 1858, it proposed another, debarring naturalized aliens until after one year's residence in the State.† Neither of these measures got beyond the first stage.

The result of the changes made in the conditions of suffrage has been to widen them greatly, and this, in turn, has, no doubt, given the voters in our town meetings, particularly in manufacturing places, less personal interest than they formerly had in restricting public expenditure and taxation. It has had a similar effect on the legislature. Add to this, that the opportunities for appropriations to objects of doubtful utility have been greatly increased, particularly by the spread of railroads, and we cannot wonder that it has been found necessary to tie the hands both of the General Assembly and of all municipal corporations, in respect to grants of railroad aid, or extra compensation to any officials or contractors.‡ The first proposition, in 1874, was to forbid municipal aid to any private corporation,§ but in 1875, it was modified so as to apply only to railroads,|| and took its final shape a year later.

In 1876, the House proposed to prohibit special legislation in most cases where general laws would answer the end.¶

* Public Acts of 1846, p. 50; 1854, p. 138; 1855, p. 137; 1858, p. 57; 1860, p. 99; 1864, p. 117; 1867, p. 190; 1869, p. 353.

† Public Acts of 1858, p. 58.

‡ XXIVth Amendment, 1877; XXVth Amendment, 1877.

§ Public Acts of 1874, p. 283.

|| Public Acts of 1875, p. 76.

¶ Public Acts of 1876, p. 137.

While several amendments have been passed to lessen the power of the legislature, there have been none to increase it, except in the matter of restoring electoral privileges to convicted criminals,* and that had twice before been proposed one year and disapproved the next.† In 1875 it was adopted by a popular vote of 31,619 against 11,363.

Their right to appoint the Comptroller of Public Accounts, Sheriffs, Judges of Probate, and justices of the peace has been taken away,‡ and all these made the subject of popular election. Their right to elect Judges of the higher Courts has been reduced, in substance, to that of confirming nominations made by the Governor.§

The lengthening of the Governor's term of office, in common with that of the other State officers, to two years, has naturally increased his power and consideration, in a more marked degree than has been the case with the rest. Senators and Representatives in the Assembly spend, or need spend, no more time in official duty than before, but the Governor is always exercising his, and in the year when they are not in session is, in most matters of current interest, the sole representative of the majesty of the State.

He has also been entrusted with a great power in nominating the Judges of the Supreme and Superior Courts,|| and the general opinion is, I think, that it has been well exercised.

In 1835, it was proposed to make the Supreme and Superior Courts consist of five Judges, to hold for five years, one to be appointed annually by the General Assembly,■ and, in 1837,** the proposition was renewed, each time without success.

In 1850, an amendment was proposed by the House taking the appointment of Judges of the County Courts and County Commissioners from the legislature and giving it to the peo-

* XVIIth Amendment, 1875.

† Public Acts of 1855, p. 138, and of 1860, p. 100.

‡ Vth Amendment, 1836 : VIIth Amendment, 1838 : IXth Amendment, 1850 : Xth Amendment, 1850.

§ XXVIth Amendment, 1880.

|| By the twenty-sixth Amendment.

■ Public Acts of 1835, p. 590.

** Public Acts of 1837, p. 90.

ple;* and another making members of the General Assembly ineligible to any of the more considerable offices in its gift.

It is much to be regretted that the last of these measures was not adopted. No one who has watched the course of legislative appointments from year to year, has failed to notice many which would never have been made, had not the candidate been on the ground, and himself one of the appointing body.

The twelfth amendment, adopted in 1856 by a paltry vote of 7,290 against 6,062, at an election when 80,325 votes were cast for the Presidential tickets, reduced the terms of Judges of the higher Courts from a life tenure to that of eight years. Practically, however, a re-election had been a matter of course, whatever might be the political affiliations of the incumbent; the only exception having been that of dropping two Democratic Judges, during the Civil War, who were supposed to look coldly on some of the expedients resorted to by Congress and the President in support of the authority of the United States.

In 1874, the House proposed to give the legislature power to lengthen the terms of Judges of inferior Courts to not exceeding six years, and to prohibit any shortening of a term to affect present incumbents,† and though this went no further, the twentieth amendment, adopted in 1870, made some of these terms four, and the rest two years.

In 1877, the House proposed that all vacancies in the office of Judge of any of the inferior Courts should be filled only for the unexpired term,‡ and in 1878 this was renewed with a slight modification,§

In 1879 it was also proposed that the Governor should nominate the Judges of the Common Pleas and District Courts.¶ This was defeated the next year, but the twenty-sixth amendment was adopted; that by which Judges of the higher Courts are now nominated by the Governor. The General Assembly elects, but the nominations thus far have always been approved.

In 1879, the legislature submitted to the people a proposition

* Public Acts of 1850, p. 74.

† Public Acts of 1874, p. 285.

‡ Public Acts of 1877, p. 259.

§ Public Acts of 1878, p. 358.

¶ Public Acts of 1879, p. 482.

to make the term of office of Judges of the higher Courts last during good behavior,* or to seventy-five years of age. It was defeated; in part, I think, on account of the latter provision.

In 1835 it was proposed that justices of the peace should be annually elected by the several towns.† This was proposed again in 1838,‡ together with another making a similar provision as to Judges of Probate.§ Both were defeated in the next legislature, but the House then proposed an amendment for the choice of Judges of Probate and Justices of the Peace for a term of not exceeding three years, by popular election. The next legislature did not approve it, but in 1846 the proposition was renewed, confining the terms of justices to one year.¶ The legislature of 1847 did not receive it with favor, but in 1849, it was proposed again, without any limitation of terms, and adopted in that form in 1850. In 1865, the House proposed to preclude the General Assembly from depriving them of the full term for which they may be chosen.**

By the changes mentioned in the election of the judiciary, there has been, I think, a decided gain. Legislative appointments to judicial office are dictated largely by personal considerations. Members of the legislature itself are apt to receive them, if they desire it, and this not only opens the door to bargains, but practically narrows the field of choice. A caucus of a legislative body is also less responsible to public opinion than a political convention of party delegates, whose candidate must run the gauntlet of a popular election; and less responsible still than any single magistrate to whom the nomination may be confided.

The reduction of the term of office of Judges of our higher Courts to eight years,†† has inevitably tended to lower their spirit of independence, and make them more amenable to the influence of public opinion. This was the intent of the change, and it has been accomplished. I cannot but think that in this point the framers were wiser than the amenders of the Consti-

* Public Acts of 1878, p. 358.

† Public Acts of 1835, p. 58.

‡ Public Acts of 1838, p. 59.

§ Public Acts of 1839, p. 145.

† Public Acts of 1835, p. 591.

‡ Public Acts of 1838, p. 57.

¶ Public Acts of 1846, pp. 51, 52.

†† XIIth Amendment, 1856.

tution. The judiciary is, in its nature, the weakest of the departments of government. It exists to administer and apply laws which others make and others execute. The private citizen goes there to secure protection. He is separated from the Governor, or the General Assembly, by every thing except his vote; but the Courts are at every man's hand, and their doors are always open. The citizen ought to find there a power strong enough, and self-asserting enough, to vindicate his rights against unjust attack from any quarter, though it be the highest; and to secure this effectually, the judge ought to be trammelled with no thought of a re-election, and no fear of the disapproval of Governor or legislature, which he would not feel in equal measure for that of any equal number of honest men in private stations.

Considerations like these have dictated the amendments, making the terms of office of Judges of inferior Courts either two or four years.* Perhaps this measure, adopted in 1876, is an evidence of our growth in political wisdom or political experience, since the other amendment, which I have just criticised, of twenty years before.

Among the unsuccessful propositions for amendments, which have never passed beyond their first year, are two which have found more favor in other States.

One, in 1855, was for such a modification of our jury system, as to allow nine jurors to render a verdict in civil cases,† and in 1872 this was proposed again, altered so as simply to allow the Court to accept such a verdict.‡ The other, in 1882 was for the prohibition of the manufacture or sale of intoxicating liquors, except for a few specified purposes.§ It was not approved by the next Assembly, but in 1887 was proposed again,|| approved by the legislature of 1889, and defeated on a popular vote of 22,379 in its favor to 49,974 opposed.

In all (as appears from a table which is subjoined), ninety-three¶ amendments have been proposed by the House of Rep-

* XXth Amendment, 1876; XXIst Amendment, 1876.

† Public Acts of 1855, p. 156.

‡ Public Acts of 1872, p. 115.

§ Public Acts of 1882, p. 224.

|| Public Acts of 1887, p. 766.

¶ Ninety-six, with the three proposed in 1893.

representatives, of which only thirty-four have been approved by the succeeding General Assembly, and submitted to a vote of the people.

Twenty-eight of these have been ratified, and six rejected.

The Constitution covers twelve pages of our General Statutes; the various amendments to it occupy seven.

There is hardly one prominent feature of the original instrument which has not been materially altered, nor is it always an easy task to tell when, or how, or why.

As a matter of convenience, no less than of good government, there are strong reasons for recasting it into a consistent whole.

Thirty years after the Constitution was framed, in 1848,† the House proposed an amendment allowing the electors in the several towns, at the State election in 1850, to vote for or against calling a Constitutional Convention, and, if a majority were found to favor it, requiring the next General Assembly to provide by law for the election of delegates. A similar vote of the people was to be taken for the same purpose every twenty years thereafter.

This measure was not approved by the General Assembly of 1848, and the House then proposed another amendment, directing the holding of such a Convention in 1851, without any preliminary popular vote in its favor.‡ The delegates were to be elected by each town, in the same manner, and to the same number, as representatives in the General Assembly, except that any town could elect from the State at large. Such "revised and amended Constitution" as this Convention might frame was to be submitted to the people for ratification, in 1852.

The legislature of 1850 did not approve this proposition. In 1855, the House renewed it, modified by omitting the provision which permitted any town to elect non-residents as delegates,§ but with the same result. This repeated failure to carry the measure in the form of a Constitutional amendment, led its friends, in 1859, to bring it forward as a mere bill for a Public Act, and the legislature ordered it to be printed with the session laws of the year.

* Public Acts of 1848, p. 79.

† Public Acts of 1849, pp. 5, 50.

‡ Public Acts of 1855, p. 135.

By its provisions a *Yes* or *No* vote was to be taken in each town on the question of calling a Convention, and, if a majority was found in its favor, delegates were to be elected at a later day, in the same manner and to the same number as representatives in the General Assembly. The Constitution adopted by the Convention was to be submitted, for ratification, at the annual State election, in 1860.*

The bill found no favor in the next Assembly, but, in 1867,† a third Constitutional amendment for the call of a convention was proposed by the House, similar in terms to that of 1849. This plan also failed to pass the legislature of the following year.

In 1882, owing, in large part, to the efforts of the late Dr. Leonard Bacon, a Constitutional Reform Association was organized in this city, with officers from every county in the State, and from both the great political parties. It held public meetings, drew up bills and constitutional amendments, issued pamphlets, appeared before legislative committees, and urged the calling of a Constitutional Convention.

The next year, Governor Ingersoll recommended the convocation of such a Convention in his annual message, and a bill drawn for the purpose was printed with the session laws, by order of the Assembly.‡ In 1875, a similar bill was printed with the laws in like manner, differing from that of 1873 mainly in providing for the appointment by the Governor, of twenty-five commissioners, to prepare a draft Constitution, in advance, for submission to the Convention, and with the privilege of taking part in its debates, though not of voting.§

Neither of these Acts was seriously considered by the succeeding legislature, though both contained stringent provisions against alterations trenching on the present rights of the smaller towns.

By that of 1873, the delegates were to take an oath that they would agree to no Constitution which abolished any town, except by consolidating it with a city within its limits, or which should deprive any town of at least one representative, or grant the larger towns additional representation beyond one for every ten thousand inhabitants.¶

* Public Acts of 1859, p. 67.

† Public Acts of 1867, p. 191.

‡ Public Acts of 1873, p. 178.

§ Public Acts of 1875, p. 79.

¶ Public Acts of 1873, p. 180.

Experience shows that much less interest is taken by the people in propositions for Constitutional amendment, than in elections to office. The personal element is always wanting, and, generally, that of party advantage.

The strife between Hartford and New Haven for holding the State capital, was of special interest to every citizen, and great efforts were made to call out a full vote, on the part of each, yet a fifth of the electors, who cast their ballots for State officers in 1873, cast none on the Constitutional amendment, and the change to biennial elections, in 1884, was carried by little more than a fourth of those who took part in the general election, the total vote for State officers being considerably more than double that cast on the proposed amendment. The prohibition question has excited as much interest as any, not connected with the immediate success of one of our great political parties, but at the decisive vote, in 1889, only 72,746 ballots were cast, though those for Governor, at the last preceding State election, numbered 154,226, out of a total registry of 167,529.

These figures tend to show that the plan of amending the Constitution by a *referendum* to the people is less likely to secure their interest in the work, than that of acting by their delegates in a Constitutional Convention.

There is no State in the Union but our own that has not held such a Convention since 1818.

The right of the legislature to call one, where the Constitution makes no express provision for it, has been affirmed by the practice of many States, and the Courts of Pennsylvania.* Hartford has been the seat of two Constitutional Conventions, nearly two centuries apart. A "land of steady habits" is slow to abandon laws that have been long tried, for laws that are untried. But this is sure that our frame of government can regain the symmetry of that of 1639, or of that of 1818, only in the way in which it was then constituted or reconstituted, by a deliberative body of delegates chosen by the towns for that special work.

* Wood's Appeal, 75 Penn. State Rep., 65, 72. The Justices of the Supreme Court of Rhode Island have given an opinion to the contrary. 14 Rhode Island Reports, 649.

TABLE showing all amendments to the Constitution proposed since its adoption, and the subsequent action upon each :

	Proposed by the House of Representatives.	Action by the next Assembly.	Action by People.
1827	Election of senators by districts	Approved.	Ratified, Art. I.
	Constitution of the districts...	Approved.	“ II.
	Mode of balloting for senators	Approved.	“ III.
1831	Election of minor State officers	Approved.	“ IV.
	No town with less than 2500 inhabitants	Not approved.	
1833	Use of printed ballots, and of one ballot for State officers and Senators	Not approved.	
1834	Similar provisions: such ballots to be received only after the election of representatives	Not approved.	
1835	People to elect the Comptroller	Approved.	Ratified, Art. V.
	Similar provisions to those proposed in 1833: but including representatives, on the general ticket	Approved.	Art. VI.
	To be five Judges of the Supreme and Superior Courts: one to be appointed annually, for five years	Not approved.	
	Justices of the peace to be elected by the people	Not approved.	
1837	Sheriffs to be elected by the people	Approved.	Ratified, Art. VII.
	One year's residence in State and six months in town, to replace a settlement, as conditions of admission to elective franchise	Approved.	Defeated.
1839	Election of Judges of Probate by the people	Not approved.	
	Election of justices of the peace by the people	Not approved.	
1842	Similar to proposition 2, made in 1837	Not approved.	
1843	Similar to above except residence in town reduced to 4 months	Not approved.	
1844	Same as that of 1842	Approved.	Ratified, Art. VIII.
1846	December sessions of General Assembly	Not approved.	
	Colored men not to be excluded from suffrage	Approved.	Defeated.
	Similar to No. 4, made in 1835	Not approved.	
	“ “ made in 1839	Not approved.	
1848	Calling a Constitutional Convention	Not approved.	
1849	Similar to No. 1, made in 1839	Approved.	Ratified, Art. IX.
	“ 4, made in 1835	Approved.	“ “ X.

Proposed by the House of Representatives.	Action by the next Assembly.	Action by People.
1849 Calling a Constitutional Convention	Not approved.	
1850 County Judges and Commissioners to be elected by the people	Not approved.	
Members of General Assembly ineligible to most offices in its gift	Not approved.	
1851 Similar to No. 1, made in 1846. General Assembly of next year to choose one place as the sole capital	Not approved.	
1854 Similar to No. 2 made in 1851 ..	Not approved.	
Same as No. 2, made in 1846 ..	Not approved.	
Reading test for admission to suffrage	Approved.	Ratified, Art. XI.
Each town to have but one representative	Not approved.	
1855 Calling a Constitutional Convention	Not approved.	
Verdict of 9 jurors good in civil causes	Not approved.	
21 years residence by foreigners a condition of admission to suffrage	Not approved.	
Terms of Judges of Supreme and Superior Courts reduced to 8 years	Approved.	Ratified, Art. XII.
Restoration of forfeited rights to convicts	Not approved.	
1858 Same as No. 4, made in 1854 ..	Not approved.	
One year's residence in State, required after naturalization before admission to suffrage; also ability to read in English language; also color test, struck out	Not approved.	
Similar to first provisions of the preceding	Not approved.	
1860 Same as No. 2, made in 1846 ..	Not approved.	
Similar to No. 5, made in 1855 ..	Not approved.	
1863 Soldiers in Civil War may vote in the field	Approved.	Ratified, Art. XIII.
1864 Same as No. 2, made in 1846 ..	Approved.	Defeated.
1865 November elections; General Assembly to sit at Hartford and New Haven alternate years; and to have no power to abridge terms of Probate Judges	Not approved.	
1866 Electors to choose a sole capital ..	Not approved.	
1867 Same as No. 2, made in 1846 ..	Not approved.	
Calling a Constitutional Convention	Not approved.	
1869 Same as No. 2, made in 1846 ..	Not approved.	
Hartford to be the sole capital ..	Not approved.	

	Proposed by the House of Representatives.	Action by the next Assembly.	Action by People.
1870	People to choose between Hartford and New Haven as the sole capital	Not approved.	
	Senate to be increased to from 23 to 31. County representation abolished.....	Not approved.	
1872	Same as No. 2, made in 1869... Court may accept verdict from 9 jurors.....	Approved.	Ratified, Art. XIV.
		Not approved.	
1873	Increasing Senate to from 41 to 51; each county to have two, at least	Not approved.	
	Towns of 5000 to have two Representatives.....	Approved.	Ratified, Art. XV.
1874	Municipal aid to private corporations prohibited	Not approved.	
	November elections	Not approved.	
	November elections; biennial terms for State officers and Senators	Approved.	Ratified, Art. XVI.
	Similar to No. 5, made in 1855.	Approved.	Ratified, Art. XVII.
	Terms of Judges of inferior Courts may be made 6 years.	Not approved.	
	Senators increased to from 41 to 49; County representation preserved	Not approved.	
	Senators increased to from 35 to 45; County representation preserved	Not approved.	
1875	Similar to No. 7, made in 1874, but districting to be arranged by a non-partisan commission	Not approved.	
	New towns of less than 2500, to have no representation ...	Approved.	Ratified, Art. XVIII.
	Covering an omission in Art. XVI	Approved.	Ratified, Art. XIX.
	Lengthening terms of Judges of inferior courts to 2 and 4 years	Approved.	Ratified, Art. XX.
	Lengthening terms of Judges of Probate to 2 years	Approved.	Ratified, Art. XXI.
	Fixing pay of members of General Assembly	Approved.	Ratified, Art. XXII.
	Municipal aid to railroads prohibited	Not approved.	
	Similar to No. 2, made in 1846.	Approved.	Ratified, Art. XXIII.
1876	Special legislation prohibited.	Not approved.	
	Extra compensation to public agents prohibited	Approved.	Ratified, Art. XXIV.
	Similar to No. 4, made in 1854.	Not approved.	
	Senators increased to from 27 to 31; each county to have at least one; districting to be arranged by a non-partisan commission	Not approved.	

Proposed by the House of Representatives.	Action by the next Assembly.	Action by People.
Candidates for office forbidden to contribute to election expenses	Not approved.	
Biennial sessions.....	Not approved.	
Representatives to be elected for two years	Not approved.	
Similar to No. 7, made in 1875.	Approved.	Ratified, Art. XXV.
1877 Vacancies on the bench to be filled for unexpired terms....	Not approved.	
1878 Biennial elections; annual sessions	Approved.	Defeated.
Judges of Supreme and Superior Courts to hold for life or till 75.....	Approved.	Defeated.
Similar to No. 1, made in 1877.	Not approved.	
1879 Governor to nominate Judges of inferior Courts.....	Not approved.	
Governor to nominate Judges of higher courts	Approved.	Ratified, Art. XXVI.
1882 Prohibition, as to intoxicating liquors	Not approved.	
1883 Biennial elections and sessions	Approved.	Ratified, Art. XXVII.
1885 Sheriffs to be elected for 4 years	Approved.	Ratified, Art. XXVIII.
Members of legislature may receive cost of their transportation to and from capital. . .	Not approved.	
1887 Similar to No. 1, made in 1882.	Approved.	Defeated.
1889 Increasing pay of members of legislature	Not approved, no legislation being had at the session.	
1893 Increasing pay of members of the legislature.		
Electing State officers by plurality vote.		
Enlarging the Senate and the number of senatorial districts		

SUMMARY.

Amendments proposed.....	96
“ approved, the second year.....	34
“ ratified by the people.....	28
“ voted down by the people	6
“ pending in 1893, for action by the next Assembly	3



THOMAS CLAP AND HIS WRITINGS.

BY FRANKLIN BOWDITCH DEXTER, M.A.

(Read Nov. 25, 1889.)

ONE hundred and fifty years ago the present month, or more exactly on Wednesday, November 11th, 1739, New Style, nine ministers who then held the office of Trustees of the Collegiate School of Connecticut, commonly called Yale College, met by adjournment in the Library at the south end of the College Hall, which occupied part of the site of the new Osborn Hall, on College street, and there, with the Rev. Samuel Whitman, of Farmington, the Senior Trustee present, in the chair, and the Rev. Samuel Cooke, of Bridgeport, as Scribe, took the action which was thus entered on their records:—"The Trustees, proceeding after much deliberation to the Choice of a meet Person to fill up the vacant Rectorate, by Vote made choice of the Rev^d M^r Thomas Clap of Windham for the Rector of this College, in the Room of M^r Rector Williams, who hath resigned."

My interest has been recently drawn anew to a consideration of President Clap's work for the College, and especially to an examination of what is left of his writings; and the occurrence of this 150th anniversary of his election as Rector has prompted me to attempt to recall in this audience the story of his life and influence.

It is not merely the story of an inconspicuous pre-Revolutionary divine, whose life has never been written, and whose literary labors gained no public fame even in his own generation; if this were all, there would be little excuse for recalling him to the judgment of our day; but the time and the place in which his work was set constituted a special opportunity. The dates of his service as head of Yale College, 1739 to 1766, include the most fruitful period of the College history in its first century, and the formative period of that generation of Americans which prepared the way for and ushered in the Revolu-

tion; as widely as the influence of Yale men was felt in that crisis, so widely were the principles he had implanted and illustrated, the leading ideas of his mind, diffused and developed; and it is this perpetuation of his influence in a critical time upon his pupils and upon the College that gives its chief interest to a study of what he thought and what he wrote.

The events of his life were few and simple. He was born, of unmixed Puritan ancestry, in Scituate, Massachusetts, one of the earliest Plymouth Colony towns, on June 26th, 1703, in the second year of the reign of Queen Anne, which was the second year also of the chartered existence of Yale College, and three months before the birth of his great contemporary, Jonathan Edwards.

He was not, however, so precocious as Edwards, being graduated at Harvard in 1722, when Edwards was already two years out of College and actively employed as a preacher. Clap took a longer course of theological study, and just at the close of the year 1725 began to supply the pulpit in the town of Windham, Connecticut, where he was ordained pastor in the following summer.

This, his first and only parish, was hardly to be reckoned as one of the older towns of the Colony, not having been effectively settled until 1691, and so only a dozen years older than the young minister himself.

There he remained for 14 years, or from the 23d to the 37th year of his life, devoted to his calling, and with little opportunity of public reputation. From the Windham Church he was called to the rectorate of Yale College, and his work here for a quarter of a century finished his active career.

For a detailed illustration of that career I propose to take up his writings, in order, with the suggestions which they furnish of the character and value of his work.

Chronologically, the first of President Clap's compositions, whether in manuscript or print, of any consequence, seems to be a brief, undated manuscript, entitled "Some Considerations tending to put an End to the Differences that have been, about Singing by Rule."

This takes us back to the controversy which raged in New England in the decade from 1720 to 1730, respecting the intro-

duction into public worship of what was styled "regular singing," or singing by rule, or by note,—as opposed to a helter-skelter method of singing by rote, without any written music before the eye, in which each singer followed largely his own notions of time and tune, while the leader of the singing was especially responsible for the impress of his personal peculiarities on the whole body. This essay, written most probably while Clap was a divinity student at Cambridge, about 1725, is a plea for the reformation of the disorder into which the New-England congregations had fallen in this respect, and for the substitution of regular musical training.

The argument is arranged in an orderly way, and some historical matter is introduced. The writer takes high ground in assuming that it is the duty of all persons to sing, as a part of public worship, "but all cannot sing by rote, and therefore they must sing by rule, for God does not *oblige* men to impossibilities."

The final point in favor of his thesis is emphasized by clinching it with a text from the Epistle to the Philippians, "Let us walk by the same Rule." Evidently, if Clap were now in authority, we should find him a hearty supporter of the scheme for a Department of Music in the College.

If this exercise on a question regarding the order and beauty of public worship is the only memorial of his time of preparation for the ministry, so a single witness is all that remains to his mental activity in the proper sphere of his work in the next stage of his career, as a settled preacher. Midway in his pastoral service in Windham, he delivered a sermon at the ordination of a minister in the neighboring parish of Colechester, in September, 1732; this was published in Boston the same year, and is the sole example in print of his gifts as a sermonizer; perhaps it is hardly possible or fair to judge him from a single specimen.

The doctrine developed is that no man is of himself sufficient for the work of the ministry, or as stated in the title prefixed to the Discourse, "The Greatness and Difficulty of the Work of the Ministry, and the Insufficiency of humane Abilities for it;" and in the light of the author's personal experience the most significant touch is the special enlargement on the diffi-

culty in the minister's position in administering discipline. Local traditions make it certain that Clap was conspicuous in his neighborhood for the severity and thoroughness of his dealings with offenders in the membership of the church; and this reputation was avowedly one ground for his selection as Rector of the College. One case of discipline with which he was troubled in 1737 is notable as perhaps the latest recorded instance in Connecticut history of a charge of witchcraft seriously brought,—a charge to which Clap seems to have half yielded credence.

The passage on Church discipline in his printed Sermon is noticeable also as expressing some dissatisfaction with the Congregational way, as having "few or no stated and known rules" on such subjects, and intimating to this extent a preference for Presbyterianism,—that is, a desire to vest all disciplinary power in a board of elders, instead of in the general body of the Church. And the whole furnishes an illustration of the well-understood division among the ministers of that century in Connecticut and Massachusetts on questions of church-government. To show how differently this particular question presents itself in different generations, Clap's strictures may be compared instructively with a remarkable sermon on "The Authority of those who watch for souls," preached by President Woolsey on a similar occasion in 1850, which as originally published contained a passage (afterwards withdrawn) suggesting that the minister ought to have a veto on all votes of the church for the admission of new members, and also on all action for the discipline of accused members.

Another interesting point in the "Improvement" of Clap's sermon is his emphasis on the necessity for "the best advantages of learning and education" for ministers, and furthermore on their being "so well supported as to have wherewithal to furnish themselves with good libraries." This was of good omen in the consideration of his name a few years later for the place of Rector of the College of the Colony.

The original records which Clap kept as pastor have perished; but copies exist of a few of the acts of the Windham Church under his leadership, which show his notion of the scope of his office. There is a copy, for instance, of a vote,

evidently drawn by him, in 1728, two years after his ordination, for the constitution of a board of representatives of the church, selected especially to assist in matters of church discipline, with the preamble, "Whereas the work and business of the Pastor of a Church is very great and extensive, and particularly the enquiring into Public Scandals and procuring evidence thereof is laborious and burthensome if left to the Pastor alone, and whereas the Scripture informs us that God has set some in the Church to be helps in the government, Voted that it shall be the work of the Representatives of the Brethren," etc. There is also preserved in the church-books an interesting Charge given by him at the ordination of Deacons in 1729.

The church at his settlement numbered 264 persons; to whom 219 more were added during the nearly fourteen years of his service.

The incident which, beyond any other, brought him in these years into prominence was one which for the time connected him with Jonathan Edwards in the defence of New England orthodoxy.

In 1734 Mr. Robert Breck, a young Harvard graduate, was called to the pastorate of the Church in Springfield, Massachusetts. He had preached for a time under Clap's eye in an outlying parish of Windham, where his theology was brought in question; and now in Springfield like questions were raised, and Edwards among the neighboring ministers, and Clap among the witnesses to his former career, were especially prominent in an unsuccessful effort to prevent his settlement, and in the remonstrances which followed. It is interesting in the light of modern opinion to note that one point attacked in Mr. Breck was his declaring, "What will become of the heathen who never heard of the gospel I do not pretend to say, but I cannot but indulge in a hope that God, in his boundless benevolence, will find out a way whereby those heathen who act up to the light they have may be saved."

The Breck controversey was abundant in points of interest; but it concerns our present purpose only as helping in a marked degree to draw attention to Clap and his attitude as a strong, aggressive champion of the orthodox faith. Each of the pamphlets in opposition to Mr. Breck contained copious quotations

from affidavits and letters by Clap,—amounting in all to near twenty pages of print. These extracts leave on the modern reader an impression of Clap at the age of 32 as a bold and vigorous disputant, sincere if narrow in his personal creed, and jealously vigilant in his scrutiny of the orthodoxy of his neighbors. It is pleasant to add that Mr. Breck proved to be a most useful and acceptable minister, through a long life, and that so far from bearing any malice he sent his two sons to Yale to be pupils of Clap, rather than to his own Alma Mater.

Rector Williams, then at the height of his usefulness as the head of Yale College, was also an active participant in the Breck controversy, on the same side as Clap; he was present in Springfield when Mr. Breck was examined, and his “radiant countenance” over some discomfiture of the Breck party, was made note of; and thus in one way which we can definitely trace, Clap’s prominence as a champion of sound doctrine was brought to the notice and sympathetic approval of one influential person in the College circle.

In 1739 came the call to New Haven. His wife, Mary Whiting, to whom he had been married soon after his ordination, had died in 1736; and it is clear from the private Memoirs which he wrote for his children that her death had so broken up his life as to make him welcome any change of scene, and especially a change which so varied and enlarged his field of usefulness. Like all country parishes, the Windham parish was a scattered and rambling one, containing near 800 souls, and needing great expenditures of time and strength for any apparent results; while the College society numbered less than a hundred persons, compactly gathered—about two-thirds of them in the single College building, and the remainder in the near neighborhood—and all in the formative period, most susceptible to impressions, and surrounded by a community above the average level of intelligence and stimulating influence.

As has been stated, Clap was chosen Rector, in place of Williams, resigned, in November, 1739, and a committee appointed for the purpose visited him a few days later and secured his provisional acceptance. In December a council

dismissed him from his pastoral charge, and towards the end of that month he made a journey to New Haven, where he was received, as he has recorded, with tokens of respect and joy by the three tutors (one of whom was Chauncey Whittelsey, afterwards pastor of the First Church in New Haven) and by the students; but through some inattention no committee of the Corporation was present to induct him into office; and this, as he puts it, made some talk in the country. I do not suppose that this can have been an intended slight, but merely some oversight or miscalculation. At the same time, it is proper to say that there cannot have been entire cordiality of feeling in the result of the election. A later pamphlet states as a fact that certain votes were not east for Clap but for another person; and it is well known that the Trustees were prevalingly, if not exclusively, Arminian, and Clap was a decided Calvinist. He continued to preach in Windham most of the time until the following April, when the ceremony of his inauguration took place.

After this event his first appearance in print, so far as I have noticed, was in September, 1741, when he, in connection with Deacon John Punderson and four other brethren of the First Church in New Haven, published in a Boston paper a report of a conference which they had held with Mr. James Davenport, the crazy revivalist, respecting his denunciations of the Rev. Joseph Noyes, of New Haven. Davenport's erratic course was a trial to all friends of the established churches in the Colony, and Clap was consistent with all his previous history in supporting the New Haven pastor against such attempts to discredit his influence and draw off a separate congregation.

In connection with the College perhaps his first publication was in 1743, when he issued a catalogue, prepared by himself, of the Library, then containing about 2600 volumes. The undertaking itself and the spirit of the accompanying directions are equally characteristic of the man and his methods. The Library was well worth cataloguing, but no one but a painstaking, methodical scholar would have devoted himself to the task; and as a witness to his interests, and a commentary on his notion of the meaning of the College course, the plan

of studies recommended in the Preface is important. His advice is: "In the First Year to study principally the Tongues, Arithmetic, and Algebra; the Second, Logic, Rhetoric,* and Geometry; the Third, Mathematics and Natural Philosophy; and the Fourth, Ethics and Divinity." The plan is evidence enough of the author's special fondness for Mathematics. "Other less principal studiès," he continued, "may be occasionally intermixed with these. Above all have an Eye to the great End of all your Studies, which is to obtain the Clearest Conceptions of Divine things and to lead you to a Saving Knowledge of God in his Son Jesus Christ."

To the year 1745—the year in which he also carried through the Legislature a new and remarkably satisfactory charter for the College, belong four separate publications, all on controversial themes.

Two of these were due to an unfortunate misunderstanding between Clap and his great contemporary, Jonathan Edwards, about an alleged scheme of Whitefield's. Clap insisted that Edwards had told him of a design Whitefield had, to supplant the general run of ministers here by others from across the water; and Edwards acknowledged to having expressed to some of his friends, though not to Clap, a suspicion of Whitefield's aiming to persuade people to forsake what he called an unconverted ministry. Clap seems to have confused what he had heard at second-hand from Edwards with what Edwards had personally told him; but the general drift of his indictment was substantially admitted by Edwards. Each of the disputants was honest, and each was in some sense in the right, so that the chief significance of the incident for us is the light thrown on Clap's attitude towards Whitefield and the measures of revival and reformation which he and Edwards favored.

Contributing to the same end is a third paper, simultaneously published by Clap: "The Declaration of the Rector and Tutors of Yale College against the Rev. Mr. George Whitefield, his Principles and Designs, in a Letter to him,"—which was mainly a protest against his attitude towards the majority of the New-England ministers, and his slanders upon the colleges as not fit to supply proper candidates for the sacred office. If a modern

* Clap introduced Declamations into the College in 1751.

illustration may be ventured, the situation, as Clap and others like him conceived it, was to some extent just a reversal of the situation in the American Board of to-day (or of yesterday), where the Prudential Committee are said to have had recourse to Canada and to the ministry of other denominations for recruits in the mission-field, because of alleged deficiencies in orthodoxy in the New-Theology men and Radicals at home. In the case of a hundred and fifty years ago it was the New Lights, the Radicals of that day, however, who threatened (as some believed) to bring in orthodox helpers from abroad; while the conservative party, intrenched in the churches and colleges, objected to the regular candidates and the established ministry being branded as untrustworthy.

But I must allow that Clap seems in these pamphlets to have been over-credulous of evil reports and surmises concerning Whitefield, and deaf to what was to be said in his favor.

Another controversy, more directly affecting the college, belongs to the same year. In January, 1745, the two Cleveland brothers, one a Senior and one a Freshman, were expelled from college for refusing to confess that they had been in the wrong in attending during a vacation with their parents what were called Separate Meetings, or meetings of Separatists, conducted by laymen in a private house, which were illegal by the Colony statutes. In April Clap appeared in print briefly in a New-York newspaper, giving the official account of the affair, and later in the year he published in pamphlet form, "The Judgment of the Rector and Tutors concerning the case and the reasons of it." The same principles were really at issue, as in the case of his previous deliverances,—Separate churches and congregations being one form of the Whitefieldian protest against an unconverted ministry, and Clap being fully committed by the part he had assumed in support of the Colony laws against such meetings, and in opposition to a division in the First church here.

An interval now ensued, of 8 or 9 years, during which in the opinion of his contemporaries, the President's principles underwent a striking change; and in 1754, when Clap was 51 years of age, began a period of greater literary activity. Up to this date his publications had been ephemeral in origin and slight

in texture; circumstances now led him to propound and defend certain theses connected with college government, on which he expended henceforth his best powers.

Just at this time he found himself pressed by two distinct lines of opposition, the confutation of which he combined in a pamphlet entitled, "The Religious Constitution of Colleges, especially of Yale College."

The few Church-of-England families in New Haven were first supplied with a resident missionary in the year 1753, and one of the first acts of that missionary, the Rev. Ebenezer Punderson, in November, 1753, was to demand of the President that the Episcopal students in college (who may have been eight or ten in number,—two of them being Mr. Punderson's own sons) might be allowed to attend regularly on Sundays at the Episcopal church just built, from which Church street takes its name. Clap refused to grant the desired permission, except for special occasions; he was pledged to this course, one would think, by his previous record as a champion of the regular parish church and an opponent of Separate congregations. But he followed this refusal, in the same month, with a step which could not fail to be challenged as inconsistent, namely, the establishment of separate worship within college walls, and the consequent withdrawal of *all* the students from the Sunday services of what had been accepted hitherto, from the beginning of the college here, as their parish church, that is, the old First Church of New Haven. I speak of this action as Clap's, and he was unquestionably the responsible instigator of it; but it was formally taken (not without serious opposition) in a meeting of the Yale Corporation, at which Mr. Noyes, Pastor of the New Haven Church, and one of the Fellows of the College, was present and acted as he usually did as scribe.

By this move Clap and the College government were exposed to abundant criticism; which the President undertook to meet, in the early months of 1754, with the vigorous pamphlet of which I have cited the title. It is true that the initial steps for the creation of a Professorship of Divinity in the College had been taken some eight years before; but the anticipation of *that* measure by the formation of a separate

College congregation seems to have been brought about at the last by the new demand in behalf of the Episcopalian students; and Clap's pamphlet defence accordingly covers the demand as well as the other points.

The main reason of the change was, as I suppose everyone knew, Clap's dissatisfaction with the doctrine and the preaching of Pastor Noyes; but as Mr. Noyes was a prominent (and with one exception the senior) member of the College Corporation, this could hardly be stated in print; so that the pamphlet is silent on this head, and seeks to defend the proceeding on general grounds, elaborating the theory that a college is a religious society and quasi-parish,—not merely on a par with Mr. Noyes's parish, but (in Clap's language) “of a superior, more general, and more important nature,”—and that the Corporation cannot trust the choice of religious instructors and the quality of religious instruction for the students to any other agency.

I said the pamphlet was silent as to Mr. Noyes's unsatisfactoriness; there is, however, one allusion to the state of feeling which had grown up in the town, and had caused the formation of what is now the United Church, where it speaks of the Corporation having contemplated for some time the foundation of a Professorship of Divinity, and of their “being of late years more sensible of the necessity of it from the unhappy, divided circumstances of New Haven.” In his History of the College, which was not published until after Mr. Noyes's death, Clap allowed himself the further latitude of stating that, at the time the students were made into a separate congregation, “the College was in danger of being infected with Errors.”

In the pamphlet we are considering the President shows that he has studied his subject carefully; in particular he exhausts the legal authorities at his command in proof of his positions, so that his pages fairly bristle with references to Statutes of the Realm, and of the English universities, to Law Dictionaries, and to standard histories. The writer is led by the exigencies of his case to take high ground as to the origin and purpose of Yale College, in saying that “the great design of founding this School was, to educate ministers in our own way”; and it is in

connection with this declaration that he insists on a denial of any peculiar claims of Churchmen to attendance at their own place of worship.

Belonging also to this year—an interlude in the list of weightier matters—is the only extant indication (so far as I am informed) of President Clap's work as a preacher after his coming to New Haven: namely, the brief manuscript notes made for use in delivering a sermon in the College Hall on Thanksgiving Day, the second Wednesday in November, 1754. The Rev. Naphthali Daggett was not elected to the new Professorship of Divinity until ten months later, and meantime the President was in charge of the college pulpit. One is tempted to read his sermon-notes the more critically as in the pamphlet last noticed he had enlarged on the special care to be taken that the preaching in College should be "of the best kind."

Judging by this sample the President's homilies were altogether simple and clear. He confines himself to expounding one of the Psalmist's most familiar exhortations to thanksgiving, and after developing the general doctrine of gratitude, makes the application personal to his hearers. It may be proper here to quote what his colleague, Professor Daggett, said of him in his funeral sermon: "As a Preacher he was not of the florid, showy sort; but solid, grave, and powerful." I may also add that the fact that he was at no time honored with the commission to preach the Annual Election Sermon, before the Governor and Assembly, and the fact that only one of his occasional sermons was ever printed, go far to prove that he could not have been regarded as an eloquent or brilliant speaker.

Early in 1755 the first printing press ever brought to New Haven was set up near the junction of State street and Grand avenue by James Parker, and the first job which he undertook was an edition of the College Laws in Latin. The press had been provided as the result of an appeal by Clap to Benjamin Franklin, who had been decorated with the honorary degree of Master of Arts here a few months before, and who had in return a peculiarly friendly feeling towards the College. In April, 1755, the first newspaper published in the Colony was

here printed, and the Rev. Dr. Bacon has ventured the conjecture that Clap, as the projector of the enterprise which produced the newspaper, and as the chief literary man of the town, was probably engaged with the publisher in editing the paper; but so far as I know this was a mere conjecture. The early numbers of the *Connecticut Gazette* contain some editorial matter, and some correspondence which may likely enough have had an editorial origin, but I fail to recognize any traces of Clap's somewhat distinctive style.

The new press was employed, however, by the President during its first year for printing two pamphlets in the interest of his principles of administration.

One of these, which appeared late in April, 1755, was an anonymous Answer to an attack on the College just published and understood to be written by Dr. Benjamin Gale of Killingworth, a prominent lay-graduate and a son-in-law of Dr. Jared Eliot, the senior member of the corporation. The attack was aimed principally at the annual appropriation by the General Assembly of the colony for the benefit of the College; and Clap's Answer was a defence of this grant, which had already, in consequence of his organizing a College congregation, been seriously attacked in the assembly. Besides addressing himself to the matter professedly in hand, he detects Dr. Gale's further purpose (in which he was known to have his father-in-law, Dr. Eliot's, hearty support) to block the scheme for a Professorship of Divinity, and takes occasion to re-state his views, expressed the year before, on the necessarily religious constitution of Colleges. The absence of the author's name seems to any one familiar with Clap's usual style a very useless omission. It seems to me at least that the pamphlet from internal evidence could not possibly have been written without his having a hand in it. There are certain ear-marks which betray him plainly: as, for instance, a profuse reference to standard authorities on matters of university history,—such as Millar's* *Account of Cambridge*, Ayliffe's* *Account of Oxford*, and the

* Neither of these two books was at this date in the Yale Library; but the Records of the Corporation of Harvard College in March, 1754, contain a vote allowing Clap to borrow them from the Harvard Library.

Laws of the two English Universities ; a statistical comparison of Yale College and other colleges (on pages 4 and 5) is also specially characteristic. The whole pamphlet was a weighty contribution to the current controversy, and will always be of permanent value in the history of the College ; but it did not avail to persuade the General Assembly : the Lower House dissented, the next month, from the passage of the usual grant to the College, on the pretext of large current expenses on account of the French war, and it was never renewed. One explanation of this action, from the point of view of current theological parties, is that the deputies who were classed as " New Lights " were, as they always had been, inimical to the College ; while Clap had alienated the " Old Lights " (who were perhaps two-thirds of the Lower House) by setting up separate worship, for which they dubbed him a " political New Light."

Clap's other publication of the same year, near its close, was entitled " A Brief History and Vindication of the Doctrines Received and Established in the Churches of New-England " ; but the amount of New-England history supplied to the reader is disappointingly small, and the stream of narration speedily gives place to an account of the acts of the Corporation of Yale College at different times bearing on the protection of orthodoxy.

One especially prominent section is a defence of the practice of enforcing subscription on the part of College officers to catechisms or confessions of faith as tests of orthodoxy,—a practice which Clap's influence had imposed on the College in 1753, but one which his successor, Dr. Stiles, succeeded in repudiating in the main, though the last traces of it were not wiped out until 1823.

A letter of Pres. Clap to Dr. Stiles, written a couple of months after this pamphlet had appeared, states that it has had considerable effect in New Haven, " for the First Parish have voted in the Catechism and Confession of Faith, which some had so long and so violently opposed ;"—this action having been taken in connection with an attempt to secure Professor Daggett as a sort of colleague to Mr. Noyes (on January 26, 1756).

Later in the pamphlet comes a vindication of orthodox doctrines, with criticism of various past and present heresies. The writer whom our author seems to take most satisfaction in combating as a heretic is the Rev. Dr. John Taylor, author of the "Scripture Doctrine of Original Sin" (to which Jonathan Edwards wrote a reply), who seems to have been a special *bête noire* of Clap's, having also been gibbeted in the Answer to Dr. Gale.

An odd use was made of this same piece by Clap nearly a century after its original publication, when the Rev. Dr. Charles Hodge reprinted almost the whole of it in the *Princeton Review*, for July, 1839, with the purpose of endeavoring to show that the "New Scheme of Religion" of Dr. John Taylor and others, which Clap was engaged in denouncing, was in substance identical with Dr. Nathaniel W. Taylor's doctrine and the New Haven Divinity in general under his lead.

Continuing our chronological view, I find next an Essay, in manuscript, dated 1757, but never printed, entitled "The Ecclesiastical Constitution of Colleges under the Jewish and Christian Dispensations"; which is a further elaboration of the ideas already familiar to us in this survey, especially of this, that the word College in its usual acceptance meant originally a School of Ministers, and that historically Yale College was such. There is little in the essay of novelty or interest.

In 1760, in connection with current theological controversies, a striking anonymous pamphlet was printed in New Haven, in the course of which an assault on the use of Confessions of Faith as tests of orthodoxy was pointed by a reference to Clap's attitude on that matter as declared five years before in his "Brief History and Vindication of Doctrines." The President was moved to prepare a reply, entitled "A Brief History and Vindication of Confessions of Faith," in which he defines the nature, ends, and uses of such documents, and vindicates them from the objections made; but another answer (by Dr. Bellamy) to the work he was reviewing, appeared more promptly in print, and his own was therefore left in manuscript as we have it.

Another manuscript of some interest is a rough draft of a letter, 12 folio pages in length, dated February, 1764, and

addressed to some unnamed clerical correspondent,—perhaps a member of the Corporation. There had been for some years great uneasiness and disorder here among the students, and the President had administered severe discipline with a free hand ; and this letter is an ingenious statement of considerations, pro and con, relating to a law proposed to be enacted by the Corporation, authorizing appeals to them by students for relief from the judgments of the President and Tutors. The letter is a suggestive commentary on the President's mode of managing discipline. The main point which he is aiming at—rather a fine one—is to prevent the sanction of a right of *appeal*, while allowing a right of petition ; and the Corporation records show that he was successful ; for the law as passed gives liberty merely of bringing a *petition*, and this only in case a rehearing before the Faculty has already been asked for. The question of a right of *appeal* was of course cognate to that which the President had recently argued on a much more notable occasion (in May, 1763), when a liberty of appeal to the General Assembly was urged on the part of disaffected members of the Corporation ; and the claim of a right of visitation at the College inhering in the Legislature, which this right of appeal would involve, was triumphantly resisted by the President single-handed. His argument on that occasion was printed later, in substance, in his *Annals of the College* (pp. 70-76) ; and among his papers is a manuscript copy of a more detailed and extended reply to the memorialists, which seems to have been formally presented to the Legislature.

To recur to the letter on this subject, as illustrating his principles of administration, he lays down “ this general maxim of policy in Government, that the more perfect state of any [Judiciary or] Polity is to have large numbers of good general rules to go by ; and to act *pro hic et nunc* only in that case where they have not had wisdom, time or experience enough to fix upon more particular rules.” In another place, “ Upon the whole,” he says, “ I go upon this principle that in forming a wise plan of government, that shall be generally agreeable to mankind, we must go upon the same rules which they do, so far as our state is in common with or agreeable to theirs, and that we cannot easily or ought not easily and suddenly to act

contrary to them ; unless it be in those things which are peculiar to our Society [that is, the College,] and different from the state of all other Societies in the world, especially considering the old maxim that experience is the best schoolmaster." He is endeavoring of course to ground the proposed action on general principles of Law ; few things delighted his mind so much as to trace a connection between his practice and the law of nature, or at least the Statute Law of England.

Another unprinted paper, dated four months later, deals with a kindred line of thought. This is entitled, "Some Observations relating to the Government of the College," and was read to the meeting of the Corporation in June, 1764, at which the law just referred to was passed. This paper comprises some general considerations respecting College government, and then proceeds to a classification of offences and an explanation of the grounds of punishment. I quote a few sentences from the exordium as giving from another point of view the President's theory of government : "Some persons have such a strong Propensity to Vice, Vanity and Disorder, as that they will not be influenced by Religion, Reason, Duty, or any just motive of true interest or prospect of real good. Such persons must therefore be influenced or restrained from those things which are plainly detrimental to themselves or the Society by *fear of punishment or shame*. And perhaps there are but few who are so entirely good, without any mixture of the remainder of corruption, as not to need sometimes a mixture of fear, especially in such a company of giddy youth, where there are so many temptations and evil examples."

In the course of the discussion, in referring to repetition of disorders as aggravating the offence, he says : "The Corporation have never yet had time particularly to describe the several degrees of frequency or obstinacy with which crimes may be attended, and to affix particular punishments to each of them, and perhaps never will. Our laws are more particular in that matter [already] than the Laws of any other Colleges."

Still another manuscript of 1764 is a statement made by the President to the Corporation respecting the mysterious sickness which attacked over 80 students, more than half the whole College, one April morning in that year, and which was com-

monly reported, then and afterwards, to be due to poison introduced into the College Commons through the agency of some French people in town who were provoked by some pranks of the students. The President's account takes what appears to be the more rational view, that the incident was a form of protest against compulsory Commons by some of the more reckless among the students themselves, and was not a result of any poison, but some kind of strong physic administered, I should gather from one expression which he uses, with the connivance of French servants in the Commons kitchen. Certainly the testimony which he cites, that "one of the Scholars went to one of the Cooks on the Lord's Day and offered her a dollar if she would poison or physic the Commons again, provided she would let him know the time, and added that if it was done once more, then there would be an end of Commons," seems to shift the blame from the shoulders of the poor Acadian French.

In 1765 President Clap published what Dr. Stiles, one of his favorite pupils, and for thirteen years his amanuensis, pronounces his best piece of composition, and what was without doubt his most sustained effort of argument and abstract reasoning, namely, an "Essay on the Nature and Foundation of Moral Virtue and Obligation; being a Short Introduction to the Study of Ethics," for use as a text-book in College. It continued to be used through Dr. Stiles's day, that is, for 30 years after its publication, but probably no later; it was so brief that only about a fortnight, in the last part of Senior year, was needed to go through it. In the Preface the author proposes, if his life is spared and he has "some Relaxation from his present Multiplicity of Business," to publish a fuller treatise on the same subject; but the time thus described never arrived. He resigned his Presidency in September, 1766, just after passing his grand climacteric, and died in less than four months later.

A letter from the author to Dr. Stiles authorizes us to say that the special merit which he claimed for this Essay was that it set some points in a more clear and concise light than elsewhere; to one who scans the pages now it seems a meagre and juiceless compend of familiar commonplaces of theological

doctrine. There is nothing of the sprightliness and philosophical ingenuity of the *Ethics* by the Rev. Samuel Johnson, of Stratford, first President of Columbia College, published in 1752; and still less to compare with Jonathan Edwards's *Dissertation on the Nature of True Virtue*, which appeared posthumously in the same year as Clap's *Essay*. In Clap's case the design of a text-book evidently interfered with all expansion of thought and freedom of expression.

The work by which Clap is best known in our day, appeared just before his resignation of his office,—the *Annals or History of Yale College*, the Preface to which is dated March 1, 1766. That this *History* was deliberately written is evident from the fact that the College archives contain two earlier drafts, one made in 1747, and one in 1757. It is hardly necessary to characterize the work at length. It has the inestimable advantage of being the earliest account of our origins, and for this reason, if for no other, can never lose its interest or value. Besides its preservation of the previous history, the Appendix gives a particular account of the actual condition of the College at the time of writing, which is especially graphic and curious. The writer's plan confines him in the main to a bare statement of facts; it is rarely that he allows himself to suggest improvements, as he does on page 89, where he advocates a scheme of Special Honors, for scholars of distinguished attainments, including a descriptive phrase in the diploma, and so going beyond even what we have attained in the century and a quarter since.

The book is uncritical in its treatment of portions of the earlier history, and tinged often by the writer's prejudices; but after all disparagements, taking its date into account, it is a satisfactory piece of work, much better than the circumstances would have given us the right to expect.

Only one posthumous publication demands notice,—a tract entitled "*Conjectures upon the Nature and Motion of Meteors, which are above the Atmosphere.*" This brochure was copied from the author's manuscript by one of his later pupils, the Rev. Ebenezer Baldwin, while a tutor in College during the last year of Clap's life. Mr. Baldwin died in 1776, but this was printed from his copy at Norwich in 1781.

The late Professor Kingsley in his Sketch of the College suggested an occasion for the composition of this piece by quoting a sentence from Clap's Annals, where he says that "After Evening Prayers, the President frequently makes Dissertations upon various Subjects in Religion and Learning, and almost all the different Affairs and Employments of Life." There is good reason, however, from its form and contents, to class this rather among the more ambitious fruits of Clap's private study; and in fact Dr. Stiles at the time of the President's death refers specifically to this as one of his most important scientific investigations; and a letter of Clap's which is extant, written in 1765, mentions having received intelligence from Peter Collinson, the well-known English friend of Franklin, to the effect that his Theory of Meteors had been read with approbation before the Royal Society.

The theory regards meteors as terrestrial comets, and computes their rate of motion after the same laws as the motion of solar comets. This general theory was retained here, as a tradition from Clap, and was adopted with approval by Professor Jeremiah Day in a paper on the Origin of Meteoric Stones, written after the fall of the famous Weston meteor in 1807, and published in the Memoirs of the Connecticut Academy in 1810. I believe that Professor Silliman also maintained the same theory for many years later in his College lectures.

Among the undated manuscripts of President Clap which I have seen I select three as worthy of special mention,—each being in a different way of interest.

One, entitled "Thoughts on the Present State of Religion," is mainly a defence of the system of Consociated Churches, and especially of Councils as managed by Consociations,—a system peculiar to Connecticut, and commended by Clap as "an excellent plan, collected from the word of God." From internal evidence it appears that this paper was composed during the last decade of the writer's life; but the principles on which it is based were much the same in effect as those with which he had identified himself in the case at Springfield thirty years before, where Mr. Breck's ordination was carried through by a council gathered from abroad, while the neighboring ministers were mostly in opposition.

The second of these pieces is an ingenious Discourse on the Propriety of using Natural instead of Artificial Light. An incidental allusion in this paper seems to fix the time of its composition before 1750, and the handwriting is certainly that of an early period. There is nothing to show the occasion of drawing up the discourse, which is far more theological than scientific in its argument; but I have little doubt that it is a specimen of those "dissertations upon various subjects in Religion and Learning," which the President was accustomed to give to the students after Evening Prayers: it would occupy from 20 to 25 minutes in delivery.

It may suffice to show the theological trend of the paper to mention that one of the two main propositions laid down is that "to neglect to make use of the light of the sun and in the room of it to make an artificial light, is in its own nature a plain moral evil."

I have left until the last one of the most interesting of all these relics:—a manuscript given to the Yale Library in 1884 by the late Rev. Dr. Pitkin, of Detroit, a great-grandson of President Clap, and entitled "A Plan or Heads of a History of the Colony of Connecticut." This fragment is to be referred to the very last months of the President's life, after he had resigned his Presidential office, and before death overtook him, when as we learn from his funeral-sermon by Professor Daggett, this furnished him with a favorite occupation.

The manuscript is what the title denotes,—merely an outline or heads of a proposed work; but the scheme proceeds far enough to have a decided interest and to show that with time and opportunity we might have had from this hand a worthy sketch of our colonial history, antedating by more than a generation our earliest published authority,—the history of Dr. Benjamin Trumbull.

And this manuscript recalls also the kindred circumstance that in 1759 President Clap induced the venerable Ex-Governor Roger Wolcott to draw up a narrative of what had fallen within his remembrance and observation, and what he had derived from others, of the history of the Colony, and that this manuscript also is still extant, in the Watkinson Library at Hartford.

I do not know that any details of the Clap manuscript are of enough separate value to be cited; it may be characteristic of the author that the first entry in his scheme is, "Religion the Design of the first Planters"; and it may be interesting to notice that he makes a special heading for the "Topographical Description of the Colony," with particulars of the several Counties, the principal Rivers, the principal Towns, their latitudes and longitudes, and their advantages and disadvantages with respect to trade; there is also a tempting heading, "The General Genius of the Inhabitants," and "The Advantages of their Privileges."

The manuscripts which I have thus imperfectly described by no means exhaust the list of those extant; but most of the rest are too fragmentary, too brief, or too disconnected, to serve my present purpose.

There are, I ought perhaps to add, a few volumes of College memoranda, containing chiefly details of the location of students in College rooms and in town, and accounts connected with the building of South Middle College and the Athenaeum,—interesting for other reasons, but not of much importance as contributions to the history of Clap's mind or his influence. The formal records of the Corporation also, and those of the Faculty, contain many of his official utterances,—a class of writings which belong rather to the history of the College than to a notice of his personal career.

In the review of these materials one leading impression left on my mind is that with limited opportunities President Clap developed and cultivated to an unexpected extent an unusual variety of intellectual interests. To begin with, his attainments in mathematics, astronomy, and physics, placed him beyond doubt in the first rank of Americans in his generation. In quite another line, I question if any layman, or any professional contemporary, on this side the Atlantic, rivaled him in a knowledge of the history and the practice of the common law, the statute law, and the canon law of England, and of the history and usages of English and other Universities. In the wider domain of general history, both civil and ecclesiastical, his reading was unusually extensive, and the faculty of utilizing his knowledge was equally memorable. In the studies which

more peculiarly belonged to his profession, such as divinity and ethics, he was, as everywhere else, an independent thinker, thoroughly furnished in the literature of the subject, and ready to answer for the doctrines which he held.

He had an important part in the training for public life of over 750 graduates of the College, including among a long list of men of valid claims to remembrance, such names as William Livingston, the War Governor, William Samuel Johnson, the framer of the Constitution, Pelatiah Webster, the political economist, Silas Deane, the diplomatist, Samnel Hopkins, the theologian, Ezra Stiles, the universal scholar, Samuel Seabury, the first American bishop, and Manasseh Cutler, the real author of the Ordinance of 1787. His pupil and colleague, Professor Daggett, says that "Instructing seemed to be the natural exercise and diversion of his mind"; and other testimony concurs in representing him as preëminently an effective teacher. In this way his direct influence was reflected in the lives of his pupils. And besides this, by the foundations which he laid or strengthened here, his influence has gone on, a distinct force in all our later development. It was by his efforts, from experience of the defects of the old Charter, that the Charter of 1745 under which the Collegiate School has grown into a University was in the first place framed, was then secured, and was later defended once for all from encroachment; and these labors, alone, simple as they may sound, yet critical for the life of the College in the very highest degree, entitle their hero to profound and enduring respect. I cannot see how, without such a broadening of chartered powers at that date, the subsequent symmetrical development could have been carried out; and especially striking were Clap's skill and foresight, in connection with this charter, which developed the Presidential office out of the earlier position of Rector, who had been little more than the chief hired servant of the Trustees. But furthermore, his love of method, his powers of organization, his thoroughness in detail, his tenacity of purpose, were felt, as they were needed, everywhere in the circle of the College interests.

As Dr. Daggett says in his Funeral Sermon, "He thought, he acted, he lived very uniformly, and by rule," and a certain

logical definiteness about the important measures of his administration helped to make their impress permanent. His rearrangement of the course of study in the interest of mathematical science had a lasting effect on the position of such studies in the College; his way of introducing government by the Faculty, sitting in consultation with the President, settled a precedent which has prevailed until now; his plan of a College congregation, and a College church, has settled that question for those who have followed him; and so, in the mere matter of buildings, his choice of a location for South Middle and the Athenaeum determined the lines of growth for over a century.

His term of office was prolonged far beyond that of any of his predecessors, and fell short but two years of President Day's, the longest in our history; under him and in his methods, his three successors in office, Daggett, Stiles, and Dwight, were trained partly or wholly. No head of the College has had a better opportunity, or has better improved it, for influence on the future. To illustrate this in detail, would be to go over about all that there is of importance in the College annals, from the time that Clap's name was first heard here until a new world of ideas was introduced with the constitution of the new nation.

I think that I am only just in saying that as James Pierpont, of New Haven, at the opening of the 18th century, should be remembered as beyond all others the true founder of the College; and Timothy Dwight, in the opening of the 19th century, as the far-sighted projector and herald of the expanded university; just so truly should Thomas Clap be held in esteem, whose work was the main and necessary link between the two.

But with all this admirable activity and conscientious devotion, so essential to everything that has since been accomplished, he was yet not a successful man, in so far as success involved present appreciation and popular favor, not merely among students but among men. There was something intensely domineering and arbitrary in his manner, and the same qualities seemed to attach equally to the measures which he carried through. The consequence of this, and of his aliena-

tion of former supporters by his change of policy in such matters as the College church, was that the latter half of his Presidency was stormy and mutinous, and the treatment which he received in the Corporation and in the Colony forced him ultimately to resign, and clouded if it did not embitter his last days.

Among his predecessors and his successors in office there have been those of greater natural gifts and of greater acquisitions; but I doubt if any one of them, placed in his circumstances, could have accomplished as thoroughly as he did, the great and absolutely necessary work for which Yale College honors the memory of Thomas Clap.

APPENDIX.

PUBLICATIONS OF PRESIDENT CLAP, WITH REFERENCES TO
LIBRARIES WHERE COPIES ARE TO BE FOUND.

1. The Greatness and Difficulty of the Work of the Ministry: a Sermon [from 2 Cor. ii, 16] at the Ordination of the Rev. Ephraim Little, at Colchester, Sept. 20, 1732.

Boston, 1732. 8°. pp. 30.

[Amer. Antiq. Soc. Conn. Hist. Soc. Mass. Hist. Soc. Yale (imperfect).

2. Account of a Conference with Mr. James Davenport, respecting his Condemnation of the Rev. Joseph Noyes. Signed by Clap, and five other brethren of the New Haven Church. Dated Sept. 21, 1741.

In Boston Post-Boy, No. 392,

and copied into C. Chauncy's Seasonable Thoughts on the State of Religion in New England (Bost. 1743, 8°), pp. 158-61.

3. A Catalogue of the Library of Yale-College in New-Haven.

N. London, 1743. 16°. pp. iv, 48.

[Amer. Antiq. Soc. Bost. Athenæum. Harvard. Yale.

The same. [2d ed.] N. H., 1755. 16°. pp. iv, 48.

[Yale.

4. A Letter To a Friend in Boston . . . [on the Rev. Jonathan Edwards's telling him] that Mr. Whitefield said . . . that it was his Design to turn the generality of the Ministers in the Country out of their Places, and re-settle them with Ministers from England, Scotland, and Ireland. [Dated Dec., 1744.]

Boston, 1745. 16°. pp. 8.

[Amer. Congr. Assoc. Boston Public Libr. Harvard. Mass. Hist. Soc.

5. The Declaration of the Rector and Tutors of Yale College against the Rev. Mr. George Whitefield, his Principles and Designs, in a Letter to him.

Boston, 1745. 8°. pp. 14, i.

[Amer. Congr. Assoc. Boston Public Libr. Conn. Hist. Soc. Prince. Libr.

6. A Letter to the Rev. Mr. Edwards, of North-Hampton, Expostulating with him for his Injurious Reflections in his late Letter to a Friend; And shewing that Mr. Edwards in contradicting the Rector plainly contradicts himself. [Dated April 1, 1745.]

Boston, 1745. 4°. pp. 11.

[Amer. Antiq. Soc. Boston Athenæum. Boston Public Libr. Harvard. Mass. Hist. Soc. (imperfect.)

7. Letter concerning the Expulsion of the two Cleavelands from Yale-College. Dated April 18, 1745.

In the New-York Post-Boy, Apr. 29, 1745; and copied in The American Magazine for June, 1745 (vol. ii, p. 264).

8. The Judgment of the Rector and Tutors of Yale College, concerning Two of the Students who were expelled; together with the Reasons of it.

N. London, 1745. 4°. pp. 10.

[Amer. Antiq. Soc. Mass. Hist. Soc. Reprinted in Boston, 1745.

9. The Religious Constitution of Colleges, Especially of Yale-College in New-Haven, in the Colony of Connecticut.

New-London, 1754. 4°. pp. 20.

[Amer. Antiq. Soc. Boston Athenæum. Boston Public Libr. Harvard. L. I. Hist. Soc. Mass. Hist. Soc. N. H. Col. Hist. Soc. Yale.

10. The Answer of The Friend in the West, to a Letter from A Gentleman in the East [B. Gale], entitled, The present State of the Colony of Connecticut considered.

New-Haven, 1755. 8°. pp. 18.

[Yale.

Anonymous.

11. A Brief History and Vindication of the Doctrines Received and Established in the Churches of New-England. With a Specimen of the New Scheme of Religion beginning to prevail.

New-Haven, 1755. 8°. pp. 45.

[Amer. Antiq. Soc. Harvard. Yale.

The same. Second Edition. Boston, 1757. 8°. pp. 40.

[Amer. Antiq. Soc. Boston Athenæum. N. Y. Hist. Soc. Prince Libr. Yale.

12. A short account of a Comet, dated May 2, 1759.

In Conn. Gazette, May 5; copied in Boston Post-Boy, May 14, 1759.

13. A letter concerning a fire-ball of May 10, 1759. Dated at Boston, May 26. In Boston News-Letter of May 31, 1759.

14. An Essay on the Nature and Foundation of Moral Virtue and Obligation: being a Short Introduction to the Study of Ethics; for the Use of the Students of Yale-College.

New-Haven, 1765. 8°. pp. iv, 68.

[Amer. Antiq. Soc. Amer. Congr. Assoc. Boston Athenæum. Boston Public Libr. Harvard. Mass. Hist. Soc. N. H. Col. Hist. Soc. Yale.

15. An article on Meteors, in the Connecticut Gazette, Oct. 4, 1765.

16. The Annals or History of Yale-College.

New-Haven, 1766. 8°. pp. iv, 124.

[Amer. Antiq. Soc. Boston Athenæum. Harvard. L. I. Hist. Soc. Mass. Hist. Soc. Yale.

17. Conjectures upon the Nature and Motion of Meteors, which are above the Atmosphere. [Outside title; President Clap, on Terrestrial Comets.]

Norwich, 1781. 4. pp. 15.

[Boston Athenæum. Conn. Hist. Soc. Yale.

Among his more important MSS. are

1. Some Considerations tending to put an End to the Differences that have been about Singing by Rule. 8 pp. 16°.

A plea for singing by note; undated, but I think written while he was studying theology, about 1722-25.

2. Memoirs of some Remarkable Occurrences of Divine Providence towards me in the course of my Life, together with some Reflections and Observations upon them.

In possession of his family.

Parts of this were printed in the Sermon by Prof. Daggett at his funeral, and in E. Waterman's Century Sermon at Windham.

It includes,

Meditations upon the Death of my wife, Aug. 9, 1736.

Other parts, dated Nov. 9, 1736—May 9, 1737.

Also, memoranda of events in 1739-41.

3. A discourse on the propriety of using natural, not artificial light. 12 pp. 4°.

Refers to Duke of Cumberland's career⁴, in terms appropriate to about 1745.

4. Brief Notes of Sermon, from Psalm c. 4, 5, preached in College Hall on Thanksgiving Day, Wednesday, Nov. 13, 1754. 7 pp. 16°.

(5 pp. Doctrine, 1½ pp. Improvement.)

5. The Charge given to Professor Daggett at his Instalment, March 1756. 1 p. 8°.

6. The Ecclesiastical Constitution of Colleges under the Jewish and Christian Dispensations. 1757. 32 pp. 4°.

[And an earlier draft of the same, with title, The antient Ecclesiastical Constitution of Colleges. Written after 1753. 32 pp. 4°.]

The object is to show that the word College in usual acceptation originally meant School of Ministers, and that historically Yale College is so.

7. A brief History and Vindication of Confessions of Faith. Occasioned by a new Impression and Publication [in 1760] of the Confession of Faith consented to by the Churches in the Colony of Connecticut, and by sundry Aspersions cast upon Confessions of Faith in an anonymous Pamphlet entituled a Letter to Paulinus [N.-H., Feb., 1760, by Wm. Hart].

66 pp. 4°. [Not quite complete.]

8. Address to the General Assembly, May, 1763, in reply to the Memorial of E. Dorr, &c., praying for a Visitation of the College. Prof. Kingsley in his Sketch of Y. C. (p. 16) quotes a sentence. 22 pp. 4°.

9. A Letter, dated Feb. 2, 1764, to some unnamed Clergyman, on the matter under discussion in the College Corporation, of allowing students who have been punished by the President and Tutors a Right of Appeal to the President and Fellows. Largely a legal argument. 12 pp. folio.

10. Some Observations relating to the Government of the College.

[Read to the Corporation, June, 1764.] 25 pp. 4°.

A classification of offences, and explanation of the grounds of punishment.

11. Tho'ts on the Present State of Religion. [Imperfect. 19 pp. 4°.]

Mainly a defence of Consociation and Consociated Councils.

In it he mentions The Winter Evening's Conversation [by Sam'l Webster] which was published in 1757.

12. A Plan or Heads of a History of the Colony of Connecticut.

11 p. fol.

Quotes Massachusetts Representation of 1764.

THE EARLY HISTORY
OF
LONG ISLAND SOUND AND ITS APPROACHES.

BY CHARLES HERVEY TOWNSHEND,

OF "Raynham," New Haven, Conn.

[Read January 26th and February 9th, 1891.]

COLUMBUS' successful voyages were followed by the Cabots (father and son), who sailed under the patronage of Henry VII. of England, on the Northmen's well known route to Vineland, southward from Labrador to Florida; but we have no evidence of their making any land explorations. On their return they made a report to the king, which gave England her claim to the North American continent.

Then followed France, eager to get her share of the new domain which sent out Juan Florens, or Giovanni, a French corsair, and a Florentine, under orders of Francis I., 1524, to seek a passage to Cathay. He made the coast of North America, which obstructed his passage westward, and which he examined and charted, and named Francesea. In his report to the French king, on his return in 1525, just after the battle of Pavia, he gave an account of his discoveries, naming more than fifty harbors and headlands after places in Normandy, and describing the natives he saw at the entrance of New York harbor, eastern entrance of Long Island Sound and Narragansett Bay, having cast anchor in these places during the summer of 1524.

His discovery embraced a coast line from about Dieppe in 27 degrees north latitude, shown on map made by his brother ("son frère et héritier") to the R. de la Buelta in 43° north latitude.

Harrisses gives us the following translation from Ramusio, vol. iii., fos. 423-426, with a map bearing the inscription *La Noovo Francia*. The discourse is not dated; but Ramusio in his introduction says that it was written in the year 1539.—
“*This Coast was discovered 15 years ago by Giordano da Varrazzano who took possession of the same in the name of King Francis and of my Lady the Regent. That Country is called French Land by many, even by the Portugues themselves.*”

“The Regent was Louise de Savoie, the mother of Francis I., and this seems to account for the inscription both on the Maggiolo and Varrazano Maps.”

“Luisa,” named for the French king’s mother, is an island off the south coast of New England, and Adrian Block, in 1614, laid it down on his chart. It is now known as Bloek Island.

Mercator’s map of the world gives the globe a flat surface, and by his system of projection in proportional parts he locates in the right latitude and longitude C. S. St. John (Sandy Hook) which is also called, about this date, Cabo de Arenas, and Cabo da Malabrigo (Bad Shelter) for the southern part of Cape Cod, and he gives the indentation in the coast for Long Island Sound, which he names *Baia Hondo*, which, I am inclined to think is the first European name known to navigators; of this important arm of the sea called later by the Dutch “East River,” a route through which, let me add, now more value passes in *one direction* than over any other water way on the American coast.

It is my opinion, based on years of careful study of this problem, that during the fifteenth century when European navigators were engaged in exploring this section of the coast of New England, there was a chain of islands along the coast, which we will now locate south of a line drawn from Plymouth, Massachusetts, to Sandy Hook in New Jersey. They were sandy islands, compounded from the remnant of the Glacial formation on which Professor Dana of Yale has enlightened us; deposits of which here and there cling to rocks for a basis. Between them numerous passages had been forced and kept open by the flowage of rivers and the movements of the tides, making this whole system of islands, Cape Cod, Nauset

Isle, the Vineyard Islands, Block and Long Islands and others adjacent thereto, a continuous chain. Of this we have almost positive evidence by the numerous portages and water passages across Cape Cod, which Gosnold claims to have discovered in 1602, but were known before his day, and visited by the numerous fishing vessels (French and English) that frequented this coast, and later by the Dutch explorers, Block and his colleague Corstensen, who, after completing their voyages of exploration, eastward of New Amsterdam, returned in the fall of 1614, to Holland, and there reported their existence.

It is a well known fact that before the settlement of Plymouth Colony by the Mayflower Pilgrims in 1620, the French carried on extensive fisheries about Cape Cod coast; and journals of their voyages (I have been told), are now lying unpublished in the documentary department of the Record Offices, in the English Channel Islands and western seaport towns of France. Champlain, also, had a battle there with the natives.

Through these island passages, constant communication was kept up between North and South Virginia, as is abundantly proved by the boat voyage in 1619 of Captain Thomas Dermer (a colleague of Captain John Smith), who made a passage through Long Island Sound to Virginia, and while exploring the Cape Cod section rescued two sailors who were east-aways or deserters from the French fishing fleet, which then annually voyaged to this vicinity. Besides this voyage we have that of Governor Eaton and party, to explore Rodenberg or Quinnipiac in the fall of 1637, which according to a well sustained tradition was taken in an open boat through a Cape Cod passage.

Among the records in the *Lokas Kas* of the States General in the royal archives at the Hague, Holland, there is deposited a chart of Long Island Sound, and with it a report of Adrian Block, a captain in the service of the East India company of Holland, showing his explorations of this arm of the sea, by an expedition from New Amsterdam early in the spring of 1614. With these a memorial was presented to the States General on the 18th of August, 1616, by the directors of the New Netherlands, praying for a special octroy according to the ordinance of March 27, 1614, which is referred to in the memorial as show-

ing the extent of the discoveries made by Schipper Cornelis Hendriksen, of Munnichendam in a small yacht of eight lasts (sixteen tons) burthen, named the "Onrust" (The Restless), which the memorialists had caused to be built in New Netherlands.

This ordinance of March 27th, 1614, immediately interested numerous merchants of Holland, and four ships were at once fitted out for exploration in these parts, viz: "The Nightingale," the "Little Fox," "The Tiger" and the "Fortune." The last two were commanded by the Captains Block and Corstiaensen of Amsterdam, who on arrival at Manhattan started out exploring expeditions upon the numerous rivers and bays in this vicinity, during one of which Block's vessel was by accident burned. Being a man of nerve, and of marked ability and skill in the numerous branches of his profession, he at once commenced the construction of a yacht of the dimensions of 42½ feet, from stem to stern (over all), 38 feet keel, and 11½ breadth of beam, and measuring 16 tons burthen, and in this (the first vessel constructed by Europeans in these waters) he proceeded late in the summer to explore the East River (Long Island Sound) to the eastward of Manhattan; and we are told he sailed along the East River, to which he gave the name of "The Hell Gate" after a branch of the river Scheld in East Flanders, situated between the manors of Axel and Hulst.

After making the passage of Hell Gate (which was then and has been ever since the terror of mariners), he launched out on the broad waters of Long Island Sound, leaving to the southward Long Island, then called Metoac or Serwanhacky (the land of shells), and following the north shore eastward, he sighted a river since named Hutchinson's River, in Westchester. This, history tells us, was once the abode of an English family of that name whose home was destroyed by Indians in 1643. They had settled on lands bought of the Dutch at Manhattan, who obtained it from Mr. Thomas Pell of New Haven for £500. It was near the houses of the family of Mrs. Anna Hutchinson and others, members of a company who were religious exiles from the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, who in 1633 took refuge in Rhode Island, and for fear

that their home might become part of the colony of Massachusetts Bay, removed to Westchester in 1642.

The islands of Stamford and Norwalk were also sighted and carefully explored, to which he gave the name of Archipelagoes, and farther eastward, and near the center of Long Island Sound, he discovered and located two islands, about the position of the middle grounds, now off Stratford, on which a lighthouse has been lately built by the United States government (to mark this danger for navigators). These islands, since Block's time, have been gradually washed away, although they have been seen to lie bare at low tides within the remembrance of men now living and known to the writer.

He gave them the name of De Kees, and as they are represented as one island instead of two on a chart made by A. Vander Donck, in 1656, their existence then was certain. It is probable Block landed on these islands and located their latitude by meridian observation, and longitude by a system of calculations used by navigators of his day, which was not always exact, but accurate enough for all practical purposes.

From these islands, in full view over the coast line, were seen continuous ranges of red colored hills, whose outlines and situation seemed to point out a large river, extending far back into the interior and a tidal harbor of great magnitude, inviting exploration. This he accomplished and named the river Venden Rodenbergh, now the Housatonic, which name no doubt was suggested by the appearance of two of our most prominent bluffs, East and West Rocks. As seen studding the coast range and viewed to the northward from these islands, over the mouth of this river, or from a vessel's deck in the vicinity, Stratford Point from this position might then have been easily taken for the commencement of the west shore of the entrance of the harbor of the Red Mountains (New Haven), which it is supposed he visited, and which he certainly named and located on his chart, the first one giving any detail of this section of the coast that we have any record of. This very appropriate name, Red Mount [Red Hills (English), Rodenbergh (Dutch)], to this section of the coast was no doubt suggested by the reddish hue of our guardian cliffs, East and West Rock. These great and noble additions

to the beauty of our city's landscape are of basaltic formation, and stand forth in bold relief, backed then as now by an inland mountainous outline, whose evergreen verdure added a striking contrast to their appearance. Their rich color coming from the red washes of centuries, mixed with the salt spray from the ocean, acting on their iron sides, as it is reflected by the sun's brilliant rays, while making its daily course, glorifies the whole panoramic view stretching out until lost in the dark blue waters of the beautiful bay, which ebbs and flows at their feet.

It is probable that Block sailed up this harbor, and explored its shores in his yawl, leaving the "Restless" at anchor in the quiet roadstead off the Oyster Point of our day, which was then protected seaward by a dry sandspit covered with low bushes and other vegetation, now washed away and known as "The Beach." We judge from his report that his stay in our harbor was brief, and pursuing his voyage eastward he located numerous shoals and islands, two of which can be no other than Falkner's, which he named Falcon's Eyland; and Goose Island, which he named Jan William Eyland. The latter is now just a-wash at high water, save a few rocks which mark its site, giving positive evidence of the gradual encroachment of the sea, and timely notice that Falkner's Island, with its conspicuous lighthouse must soon follow if not protected by some method known to engineering science.

We will here leave the sturdy mariner to review the Verache Viervier (Fresh River now Connecticut), whose direction lies northward through the lands of the Mohicans and was ascended by him to an Indian village in latitude 41 degrees 48 minutes, N. Here he found a kind of Indian fort near the site of the now city of Hartford, called Nawaas, and here soon afterwards the Dutch of New Amsterdam built their fort of Good Hope for occupation and trade with the Indians. Having descended the river and passing out by the Race, he discovers and locates two islands. One he names after himself Adrian Block Eysland, and the other farther east (probably Martha's Vineyard Island), for his colleague, the captain of the "Tiger," Hendrick Corstensen Eysland. He fell in with him off Cape Cod, and after exploring the Narragansett Bay, which had been visited by the above mentioned John De Verrazzan in 1525,

Block joined his colleague and returned to Holland. There these navigators give publicity to their discoveries; and the "Restless" was sent back from Cape Cod to Manhattan, returning along the south side of Long Island, whose length was then determined. She arrived before winter closed in, at her port of departure, Manhattan, having been the first vessel known to have circumnavigated Long Island; and the next year she was employed at Delaware. Of her farther career nothing is known.

The enormous amount of beaver and furs taken in this new country bordering on Long Island Sound, which Block's explorations had opened up to commerce, caused large numbers of fur trading merchants of Holland, who had depended upon Russia for their skins, to fit out ships for these parts, and it is quite probable the bays and valleys of the Red Mountains were visited by two or more Dutch vessels annually; but we have not yet found mention of another vessel passing through Long Island Sound, so quiet did the Dutch keep their discoveries here, until 1619, when Captain Thomas Dermer, before mentioned, an Englishman who had been many years in the employ of Sir Ferdinando Gorges; and who had sailed from England and loaded his ship of two hundred tons with fish and furs at Monahigan (an island off the coast of Maine) after dispatching her home to England, sailed for Virginia in a pinnace with an Indian pilot, who drew with a piece of chalk on the lid of his "boat-chest" this passage through the East River (Long Island Sound) and to the westward. This appears by his (Dermer's) letter written at Captain John Martyn's plantation (Martyn's Hundreds), on the James River, Virginia, December 27th, 1619, to his worshipful friend Mr. Samuel Purchase (the chaplain to the Arch Bishop of Canterbury) and preacher of the word at the church (St. Martyn's), a little within Ludgate, London. But as he makes no mention of our harbor (New Haven Harbor), we only note him as the first Englishman known to have sailed through the Sound. He writes thus:

“It was the 19th of May before I was fitted for my discoveries when from Monahiggan (Maine), I set sail in an open pinnace of five tons for the island I told you of. I passed along the coast, where I found some

ancient plantations not long since populous, now utterly void; in other places a remnant remains but not free from sickness. Their disease was the plague,* for we might perceive the sores of some that had escaped, who described the spots of such as surely died. When I arrived at my savage's† native country, finding all dead, I travelled a long day's journey westward, to a place called Nummastaguy,‡ where, finding inhabitants, I dispatched a messenger a day's journey further west to Pocanoket,§ which bordereth on the sea, whence came to see me, two kings,|| attended with a guard of fifty men, who being well satisfied with what my savage and I discoursed with them (being desirous of no velity), gave me content in whatsoever I demanded, where I found that former relations were true. Here¶ I redeemed a Frenchman, and afterwards another at Massachusetts, who three years since escaped shipwreck at the northeast of Cape Cod. I must be brief (and omit many things worthy of observation)** for want of leisure; therefore hence I pass (not mentioning any place where we touched in the way) to the island which we discovered the twelfth of June. Here we had good quarter with the savages, who likewise confirmed former reports. I found seven, several places digged, sent some of the earth, with samples of other commodities elsewhere found, sounded the coast, and, the time being far spent, bore up for Manhiggan,†† arriving the three and twentieth of June, where we found our ship ready to depart. To this isle are two others near adjoining, all of which I called by the name of King James' Isles, because from thence I had the first motives to search for that (now probable passage), which may hereafter be both honorable and profitable to his majesty. When I had despatched with the ships ready to depart, I thus concluded for the accomplishing my business. In regard to the fewness of my men, not being able to leave behind me a competent number for defense and yet sufficiently furnish myself, I put most of my provisions aboard the Sampson of Captain Ward, ready bound for Virginia, from whence he came, taking no more in the pinnace than I thought might serve our terms, determining with God's help to reach the coast along and at Virginia, to supply ourselves for a second discovery if the first failed. But as the best actions are commonly hardest in effecting, and are seldom without their crosses, so in this we had our share and met with many difficulties, for we had not sailed above forty leagues,‡‡ but we

* Yellow fever or Small Pox probably, brought by Europeans.

† This was Squanto, whose home was probably Plymouth.

‡ Middleborough, Mass., ten miles west of Plymouth.

§ Bristol, R. I. Forty miles westerly from Plymouth.

|| Massasoit, chief of the Wampanoags and his brother, afterwards the friends of the Mayflower Pilgrims, were probably the two kings.

¶ Bristol.

** This was a secret expedition probably in search of a mine, and he only mentions a passage without location.

†† He seems to have gone through a passage or portage of the cape.

‡‡ Monomy Pt.

were taken with a southerly storm which drove us to this strait: either we must weather a rocky point of land,* or run into a broad bay not less dangerous. The rocks we could not weather, though we loosed (luffed) until we received much water, but at last was forced to bear up for the bay† and run on ground a furlong off shore, where we had been beaten to pieces, had we not instantly thrown overboard our provisions to save our lives, by which means we escaped and brought off our pinnace the next high tide without hurt, having one plank broken and a small leak or two which we easily mended, and being left in this misery, having lost much bread, all our beef and cider, some meal and apparel, with other provisions and necessaries, having now little left but hope to encourage us to persist, yet, after a little deliberation, we resolved to proceed, and departed with the next fair wind.

We had not now that fair quarter among the savages as before, which I take was by reason of our savage (Squanto's) absence, who desired (in regard of our long journey) to stay with some of our savage friends at Sawahquatooke,‡ for now almost everywhere, where they were of any strength they sought to betray us. At Monomey, the southern part of Cape Cod," [now called Sutcliffe Inlets] "I was unaware taken prisoner, when they sought to kill my men, whom I left to man the pinnace; but missing of their purpose they demanded a ransom, which had, I was as far from liberty as before, yet it pleased God at last after a strange manner to deliver me with three of them into my hands and a little after the chief sachem himself, who seeing me weigh anchor, would have leaped overboard, but intercepted, craved pardon and sent the hatchet given for ransom, excusing himself by laying the fault on his neighbors; and to be friends, sent for a canoe's lading of corn, which received, we set him free. I am loth to omit the story wherein you will find a cause to admire the great mercy of God even in our greatest misery, in giving us both freedom and relief at one time.

Departing hence, the next place we arrived at was Capaock (Martha's Vineyard), an island formerly discovered by the English, where I met with Epinow, a savage that had lived in England and speaks indifferent good English, who four years since, being carried home, was reported to have been slain with divers of his own countrymen by sailors, which was false. With him I had much conference, who gave me very good satisfaction in everything almost I could demand. Time not permitting me to search here, which I should have done for sundry things of special moment, the wind fair, I stood away, shaping my course as the course led me, till I came to the most westerly part, where the coast began to fall away southerly. In my way I discovered land,§ about thirty leagues in length, heretofore taken for main, where I feared I had been embayed; but by the help of an Indian I got to sea again through many crooked and straight passages. I let pass many accidents in this journey, occasioned by treachery, where we were compelled

* Bishop and Clark's Rocks.

† Brewster.

‡ Chatham.

§ Probably Long Island.

twice to go together by the ears : once the savages had great advantage of us in a strait, not above a bow shot, (wide)* and where a multitude of Indians let fly at us from the bank ; but it pleased God to make us victors. Near unto this we found a most dangerous cataract amongst small, rocky islands, † occasioned by two unequal tides, the one ebbing and flowing two hours before the other. Here we lost an anchor by the strength of the current, but found it deep enough. From hence we were carried in a short space by the tide's swiftness into a great bay ‡ (to us so appearing) but, indeed is broken land, which gave us light of the sea ; § here, as I said the land rendeth southerly. In this place I talked with many savages who told me of two sundry passages to the great ¶ sea on the west, offered me pilots, and one of them drew me a plat with chalk upon a chest, whereby I found it a great island parted by the two seas. They report the one scerce possible for sholes," (the Kill) "perilous currents: the other" (the Narrows) "no question to be made of.

Having received these directions I hasten to the place" (Sandy Hook Bay) "of the greatest hope, where I proposed to make trial of God's goodness towards us, and use my best endeavors to bring the truth to light : but we were only showed the entrance, when in seeking to pass we were forced back by contrary and overblowing winds, hardly escaping (with) our lives. But thus overcharged with weather I stood along the coast to seek harbor, to attend a favorable gale to recover the strait ; but being a *harborless coast*," (Jersey and Delaware Coast) "for aught we could then perceive, we found no succor till we arrived betwixt Cape Charles and the main, on the east side of the bay Chesapeake, where in a wild and wide road we anchored ; and the next day (the eighth of September) crossed the bay to Kecoughtan, ¶ where the first news struck cold to our hearts—the general sickness was over the land.

* * * * *

I have drawn a plot of the coast which I dare not yet to part with for fear of danger : let this therefore serve for confirmation of your hopes until I can better perform my promise and your desire.***

* * * * *

This Captain Dermer is frequently mentioned in the relation of Gorges and Smith, and his boat voyage was an important link in the chain of discovery, as it made known to the friends of the American settlements in New England, many parts of the American coast that escaped the notice of previous navigators.

* East River.

† Hellgate.

‡ New York Bay.

§ Looking out the Narrows.

¶ One passage probably the "Kill," north of Staten Island and Raritan River.

¶ Between James and York Rivers

** See Purchas, v., 1777, 1778.

He seems to have been employed by the Plymouth Company, and is mentioned by them in a brief relation of the discovery of New England, 1607 to 1622, which also states his voyage to Virginia, and that on his return to New England, he met Dutch traders who had business with New Netherlands, and that he betook himself to his business of discovery, finding many goodly rivers and exceedingly pleasant and fruitful coast and islands from the Hudson River to Cape Cod. Dermer seems to have been at Plymouth, so named by Captain John Smith in 1614, and called Patuxet by the Indians; and in Dermer's last letter he recommends this harbor to the Company for settlement the "first plantation if they come to the number of fifty persons or upwards."

Soon after the date of the last letter, Dermer visited Martha's Vineyard and it is supposed he went there to examine a mine, as the glittering sands of Gay Head had led many to suppose that here was a valuable mineral deposit.

Holmes' Annals says:—"It is probable that the second letter of Dermer was addressed to Sir Ferdinando Gorges, an active and efficient member of the Council of Plymouth, and a special patron of the enterprise in which he was engaged." Gorges says that Dermer sent him "a journal of his proceedings, with the description of the coast all along as he passed." The object of his voyage may be understood from the following statement.

An Englishman of the name of Hunt, who commanded one of the ships with which Captain Smith came to New England in 1614, remained on the coast after Smith's departure and succeeded in kidnapping a number of Indians, chiefly from Patuxet, afterwards Plymouth, whom he carried to Malaga, in Spain, and endeavored to sell for slaves. As soon, however, as the circumstances became known, sympathy was excited in behalf of the unfortunate captives, and through the benevolent efforts of the monks of that city, many of them were rescued from slavery, and found their way back to their native forests. Among them is said to have been a chief named Tisquantum, or as more commonly written, Squanto, who reached London, where he was received into the family of Mr. John Slanie of Cornhill, a merchant of the Newfoundland

Company, and sent out to that island having learned to speak English. There he was noticed by Capt. Mason, the governor of the colony, with whom he remained until the arrival of Dermer, when he returned with him to England.

The outrage of Hunt had excited a great mistrust of Europeans among the natives of New England, and it occurred to Dermer that the services of Squanto might be profitably employed in removing the prejudice from the minds of his countrymen. He wrote to this effect to the Plymouth Company, who at once entered into his views, and the following season dispatched Capt. Rocrافت to meet him in New England. But Dermer had in the meantime sailed for England, taking Squanto with him, and the company, desirous of availing themselves of this aid in conciliating the Indians, fitted out another ship for a fishing voyage, in which they sent him and Squanto to New England with the hope of their meeting Rocrافت. But on their arrival at Monhegan, not finding Rocrافت, Dermer took a pinnace and left the fisherman to pursue their business, while he sought the native country of his savage companion. His subsequent adventures, until his arrival, are briefly related in his letter. The result of his mission appears to have been quite satisfactory to his employers, who in the published manifesto gave him the credit of making peace between the savages of those parts and the English, of which, it was intimated, the colony of New Plymouth afterwards reaped the benefit.

There seems to have been, however, another object which Dermer proposed to himself in undertaking this voyage. A few years before an Indian named Epinow, belonging to Martha's Vineyard, who had also been forcibly carried to Europe, came into the possession of Gorges, and induced him to believe that there was a valuable mine about Gay Head in his country, which he could discover, if sent home. A ship was accordingly fitted out for the voyage, and sailed with Epinow and two other Indians in the summer of 1614. But it was a mere ruse on the part of the wily savage to effect his return, and soon after his arrival in New England, he contrived to make his escape from the ship. Notwithstanding what had occurred, Gorges seems not to have doubted the truth of the story, imagining that Epinow feared the consequences

of betraying "the secrets of the country;" and when Dermer proposed to him to employ Squanto, he consented without doubt for the purpose of again endeavoring to discover the hidden treasure. Some hints of the kind are given in his letter.

The prevalence of a mortal disease among the natives of New England, by which the country within certain limits was almost entirely depopulated, is often alluded to in the accounts of that period. It is supposed to have commenced its ravages about the year 1616, and to have continued for two or three years. Dermer calls it the plague, from its desolating effects, but writers seem not to agree as to the character of the disease.

Dermer did not long survive his visit to New England, which was in January 1620, when he visited Plymouth, which was about five months before the "Mayflower" arrived.

The causes which led to the navigation of Long Island Sound and the rivers and harbors emptying therein, we glean from colonial history.

Gov. John Winthrop says, "A Sachem from the Connecticut named Wahginaent, April 4th, 1631, came and invited the English to plant on the river Connecticut. He promised to give the English corn and 80 beaver skins yearly."

This offer the governor declined on finding that the native was at war with a more powerful chief by name Pekoath.

Winthrop under date of July 12th, 1633, says, "Mr. Edward Winslow, Gov. of Plymouth, and Mr. Bradford, came by boat into the Bay and departed July 18. They came partly to confer about joining in a trade to Connecticut for beaver and hemp and set up there a trading house, to prevent the Dutch who are about to build there. We thought it not a fit place to locate a settlement as there were between 3,000 and 4,000 warlike Indians in the neighborhood and the river only fit for small boats and a bar at the mouth with depth of only six feet at high water, but the Plymouth people were told they could settle there if they chose."

The bark "Blessing" of Boston was however sent to desire the Dutch not to build, a few weeks after; and on Oct. 4, 1633, the Dutch Governor, Van Twiller, informed them he had taken possession of the river in the name of the States

General, and had set up a house there, having on the 8th of July, 1633, made a purchase from a Pequot chief of lands on the Connecticut river and built there Fort Good Hope, now the present site of the town of Hartford.

In Oct. 1633 the Plymouth Colony having a desire to hold the valuable river, sent Capt. Wm. Holmes and the sachem of the tribe lately dispossessed by the Pequots in a sloop laden with a house frame ready for immediate erection, to settle on the river at Windsor. He was hailed by the Dutch fort in passing and ordered "to strike or they would shoot," they standing by their ordnance ready fitted. Bradford, says Holmes, answered "They had a Commission from y^e Governor of Plymouth to go up y^e river to such a place, and if they did shoot, they would obey order and proceed."

In 1634 several of these river towns were commenced by the bay colonies, who made an effort to oust the Plymouth and Dutch settlers. This in time was accomplished, but in the meantime fearing the Dutch would hold the mouth of the river assisted by their allies, the Pequots, Lieut. Lyon Gardner who was employed by the Earl of Warwick and the Lords Say and Brook was sent with men to locate and build a fort at Saybrook in 1636.

The Pequot war soon followed, and the extermination of that tribe by the Connecticut and Massachusetts troops, under Mason, Davenport and Turner. The latter, formerly of Lynn, Massachusetts, was among those lost in the Phantom ship in 1646. He was the Miles Standish of the New Haven Colony, and on his return after the Pequot conquest acquainted Gov. Eaton with the advantages of the Long Island Sound region. The Governor soon afterward, in the fall of 1637, explored it in person, and left a company of six in a hut to hold the promised land, during the winter.

The distinguished Dutch colonist and author, Adrian Van der Donck, LL.D., enjoyed the distinction of having been the first lawyer at New Amsterdam, where he arrived in a barke of the Patroon Kellern Van Ramsselar in the autumn of 1642. In his history of the New Netherland, he mentions the East River, what is known to the citizens of Connecticut and New York as the Sound, while the East River of our day is that

part of this arm of the sea which reaches from Throg's Neck (Fort Schuyler) to Governor's Island off the Battery in the Bay of New York.

Of the East River (Long Island Sound), he says,

“The river is thus named because it extends eastward from the city of New Amsterdam. By some this river is held to be an arm of the sea, or a bay, because it is very wide in some places, and because both ends of the same are connected with and empty into the ocean. This subtlety notwithstanding, we adopt the common opinion and hold it to be a river. Be it then a river or a bay, as men will please to name, it still is one of the best, most fit and most convenient places and most advantageous accommodations which a country can possess or desire for the following reasons: Long Island which is about forty? miles in length, makes this river. This river, and most of the creeks, bays and inlets joining the same, are navigable in winter and in summer without much danger. The river* also affords a safe and convenient passage at all seasons to those who desire to sail east or west: and the same is most used, because the outside passage is more dangerous. Most of the English† who wish to go south to Virginia, to South River‡ or to other southern places, pass through this river which brings no small traffic and advantage to the City of New Amsterdam. This also causes the English to frequent our harbors, to which they are invited for safety. Lastly: this river is famous on account of its convenient bays, inlets, havens, rivers and creeks on both sides, to wit, on the side of Long Island and on the side of the fast or main land. In the Netherlands no such place is known.

But let us return to the continent.§ Here first a bay discloses itself, (which some consider a river) called Nassau|| six miles wide at its entrance, which is obstructed by islands, and about eight fathoms deep: afterwards it becomes narrower terminating as it were in a point, with a depth of four, and five, and sometimes nine fathoms, except in the extreme recess where it is more shallow. It is surrounded by a pleasant and fertile country inhabited by sturdy barbarians, who are difficult of access, not being accustomed yet to intercourse with strangers. At the distance of twenty-one miles west of this bay, there is another bay, divided by an island¶ at its entrance, so that it has two names: for the part on the east is called Anchor, and that on the west, Sloop Bay. The savages who dwell around this bay are called Wapenokes,** though it is said by others that the western side is inhabited by the Nalucans,†† Twenty-four miles or thereabouts beyond we enter a very large bay,‡‡ enclosed by land for a long distance, or rather by islands intersected by channels, of which there is a great number, until we reached the month of the great

* Long Island Sound.

† Delaware Bay.

|| Buzzard Bay.

** Wampenags.

‡‡ Long Island Sound.

† Of New England.

§ The south shore of New England.

¶ Rhode Island.

†† Narragansetts.

river. There are also numerous small islands, to which no particular names have been given: navigators take the liberty of changing them arbitrarily. Near the entrance of this bay, the main land forms a crooked prominence in the shape of a sickle,* behind which an inlet receives a small stream, that flows from the east and has received its name from our people. "Ooster Vievietjen."

Another little river discharges on the same part of the coast, which derives its name from a chief of the natives, called Siccanamos.† Here is a very convenient roadstead. Behind a small promontory there is another stream‡ that is navigable for fifteen or eighteen miles; here salmon are taken. The native inhabitants are called Pequatoes, who are the *enemies* of the Wapanokes. From thence the coast turns a little to the south, and a small river is seen which our people named Frisius§ where a trade is carried on with the Morhicans. Next comes a river called by our countrymen De Versche Riviere, or Fresh River|| which is shallow and shoal at its mouth, so that it is difficult for small vessels to ascend it. Near the sea there are but few inhabitants, but within the interior of the country dwell the Sequins.¶ at the distance of forty-five miles: the Nawes** are the next above, who cultivate the land and plant maize from which they bake cakes called by them leganic†† Wa-Ha-Ba. In the year 1614 they were defended by a kind of palisade in the form of a camp against their enemies in latitude 41 degrees 48 minutes, as I find it was observed by our people. Beyond live the Horikans, who are accustomed to descend this river in boats made of the bark of trees sewed together.

Another river meets us twenty-four miles west of this to which the name of Red Hills‡‡ has been given: the Querepees inhabit its banks; many beaver are taken here, since a demand for our goods has stimulated the naturally slothful savages. Twelve miles west an island§§ presents itself, and soon after many more are seen, whence our people called this place Archipelago.|||| The bay is here twelve miles wide: on the main reside the Suwanoes.¶¶ who are similar in dress and manners to the other savages.

I have remarked that the large bay*** was enclosed by several islands, separated from one another only by small channels. These are inhabited by a race of savages who are devoted to fishing, and thus obtain their subsistence: they are called Matouwacks. The name of Fisher's Hook††† has thus been given to the eastern cape of this island which some consider the head of the bay. In the interior of this bay a branch of the great river†††† or another river as others consider it, discharges, which our

* Stonington, Watch Hill.

† The Thames.

|| Connecticut River.

** Hartford Indians.

†† New Haven.

|||| Norwalk Islands.

*** Gardner and Peconic Bays.

††† Harlem River.

† Mystic or Noack.

§ Niantic.

¶ Middletown Indians.

†† Corn cake.

§§ Stratford Shoals.

¶¶ Stamford tribe of Indians.

††† Montauk Point.

people call Helle-gat, or the entrance to the infernal regions. The current of the sea setting from the east to the west, meets another current of the great river near an island which our countrymen called Nutten Island* from the great abundance of nuts which it produces."

Again we find mention of our harbor in the journal of John de Laete, director of the Dutch West India company. He was a native of Antwerp, but had lived at Leyden and was one of the most distinguished geographers of his day. Among his publications is a history of the Dutch West India company from its beginning to the end of 1636.

On his passage to New Amsterdam, through Long Island Sound, he seems to have stopped at the Fresh River, perhaps in the year 1636. He writes :

"From Fresh River to another called the Rodenberg (Red Hill), it is twenty-four miles west by north and east by south. This stream stretches east-northeast, † and is about a bow-shot wide, having a depth of about three fathoms at low water. ‡ It rises and falls about six feet ; and a southeast by south moon causes high water at its mouth. § The natives who dwell here are called Quiripeys (Quinnipiac). They take many beavers, but it is necessary for them to get in the habit of trade, otherwise they are too indolent to hunt the beaver. ¶ Twelve miles further to the east there lies a small island, ¶ where good water is to be found."

The spring in Falkner's Island is now just visible, and will soon be obliterated by the encroachment of the sea. The writer was informed by Captain Joel Stone in 1880, who with his father kept the Light House on Falkner's Island in 1814, that there was then a never failing spring of fresh water on the west side of the island, but that the gradual washing away of

* Governor's.

† The reach in the Quinnipiac River between Stable Point and Red Rock.

‡ See chart of New Haven harbor in 1845.

§ The bearings of the moon at high water between two or three days after the full. We now have the highest tides. Three days after full moon in July and August our farmers begin to cut salt hay, as the tides then begin to fall off and give time to secure the crop before the returning spring tides.

¶ De Laete gives exports of furs from New Netherland by the West India Company of Holland, from 1624 to 1635, Beaver skins, 80,182 ; Otter skins, 9,347. Value 686,527 Guilders.

¶ Falkner's Island, probably.

the island made this spring brackish, it being close to high water mark. This encroachment of the sea occasioned his father to sink near the Light House a well 90 feet deep, but finding no fresh water, this scheme was abandoned, and the spring dug out, stoned up and protected by a sea-wall, which is now in the landing place, and was examined by a party in the Yale Lanch, Captain Dodman, July 20th, 1885. De Laete adds that twelve miles beyond Red Hills there are a number of islands, to which Captain Block gave the name Archipelago.

He probably meant the Stratford shoal grounds, after which come two islands, i. e. Penfield reef, then an island, and Norwalk Island, together. He then gives a description of his passage through Hell Gate and arrival in the Great River.*

It is interesting to note here the first mention of the tides in New Haven Harbor, and from observations made recently, the time of the highest spring tides has changed but little since those days, as we have generally the highest tides between two and three days after the new and full moon, which would give this luminary about this bearing.

Hon. J. Hammond Trumbull, LL.D., says that Quinnipiac or Quillipiac was originally the land near the head of New Haven Harbor, and the estuary of Quinnipiac and Mill River.

The name quinni-pe-auke means "long water land" or country. It is the equivalent of Kennebec (amb. kooenebecki). In the Mohegan and Narragansett dialect, the first syllable was pronounced "quin;" by the Connecticut River Indians, west of the "long water," "quit;" hence the variety of forms under which the name appears in early records.

The Dutch called the natives of this region Quiripegs. President Stiles of Yale College heard the name from an East Haven Indian, as Quimpepyoogh. Captain Stoughton in 1637 wrote Quillepagee. Our late distinguished fellow townsman, Eli Whitney Blake, LL.D., informed me, some time before his death, that he had been told the definition of Quinnipagee was "the Five Waters,"—viz: Quin (5), Aqua (water)—the Quinnipiac or East River, the Mill River, the East Creek, the West Creek (runs now used by the railroads), and West River.

* North.

Off the West River was the roadstead, which was probably the anchorage of the Dutch and English vessels which previous to 1637 were engaged collecting furs, and on Wigwam Point on the west shore, are still extant evidences of a landing. This was also the rendezvous of the little fleet which transported the colonies while in pursuit of the Pequot Indians, who were annihilated in Fairfield Swamp during June of this year (1637), and it later gave shelter to the fleet of boats and pinnaces which brought Governor Eaton's settlers to Quinnipiac. There was, in those days, an Indian village here on Oyster Point, as the name and oyster shell bank abundantly prove, and here the purchase may have been made and town site located; there being a fine spring of water here, which was used as late as thirty years ago by a gang of Menhaden fishermen, some of whom are still living in East Haven.

To the eastward of this roadstead lies the remnant of the former beach. It was constructed by the action of the sea, which has also distributed its sands so that the tide ebbs and flows over it, and two hundred thousand bushels of oysters are planted here annually, for sale in the Western markets.

I find from a journal under date of January 5th and June, 1639, of the third voyage to New England of David Pieterse de Vries, Master of Artillery in the United Province of Holland, to erect a colony on Staten Island for himself and Frederick de Vries, Secretary of the City of Amsterdam, and Director of the Dutch West India Company, the following entries:

.. January 5th (1639):—Send my people to Staten Island to commence the colony and buildings.

June 4th.—Went northward with a yacht up the Versche River (Connecticut river), where the West India Company possessed a small fort called *buys de Hoop*, and anchored about even in the eastern Haven, being a large commodious haven on the North of Long Island. This haven is in the island, and is upwards of two miles wide. We found fine oysters there also. The Dutch call it Oyster Bay or Haven. We arrived next evening (June 5th, 1639), at Roodenberg, a fine haven, and found the English were building a fine town, having already erected upwards of three hundred houses and a handsome church.*

* Soon after this visit of De Vries, arrived the ship "St. John" Captain Russell with the Rev. Henry Whittfield's Colonists and Mr. Geo. Fenwick's family, according to Rev. John Davenport's letter written from

In the morning of the 7th, we came opposite the Versche Rivier. We went up the river, and on the 9th, arrived with my yacht at the fort huys de Hoop, where we found one Guisbert Van Dyck as commander, with 14 or 15 soldiers. This fort is situated near the river and a small creek, forming there a fall. The English had also begun to build there a town* against our will, and had already a fine church and more than a hundred houses erected. The commander gave me orders to protest against their proceedings. He added that some of the English settlers had prohibited them to put a plough into the ground. He said it was our land, that we had bought it of the Indians and paid for it; but they oppose us, and had given a drubbing to the soldiers. When I came to the settlement, the English Governor† invited me to dinner. I told him during dinner that he acted very improperly in taking the lands of the company which were bought and paid for by them. He answered me that these lands were lying uncultivated: that we had been here already several years, and nothing was done to improve the ground: that it was a sin to leave so valuable land uncultivated, such fine crops could be raised upon them: that they had now already built three towns on this river, in which was abundance of salmon, etc. The English here live soberly. They drink only three times every meal, and those who become drunk are whipped on a pole, as the thieves are in Holland.

June 14th, I took leave of the huys de Hoop, and arrived the next morning at the mouth of the river. We passed several places where the English were building, and arrived about evening at the Manattes, opposite Fort Amsterdam, when we learned the arrival of two vessels from Holland: the one a Company's ship, den Harnink, and the other a private ship, de Brand Van Trogen, from Hoorn, laden with cattle, belonging to Joachim Pieterz, former commander in the East Indies for the king of Denmark."

That a water passage actually existed through Cape Cod as late as 1717, deep and broad enough to allow boats and vessels of light draught and tonnage to pass, has been lately proved by the writer, by evidence obtained while searching in London the English archives.

Early in the year 1887 in the British Record Office, I found an old chart of the North American coast, without name or date, which I have had carefully traced with India ink for publication. This tracing shows about one-eighth of the

Quinnipiac, dated 28 y^r 7th mo., 1639 to Lady Vere, then on a visit to her widowed daughter, the Lady Townshend at Raynham Hall, Norfolk.

In this letter our harbor was named by the Captain the *Fayne Haven* and his was the first English ship we have any record of, as entering our port. The next was the "Castle," and then perhaps Governor Eaton's Ship, the "Fellowship."

* Hartford.

† Haynes.

original projection. It covers the country from Cape Cod to the Renslow Hills. The latter are located on this chart about the position of the Highlands of Neversink in New Jersey, in latitude 40 degrees 25 minutes North, and longitude 73 degrees 56 minutes West. The original chart, I judge, was constructed by a hydrographical survey party, composed of British naval officers, between the years 1715 and 1720.

The chart shows well surveyed channels south of Massachusetts, and about the islands of Nantucket and Martha's Vineyard, to the East River of the Dutch, or our Long Island Sound. Numerous notes in ink have been entered on unoccupied spaces contiguous to the objects of notice, mentioning matters of special interest about this river and the vicinity of the harbor of the Red Mountains, which I have gleaned from original, ancient documents. It tends to show that Cape Cod was formed from a long continued accretion from the sands which compose the system of coast between the Cape and Sandy Hook, and were deposited during the glacial age. Subsequently the drainage from the Southern New England rivers gradually separated these sands, forming arms of the sea and passages, through which the tides and currents of the ocean (spurs of the Gulf Stream and Polar currents), ebb and flowed, imparting thereto a rotary motion, and changing a part of this East River of the Dutch to a sound, filling in some of these outlets, one of which would seem to have entered Peconic Bay, and widening the sound at its center by a continuous friction and agitation, as the washed away appearance of the bluffs on the north shore of Long Island abundantly illustrate its work. These changes prove that a stronger wind and tide power prevails from the westward, which is augmented by an increased water power from the rivers emptying into the Sound, and strengthen my belief in the theory that, notwithstanding a larger volume of water is forced into New York Bay from the Sound on ebb tide, or tide running west from Throg's Neck (according to the last gauging of the United States Coast and Geodetic survey), than comes into this tributary *via* the Sandy Hook passage on the flood tide, the west passage (Hell Gate), has not the space to carry off all the accumulation, and that this surplus is finally forced out the

Race eastward on returning ebb tide. This shows the power that has washed away the islands of the Sound laid down by Block in 1614, such as the de Veers (Stratford Shoals), Jan William Island (Goose Island), the Sunken Islands off Saybrook, the Valiant Rock and other islands in and outside of the Race, whose rocky shores have been washed clean, besides the numerous banks about Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket, all of which are no doubt the remains of former islands. These and the "tailings" eastward, which form the sandy points of land the whole length and both sides of the Sound, positively prove also a power from the heavy west gales of winter acting on the surface of the Sound, and from the rise and fall of tides, that has not as yet been accurately ascertained.

The tides in our harbor are an important factor in the movements and scour of the port, and should be used for sanitary purposes. The tides are caused by the action of the sun and moon upon the waters of the earth. The effect of their influence combines at new and full moon to produce the highest tides, called spring tides. When the moon is near the first and third quarter the effects are opposed, and the small or neap tides are produced. The nearer the moon is to the earth, the stronger the action. Consequently at the least distance of the moon (Perigee), the tide will be larger on that account, and consequently less at its greatest distance (Apogee). For a like reason the tide will be slightly increased by the sun's action, when the earth is nearest to the sun (Perihelion), about the middle of January, and similarly decreased when furthest from its Aphelion, about July 1st. When the moon's declination is greatest, either north or south, the tides usually have the greatest range of rise and fall; that is, they rise higher and fall lower than at other times, and one high water of each day is higher than the other, and one low water lower than the other. The higher high water occurs sooner, and the low one later, than at other times. Near the time of zero declinations in the two high tides of each day become nearly equal, and the times of their occurrence are near the average ones. While the range of rise and fall is the least that occurs, similar but smaller effects follow the sun's declination.

This explanation, which is an abridgment from the United States Coast and Geodetic survey tide table, shows the causes of the tides, but the movements of this vast body of sea water in Long Island Sound into New Haven harbor is affected often by winds at sea causing an irregularity in the time of high water, as the lay of the coast impedes its movements. For example, after a long north and east blow, the tides in the harbors at the west end of the Sound (Cow Bay in particular) have been known to rise twelve feet (though the mean rise is but seven feet), backed up as it were by East River flood, and its force being increased by winds of great energy, shifting southwardly soon after the commencement of the young flood at Sandy Hook. This subject is a matter of the greatest importance to the residents of New Haven on account of sanitary and sewerage purposes, as well as to those interested in the wharves, bridges and the navigation of the port. The effect of this vast body of uncompressible salt water,* ebbing and flowing at unequal intervals, is very great, as the known density of sea water and its scouring effects on the bottom† (the fresh water arising to the surface) have so often proved. Some observations in the Hudson and Connecticut Rivers have shown sea water near the bottom twenty miles above the entrance of these rivers, where fresh water has been taken from the surface, fit to drink. In this connection should be considered the power of this great body from the ocean (flood tide) from the East, to hold back the surface drainage of rivers like the Hudson and Connecticut and our own Quinnipiac, and at the same time assist it to store its powers in reservoirs made

* It is estimated that the aggregate area of the water passage to Long Wharf is about 6,500 square feet, but by wharves, bridges and other obstructions this area has been decreased to about 3,200 square feet at the steamboat dock, which is a great disadvantage, and should now be remedied.

† The tide gauges at Tomlinson's Bridge show that the flood tide of our harbor commences to run on the bottom about forty minutes before low water, slack, on the surface, and in the interval rises five inches. Nov. 24, 1885, the tide rose six inches over the new center pier at Tomlinson's Bridge, and was the highest tide recorded, there being a difference of ten feet, six inches between the lowest and highest mark on the tide gauge. The extreme high tide during freshet time at Hartford is about 21 feet.

by nature for its reception, to be used on the ebb tide to scour the channel.

In the ancient chart which I have described, the south shore of Long Island and the coast surroundings, eastward from Sandy Hook to Nantucket are fairly accurately shown, and the south shoal of Nantucket eighteen miles south-southeast of this island in latitude 40 degrees 25 minutes North, and longitude 69 degrees 20 minutes West, and lying directly in the path of ocean steamers bound to the port of New York, shows a depth of only four feet (now eight feet), with a bottom of white sand and shells. It is not improbable that it contains the results of surveys and observations made aboard ship by a party under the charge of Captain Cyprian Southack, a Boston pilot, who surveyed Boston Bay, about the year 1715, as Southack channel is one of the points laid down. I note the time of full sea, the day of moon's southing, to be nine o'clock, and the variation of the compass at Nantucket Island Shoals, 8 degrees 30 minutes West (now 1890 about 12 degrees). Soundings are given at 10, 20, 25 and 40 fathoms, fine sand and shells, on a meridian six miles east of a line projected north and south from a point on a shoal of five fathoms, called the New Rose and Crown, in latitude 41.08 North and longitude 69.25 West, to a point on the Crab Bank in 35 fathoms stony bottom, latitude 41.42 and longitude 69.30 West and distant about 30 miles.

The Rose and Crown shoal, then (1717) marked dry, has at this date (1890) twelve feet of water over it; giving positive proof that the whole system of banks, many of which about this passage, the entrance to Nantucket island, are marked dry, locate the bases of former islands which have been used by the elements in the construction of Cape Cod by filling the numerous passages with their debris. A passage is plainly laid down through the towns of Eastham, Chatham and Orleans on Cape Cod, which was used in early Colonial times by small vessels and boats, making voyages from the bay of Maine to Virginia, and which is shown on the early Dutch and French charts, and on the one sketched by Schipper Adrian Block, the first explorer of the East River or Long Island Sound. This may have been the passage mentioned by Captain Thomas Dermer in 1619, while making his boat voyage from Mona-

higan to Virginia. It is interesting to note that in this very passage was lately discovered an ancient ship, which was exhumed by the action of the sea, from a salt marsh, May 6, 1863, in the town of Orleans.

These voyages with the well sustained tradition handed down to us, from the Eaton and Davenport settlers, who came to Quinnipiac in 1637-38 in boats *via* a passage across Cape Cod, and the return of Rev. Ezekiel Rogers' friends from Quinnipiac to Rowly, Mass., the next year in a pinnace, which he sent to fetch them, give abundant proof of the existence of one or more such water ways, and it is corroborated by investigations of the late Professor Agassiz. These passages were closed up, as I have been told by Captain William Foster of Brewster, Mass., about 150 years ago, during a furious gale of wind accompanied by a tidal wave, which changed the whole east and south shore of the Cape, depositing in salt marshes and low lands, sand hills, 60 feet high, and completely washing away a sand point off Nausit, where to this day at extreme low tides the stumps of trees have been laid bare and visited by men now living.

The discovery of this original chart has not only hydrographical value, but has positively found for us one of the closed passages that tradition says existed in early times through Cape Cod, and sustains Gosnold's report in 1602, of its being then an island. It shows that as late as 1717 one of these passages remained open, by a marginal note, which I give verbatim :

"Y^e place where I came through with a whale-boat, being ordered by y^e Governor to look after y^e Pirate ship 'Whido,' Bellamy Commander, cast away, y^e 26th of April, 1717, where I buried one hundred and two men drowned."^{*}

* Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts Bay, vol. 2, page 233, states that in the month of April, 1717, a pirate ship, the "Whido," of 23 guns and 130 men, Samuel Bellamy, commander, ventured upon the coast of New England, near Cape Cod, and after having taken several vessels, seven of the pirates were put on board of one of them, who soon got drunk and went to sleep. The master of the vessel which had been taken, having been left aboard with the prize crew, ran her ashore on the back of the Cape, and the seven pirates were secured. Soon after, the pirate ship in a storm was forced ashore near the table land, and

But I will not linger on the subject of these closed up passages; as outlines are now visible of their course across the towns of Brewster, Dennis, Yarmouth and Sandwich (the latter the route of the Cape Cod canal now in course of construction). My object in referring to them has been to substantiate a theory for the construction of Cape Cod.

I will now follow the navigable approach on this chart to Long Island Sound through the waters of Nantucket and Martha's Vineyard Sounds and what is called on the chart the "Sea of Rhode Island." The Nantucket and Martha's Vineyard of our day are on this chart shown as six islands, illustrating how the wash of the past two centuries has moulded the shore. On this original chart, the numerous islands at the eastern entrance of the Sound are located, surrounded by rocky ledges, and at Watch Point (Watch Hill) numerous ledges of rocks are laid down, showing the foundation of the now sickle-shape sand-pit extending therefrom into the Stonington harbor of our day. This gives evidence of its having recently been constructed from the beach of the Rhode Island shore, eastward of Watch Hill, by a combination of forces that meet on this section of the coast. And here across the east entrance of the sound are given the names of numerous islands forming with sunken reefs a continuous chain, which must in the near future be used as a basis for sea coast defences and protection to this most important approach to the metropolis of this country, Long Island and Gardner's Sound having a strategic importance unequalled on the North American Continent.

Of the many marginal notes on the chart I will notice but a few.

The site of the Pequot Fort now in the town of Groton is called Lamthorn Hill, and New London is here mentioned as "a small river, but has a good harbor and farms, navigable for ships and small vessels. A place of great trade. They build many vessels here."

the whole crew, except one Englishman and one Indian, were drowned. Six of the prize crew who were saved as before mentioned, upon trial by a special court of admiralty, were pronounced guilty, and executed, at Boston, November 15th, 1717.

Levi Whitman says "At low tide the caboose of the pirate ship 'Whido' is often out of water, marking the site of the disaster."

Pine Island off the East point, and Bartlett's Reef off the west point of the harbor are located; tide full and change of the moon at ten o'clock; sounding outside, 25 fathoms of Blue Owse. At Winthrop Point is a sketch of Gov. Winthrop's house and the Governor's name is noted; there is indicated beside a church and several houses.

The Connecticut River is mentioned as being very long, having a great many fine towns and farms on the several branches of it, and as navigable for small vessels. On the chart is added "Y^e seaboard town to the river is Sherbrook.* They build a great many small vessels here, and much copper ore mined."

The Long Island towns are also carefully located, and in Peconic Bay, about the site of the River Head is written, "I commanded y^e first ship that ever was in this place, in 1692." As several anchorages are marked in this back water, and a canoe "place" or portage laid down between this through the South Beach to the ocean west of Shinnicook, it is quite probable, that at this date there existed a boat passage which was used by Colonel Meigs in the Revolutionary War when he captured Sag Harbor with an expedition fitted out from New Haven, and returned with many prisoners without losing a man.

Guilford and Branford,† on the Connecticut shore, are mentioned as having small rivers, also good farms and both having churches.‡ These towns are shown as lying north of the "sea

* Saybrook.

† Maverick's description of New England about 1660 says, "Tocott (Branford)—from Guilford to Tocott, 9 miles. These two towns are under New-haven Government. New-haven—From Tocott to New-haven, it is 7 miles. This town is the metropolis of that Government, and the Government took its name from this Towne, which was the first built in those parts: many stately and costly houses were erected here, and the streets lay'd out in a Gallante form, a very stately Church, but ye Harbor proving not comodius, the land very barren, the merchants either dead or come away, the rest gotten to their Farmes, the Towne is not so glorious as once it was.

Milford—From New-haven to Milford it is about 10 miles. This Towne is gotten into some way of Trading to Newfoundland, Barbados, Virginia. So also has some other towns in this Government."

‡ And here is noted Sachem's Head, which was the scene of the tragedy where Uncas, chief of the Mohigans, captured a pursued Pequot Sachem, and, after shooting him to death with arrows, cut off his head which was set in the crotch of an oak tree and remained for years after, the tree having grown holding it ther-to. Hence the name Sachem's Head.

of Connecticut" with the Hundred islands (Thimbles) and Falcons (Falkner's) Island off the coast.

The Iron Works although in embryo have a special mention and are shown on a considerable river. These were the third considerable iron works and bloomery in America. The stone house of the Iron Master (John Cooper or Cowper), built in old English style, is still standing in a good state of preservation on the west bank of Stony River near the Stone Bridge. With the overflowing mill dam and red grist mill near by, embedded in green foliage during the summer, and backed by the brown faced evergreen Saltonstall Mountains, while in the distance rises the graceful spire of East Haven stone meeting house, flanked by Raynham Hills, this spot is one of the most picturesque and pretty bits of landscape in this section of the country.

But we must not tarry here at this secluded spot but push on to the more pretentious harbor of the Quinnipiacs (or New Haven of our day). Here the chart notes the time of high water, IX* o'clock on the full and change of the moon, and opposite the harbor, which is only sketched as the entrance of a small river with rocky entrance, with soundings 10 fathoms, it says there are many good farms. It is shown on the chart as having a pretentious church and several houses. Directly across the Sound on Long Island, the village of Wading (now Wading River), is shown, so called as it is navigable for boots (or boats), which can be towed inside by wading the river. The bottom of the Sound is Blue Owse, depth 20 to 25 fathoms, and the tide runs full sea at one o'clock. Milford, Stratford and Fairfield are all located as having good farms, while the islands off the Housatonic River, located by Block in 1614, marked Sand Bank, are now washed away save the dangerous remnant now known as Stratford Shoal, with 15 fathoms close to.† This demands more than casual mention, as they with Falkner's Island illustrate the powerful effects of the wind and tidal force on the shore of this arm of the sea. I have been told by the late Captain Moore, a noted ship-builder of Bridgeport, Conn., that he had visited early in this century at low

* Qu.—Is this meant for XI?

† The new U. S. chart gives 27 fathoms.

spring tides, these shoals for shell fish, and had observed sedge and other marine grasses growing there and had also seen walking sticks and canes cut from a grove of scrub cedars which stood on this island about one hundred and fifty years ago. The canes are still in the possession of some of the residents of the neighborhood of Port Jefferson, Long Island. I have been told by Mr. James Park, purser of the steamer "Nonowantuk," of the Port Jefferson line, who was for ten years master of the Stratford Shoal Lightship, that in 1860 Captain Kuenis, of Port Jefferson, L. I., then 75 years of age, told him he had cut rushes for candle wicks on Stratford Shoal Ground. There is also a tradition to the same effect in Stratford town that people living there owned these lands. Henry N. Beardsley informs me that his father told him he had seen Stratford Shoal bare for six rods at low water. Captain Joel Stone once said to me that the Stratford Light House keeper told him he had walked forty yards on Stratford Shoal, when laid bare at extreme low spring tide, which occurred during a continuous west gale in the month of March.

The site of Penfield reef and bar (in 1720 called Lewis Island), now marked with a lighthouse,* off Black Rock and Fairfield, is shown on the old chart as a continuous rocky chain. This serves to locate the most eastern portion of the archipelago (Norwalk Island), of the first explorer. Opposite on Long Island are shown the two points, Eaton's and Lloyd's, once part of the estates of Governor Theophilus Eaton and his kinspeople the Lloyds.

Here Long Island is mentioned as having "fine towns on it, and on the west end many good farms, but towards the east end is much barren land, though there are some places where there are good farms."

Huntington, Oyster Bay, Whitestone and Flushing on the island shore, with Greenwich, Mamaroneck, East and West Chester on the Continent terminate at Manhattan Island the description of this arm of the sea and its shores.

At this point on the chart the north wing of the flood tide flowing from the Eastward through Long Island Sound, meets the South wing of the same wave of flood or Westward tide from the ocean via Sandy Hook between Whitestone and

* Penfield Reef.

Sands Point, having between one and two hours in time difference (later) from their time of perceptible inward flow at the Race and Hook, and there is a note "about x 1-2 o'clock," accompanied with this item: "*Y^e tyde parteth at Whitestone—then runneth East and West.*" Here at Whitestone and Throg's Neck this arm of the sea studded with rock and island, and now called East River, passes through a tortuous rocky outlet or inlet, mingling its waters with an increased momentum imparted by the heavy pressure from the high sea through its contracted shores, into the Hudson River and the outflowing tide at Sandy Hook.

In order to illustrate the movement of this tidal wave from the Atlantic Ocean through Long Island Sound and show its power to scour as well as its value for sanitary purposes for the rapidly increasing Coast towns, we mention the tidal movement Westward from an imaginary meridian in the deep sea East, off the Newfoundland bank, with a crest proceeding Westward on a meridional line until the North wing is retarded by friction with the banks of Newfoundland, Nova Scotia and Massachusetts Coast, giving the wave line a North Easterly and South Westerly projection. As its South wing progresses west faster, having no obstruction on account of the deep sea (three miles deep) between the coast and Bermuda, it reaches sooner the abrupt line of soundings off the New Jersey and New England coasts. Consequently the young flood reaches the Jersey shore about Sandy Hook two hours earlier than at the Race, the Eastern entrance of Long Island Sound. It thus passes up the East and Hudson Rivers into the Sound, which tidal basin by the last ebb tide has been drained or lowered to the extent of several feet, when the East flood commences to flow Westward through the Race, meeting the Sandy Hook flood at Sandy Point or Throg's Neck, or East or West of these points as condition of wind and river freshets permit. The late superintendent (Prof. Hilgard) of the United States Coast and Geodetic Survey tells us that the condition of the tidal circulation through Long Island Sound and Hell Gate is such that, if there were a partition across it, the water would stand sometimes nearly five feet higher, and at others five feet lower, on one side than on the other, in the compounding of the two

tides within a distance of one hundred feet. In Hell Gate one foot difference in height is often noticed. This compounding process is completed by the accumulation from both floods, replenished with the drainage of the rivers, which volume of fresh water is kept back and on the surface, by the body of sea water flowing into the Sound near the bottom on account of its density.

With the compounding of the two flood tides in Long Island Sound and their increased volume since Hell Gate excavation, added to the heavy freshets from the rivers and the tremendous pressure from strong gales which the United States Signal Service shows frequent in this region, we have a reason for the gradual widening of Long Island Sound, and the disappearing of numerous islands and sandy points laid down on early charts of this coast.

Having completed the description of this ancient chart save brief mention of some of the most Western Long Island towns laid down thereon, viz., Jericho, Jamaica, Bedford and Gravesend, also numerous small inlets for "ye small vessels on ye north side," and a Ferry from the now site of Brooklyn to Manhattan Island, separated from "ye main by ye Spytten Divil Creek" (or Harlem River), there remains only to make mention of the meeting of the tides of the East and North (or Hudson) Rivers and their junction at Nutting (or Governor's) Island, connecting it to Long Island at low water with a narrow sand spit, over which within the past one hundred years cows were driven at low tide to pasture from Long Island to Governor's Island, and through which a channel has now been forced (by the encroachment of docks on East River), known as "Buttermilk Channel."

Here at the meetings of these waters off the Battery of our day is shown the magnificent upper and lower harbor of New York and southward Staten Island and Sandy Hook, and farther, still farther in the distance the blue waters of the broad Atlantic Ocean.*

* A lithograph of this chart was published in 1891 by the U. S. Coast and Geodetic Survey, in Appendix No. 20, to the Report of the Survey for 1890, together with brief notes by the author of this paper.



INDEX

TO THE

PRINCIPAL MATTERS IN VOLUME V.

- Address at the opening of the new building, by President Simeon E. Baldwin, xvii.
- African Slavery in America, 1.
- Andrews, William G., lxxv.
- Arnold, Benedict, lxxi.
- Bacon, Leonard, lxx.
- Baia Hondo*, first name of Long Island Sound known to navigators, 276.
- Baldwin, Simeon E., viii., xvii., 71, 179.
- Barnard, Charles, quotation from his *American Industrial History*, 129.
- Beardsley, E. Edwards, lxxv.
- Bells, New Haven, by Justus S. Hotchkiss, 173.
- Blake, William P., 109.
- Block, Capt. Adrian, the namer of Block Island, 277.
- Breck, Robert, controversy respecting his theology, 251.
- Building, of the Historical Society, viii.
- Cape Cod, original water passage across, 294, 299.
- Chart of Long Island Sound in the royal archives of the Hague, 277.
- Chart of North American coast in the British Record Office, its great hydrographical value, 294, 299.
- Charter of Connecticut of 1662, 184.
- Cheever, Ezekiel, the first school-master of New Haven, xlii.
- Christian Sunday, the first observance of in New Haven, xxxi.
- Church proceeding in the case of Mrs. Anne Eaton, 134.
- Clap, President Thomas, and his writings, by Franklin Bowditch Dexter, 247.
- College discipline, as regarded by President Clap, 263.
- Commemorative address, by Horace Day, xxiii.
- Committee to prepare a place for organization of the Historical Society, lxii.
- Conditions of suffrage widened, 234.
- Congregationalism, 181.
- Connecticut river, named by the Dutch "Fresh River," 280.
- Connecticut, The Three Constitutions of, by Simeon E. Baldwin, 179.
- Constitution* and *Guerrière*, the fight between described by an eye-witness, 75.
- Constitution of the N. H. C. H. S., lxiii.
- Copy of deed of building site, dated Nov. 15, 1891, ix.
- Copy of explanatory agreement, dated Nov. 23, 1891, xi.
- Corstiansen, Capt., 278, 280.
- Cost of the new building, viii.
- Cotton gin, Whitney's, the origin and history of, 112.
- Court, first establishment of in New Haven, xxxvii.
- Davenport, John, xxxi, xxxiv, xli, 134.
- Day, Horace, xxiii, lxii, lxxv.
- Day, Jeremiah, his testimony to Eli Whitney, 130.
- Dedicatory meeting, Sept. 28, 1893, xv.
- Dermer, Capt. Thomas, his boat voyage through Long Island Sound, 281.
- Dexter, Franklin B., lxxv, 247.
- Directors of the N. H. C. H. Soc., their action, xiii.

- District system tending to degrade the Constitution, 228.
- Dwight, Theodore, his oration before the Soc. of the Cincinnati, 205.
- Eagle Bank, 95.
- East River, the Dutch name of Long Island Sound, 289.
- Eaton, Gov. Theophilus, lxi, 133.
- Eaton, Mrs. Anne, Trial of, by Rev. Newman Smyth, 133.
- Edwards, Henrietta F., wife of Eli Whitney, 128.
- Election laws, 203, 223.
- Elliott, Matthew, 102.
- English, Caroline Augusta, xlv.
- English, Gov. James Edward, xlv, xlvii.
- English, the name of, xlvii.
- English, Henry Fowler, viii, xiii, xlv.
- Executive officers of the Historical Society, since its foundation, lxxv.
- Extract from minutes of directors' meeting Nov. 14, 1891, xiii.
- Faulkner's Island, 291.
- Farnam, Henry, lvii.
- Franklin, Dr., the bequest of, 74.
- French fisheries about Cape Cod before the settlement of Plymouth, Mass., 277.
- Fulton, Robert, letter of, 127.
- Gardner, Lient. Lyon, 288.
- Geodetic survey tide table, its explanation of tidal phenomena, 297.
- Gifford, Mrs. Ellen M., the will of, bequeathing \$785,108 for charitable purposes, 87.
- Governor, the pardoning power of the, 215.
- Halleck, Gerard, 96, 104.
- "Hell Gate," named by Capt. Adrian Block, 278.
- Hillhouse avenue, 90.
- History of the New Haven Historical Society by Thomas R. Trowbridge, lxi.
- Hoppin, James M., viii.
- Hotchkiss, Justus S., 173.
- Housatonic river, named by the Dutch *Venden Rodenbergh*, 279.
- Huron*, narrative of a sealing and trading voyage of the ship, by Joel Root, supercargo, and read by T. R. Trowbridge, 149.
- Ingersoll, Gov. C. R., 240.
- Inscriptions on Tombstones in Milford from 1734 to 1816, recording the names of the families of—
Andrew; Baldwin, Bard, Basset, Beach, Beard, Blague, Brinsmead, Bristol, Botstord, Bryan, Buckingham, Bull, Bunnell, Burel, Burns, Burrough, Burwell; Camp, Clark, Canfield, Carrington, Coggshall, Coley, Collins; De Witt, Downs; Emes; Farrand, Fenn, Fiske, Ford, Fowler; Gansey, Gand, Gebb, Gibbs, Gibson, Gilet, Gillet, Gillit, Green, Gunn; Hause, Harpin, Hepburn, Herpin, Hine; Ingersoll; Jilit; Lambart, Lambert, Langstaff, Law, Leewis, Leron; Malary, Mallett, Marshall, Merchant, Merwin, Miles, Moor; Nettleton, Newhall, Newton, Nisbett, Northrop, Northrup; Oviat; Peck, Perit, Permele, Platt, Plum, Pomeroy, Pond, Powell, Prime, Prince, Pritchard, Prudden; Rilum, Roberts, Rogers; Sanford, Smith, Stone, Strong; Terrell, Tibbals, Tibbols, Treat, Treat, Tret; Ufott; Young; Wallace, Welch, Wheeler, Whiting, Whittlesey, Wilkinson, Woodruff, 1.
- Jefferson, Thomas, a letter of in reference to the cotton gin, 113.
- Judiciary, the, recognized as a coordinate department of government, 226.
- Kidnapping of Indians, by Captain Hunt, 286.
- Kingsley, Prof., 266.
- Laete, John de, his description of Rodenberg, 291.
- Long Island Sound, the early history of and its approaches, by Charles Herve Townshend, 275.
- Macaulay, Lord, quotation from, 129.
- Manufacture of firearms, a paper by Eli Whitney, 121.

- Marett, Philip, a sketch of his life, by Simeon E. Baldwin, 71.
- Martha's Vineyard, visited by Capt. Dermer, 283, 285.
- Members of the N. H. C. H. Soc., lxxxi.
- Montowese, the grant of, xxxiii.
- Morse, Col. Gardner, 89.
- "New Lights" and "Old Lights," 260.
- Newman, Robert, the site of his barn, viii, xxxiv.
- Noyes, Pastor, 257.
- Officers of the N. H. C. H. Soc., lxxv.
- Olmstead, Prof., on Eli Whitney, 130.
- Orange street, the "home of official dignitaries," 108.
- "Phantom ship," the, xxxi, 134.
- Preparatory description of building site, vii.
- Price, Bruce, architect of new building, viii.
- Punderson, Rev. Ebenezer, 256.
- Quinnipiac river, xxxii, 292.
- Recollections of the appearance of New Haven, and of its business enterprises and movements in real estate between 1825 and 1837, by Col. Gardner Morse, 89.
- "Red Mountains," or Rodenbergh, the Dutch name of East and West Rocks and vicinity, 279.
- Representative government, the first written constitution of, 180.
- Rhode Island charter, 188.
- Root, Capt. Joel, 149.
- "Sachem's Head," origin of the name (note), 301.
- "Sea of Rhode Island," 300.
- Silliman, Prof., his testimony to Eli Whitney, 130.
- "Singing by Rule," controversy about, 248.
- Smyth, Newman, 133.
- Southack, Capt. Cyprian, surveys and observations of, 298.
- Squanto, notice of, 286.
- State House, lxxvii.
- Stiles, Dr., 264.
- Street, Titus, 107.
- Table of Amendments to the State Constitution, 242.
- Tariff bill of 1820, article in the *Boston Repository*, by Philip Marett, 79.
- Taylor, Dr. John, his "Scripture Doctrine of Original Sin," 261.
- Tidal wave through Long Island Sound, 304.
- Tides in New Haven harbor, 296, 297.
- Tisdale, his miniature portrait of Mrs. Marett, 77.
- Toleration party, 211.
- Tontine pool, 94.
- Townsend, W. K., x.
- Townsend, Charles Hervey, 275.
- Treat, Atwater, xlvii.
- Trowbridge, Katherine H., curator and assistant librarian, lxxix.
- Trowbridge, Thomas R., viii, lxi, 149.
- Trumbull, J. Hammond, his explanation of the name Quinnipiac, 292.
- Turner, Capt. Nathaniel, xxvii, 288.
- Uniformity system in firearms, originated by Eli Whitney, 124.
- Van der Donck, Adrian, his account of Long Island Sound, 288.
- Vries, David, David Petersen de, extract from his journal respecting early New Haven, 293.
- Wheeler, Arthur M., viii.
- White, Henry, lxy.
- Whitefield, the dispute regarding his scheme of the ministry, 254.
- Whitney, Eli, a sketch of the life of, by William P. Blake, 109.
- Whitney, Eli, vice-president, lxxvii.
- Whitneyville Armory, the establishment of, 118.
- Wigglesworth, Edward, his tombstone mistaken for that of Edward Whalley, the regicide, xxviii.
- Williams, Rector, 252.
- Winthrop, Gov. John, 287.
- Wolcott, Oliver, letter to respecting firearms, 118.
- Wolcott, Roger, the manuscript of his narrative of the colony, 267.

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